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**THE MODERN LANGUAGE  
REVIEW**

**VOLUME XVI**

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# THE MODERN LANGUAGE REVIEW

*A QUARTERLY JOURNAL DEVOTED TO THE STUDY  
OF MEDIEVAL AND MODERN LITERATURE  
AND PHILOLOGY*

EDITED BY

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AND

EDMUND G. GARDNER

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## THE AUTHORSHIP OF 'APPIUS AND VIRGINIA.'

IT is not my intention to begin from the beginning to construct a theory of authorship for *Appius and Virginia*, but rather to supplement the conclusions of the late Mr Rupert Brooke, published in *The Modern Language Review*, vol. VIII, No. 4, October 1913, and more fully in his *John Webster and the Elizabethan Drama*. And first I must say that I accept, with only slight modifications, Mr Brooke's findings, which were thus summed up:

'General, critical, and aesthetic impressions, more particular examination of various aspects, and the difficulty of fitting it in chronologically, make it impossible to believe that *Appius and Virginia* is by Webster, while the evidence in favour of his authorship is very slight. All these considerations, and also remarkable features of vocabulary and characterisation, make it highly probable that it is by Heywood. The slight similarities between *The Duchess of Malfi* and *Appius and Virginia* may be due to Webster borrowing in *The Duchess of Malfi* from Heywood, or revising *Appius and Virginia*, or having, not for the first time, collaborated with Heywood, but very subordinately. In any case, *Appius and Virginia* must be counted among Heywood's plays; not the best of them, but among the better ones; a typical example of him in his finer moments, written rather more carefully than is usual with that happy man<sup>1</sup>.

Mr Brooke will allow only that Webster, *if* he revised, 'shortened and made more dramatic the very beginning of the play, and heightened, or even rewrote, the trial scene (iv, 1)<sup>2</sup>.' The only criticism I make is that I trace Webster's hand rather more frequently but not more integrally than in these two scenes.

Further work on *Appius and Virginia* may seem supererogatory after Mr Brooke's brilliant and convincing argument for Heywood's authorship. I would not undertake to say anything more, agreeing as I do entirely with the attribution and conclusion arrived at, if I did not think it worth while to dot the *i*'s and cross the *t*'s of Mr Brooke's critique and to look at the question anew from the side of Heywood rather than from that of Webster.

The first point, which I would stress more strongly than has been done, is almost purely aesthetic. The difference of the play from anything certainly by Webster needs no further emphasising, but just wherein the dissimilarity lies has been indicated only in a general fashion. From the construction and the tragic conception to the metre

<sup>1</sup> *John Webster and the Elizabethan Drama*, pp. 204-5.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 203.

and vocabulary, through the whole gamut of the critical scale, the play is false to the Websterian note while at the same time, to my ears at least after a pretty thorough study of Heywood's plays, poems and prose, it is almost pure Heywood. Hardly anything in *Appius and Virginia* could not have been written by Heywood, although there are passages unlike his technique: but there is much so absolutely un-Websterian that one wonders whether Moseley did not assign it to Webster out of mere charity. That there is much dramatic work of Heywood's extant but unidentified is highly probable when one remembers his avowed voluminousness<sup>1</sup>. He was a classical scholar of no mean attainments, if often very careless in his use of his learning, almost a third of his extant plays having a classical background and one of these being as like *Appius and Virginia* as one twin is to another. There is therefore an *a priori* argument for a Heywoodian origin, slight as that may be.

Webster is notoriously 'romantic,' even among his contemporaries, in construction; he impresses by his scenes, never by a whole play; he uses every device, legitimate or questionable, for producing the desired effect. Yet this tale is told in full, not by a series of impressionist sketches which make up by their vigour for what they lack in continuity, but in a straightforward, downright, naïve, complete and unsuggestive manner. It is as if a child were narrating the story, leaving nothing out, trusting little to the hearer's intelligence and finishing off with rewards and punishments. This is exactly the practice of Heywood; he 'cannot keep counsel, he tells all,' but with the addition, as here, of the skill of an experienced playwright and actor.

Moreover, the play has the simplicity of plot that Heywood preferred: he avoids the intrigue that crowds everything else out of the five acts in favour of one sufficiently obvious to permit of subsidiary episodes and extraneous characters so long as they do not render it unintelligible. The conception of tragedy, implicit in *Appius and Virginia*, is medieval: that is to say, it is no more than a pathetic tale, a tale which, curiously enough, was one of the most frequently told in the middle ages. But it is Heywood's conception of tragedy: in his canon we are never conscious of the 'triumph of the inner self,' the emergence of the protagonist spiritually triumphant even in death, which is the essence of Webster's drama as it is of Shakespeare's. It is true that the

<sup>1</sup> Indeed I believe that some non-dramatic work of Heywood's is still anonymous; especially do I think that *The Actors Remonstrance*, 1643 (reprinted in W. C. Hazlitt's *English Drama*) might be his.

story is inherently unsuited for great tragedy: but is not the profound dramatist revealed as much by his choice as by his craftsmanship? And is the plot such as would have naturally appealed to the sombre and exotic imagination of Webster?

The characters, too, are the merest shadows beside Bosola or Vittoria: they remind us almost of amateurish water-colours. We look in vain for the murky heat, the mysterious solemnity, the unexplained but terribly natural motives of Webster's personages. It is inconceivable that Webster should make Virginia reveal herself and her creator's inadequacy in lines such as these:

'My father's wondrous pensive, and withal  
With a suppress'd rage left his house displeas'd,  
And so in post is hurried to the camp:  
It sads me much; to expel which melancholy,  
I have sent for company.' (II, 1.)<sup>1</sup>

It is not uncommon, or unnatural for the voluminous Heywood so to lay bare the 'secret de Polichinelle.' It is enlightening to compare with the above a passage from *The White Devil*: when Vittoria leaves the stage, 'Brachiano turns,' says Mr Brooke, 'with a flaming whisper, to Flamineo. He wastes no words. He does not foolishly tell the audience, "I am in love with that woman who has just gone off."'

*Brachiano.* "Flamineo——"  
*Flamineo.* "My lord?"  
*Brachiano.* "Quite lost, Flamineo."

Webster thought dramatically.<sup>2</sup> There are no examples in this play of Webster's studied effects in gesture, grouping, expression, which are as detailed and deliberate as the art of a painter. Appius is the childish ogre of a man like Heywood who never really painted a villain in his life, and who could not dispatch him without a relaxation of his assumed sternness. The clown, as has been noticed by Mr Brooke, is as truly Heywood's as any which appear in his certified dramas, besides being as un-Websterian as one could well imagine. I have noticed that all Heywood's clowns, besides drenching us with puns which may once have been new, hardly ever fail to add a few Latin scraps (*A. and V.* II, 1); really quite unnatural in the very English personage who speaks them and not to be accounted for by the necessities of the Roman setting. 'His conceit is fluent,' as Collatine says of his kinsman in *The Rape of Lucrece*: but Webster, who had difficulty in finding words to go round his serious characters, would hardly introduce a spendthrift to drain his note-books. This type of clown, his attachment to the lady,

<sup>1</sup> Dyce's 4 vol. edition, 1830 and 1857.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* 93.



his tone of voice, his impudence especially to a female attendant on the lady, his amorousness, the suggestion of the licensed fool rather than of the rustic, his acquaintance with the town, particularly on its disreputable side, his frequent mention of food and drink, appear in practically every play of Heywood; and in addition into Corbulo's mouth is put one of the Shakespearean reminiscences (Heywood's for a ducat !):

'There's a certain fish, that, as the learned divulgē, is called a shark: now this fish can never feed while he swims upon 's belly; marry, when he lies upon his back, O, he takes it at pleasure.' (*A. and V.* III, 2.)

Nor is the absence of Webster's rhetorical and stylistic devices any less striking: I would mention first one which I have never noticed in any critique, a trick of preparing the audience for an entrance by some such phrase as 'Here's the Cardinal,' 'She comes,' 'The lord ambassadors.' The usage is not always so bald; occasionally it can be extraordinarily effective as at the entrance of the mad Ferdinand:

'*Bosola.*                   ...Listen; I hear  
One's footing.

*Enter FERDINAND.*

*Ferdinand.* Strangling is a very quiet death<sup>1</sup>.

I have counted seventeen such cues in *The Duchess of Malfi*, about a dozen or more in *The White Devil* and some six or seven in *The Devil's Law Case*, with, in all three plays, a few less clear announcements. In *Appius and Virginia* there are only three such preparatory entrance cues at the very most, one of them in a suspected passage (Act I, Scene 1, which, from the use of prose in Webster's manner and a quotation from *The Duchess of Malfi*, Mr Brooke considered to have been revised by him).

Again, to avoid monotony, Webster frequently apportions what is really a single long speech into sentences spoken alternately by two persons: cf. the opening of *The White Devil* or the lecture of the Cardinal and Ferdinand to their sister (*D. of M.* Act I, Scene 2), to which she replies:

'I think this speech between you both was studied,  
It came so roundly off,'

a remark repeated almost verbatim but less relevantly in the court scene of *Appius and Virginia* which is the most Websterian part of the play; but as the dialogue is not the dismembered fragments of a single speech, it looks extremely like a later addition. Still another mannerism of Webster's is the insertion of anecdotes or anecdotal similes into his dialogue, e.g. *D. of M.* Act III, Scene 2, l. 197:

<sup>1</sup> *The Duchess of Malfi*, v, 4.

‘Oh, the inconstant  
And rotten ground of service! you may see  
’Tis even like him, that in a winter’s night,  
Takes a long slumber o’er a dying fire,  
A-loth to part from’t; yet parts thence as cold  
As when he first sat down:’

Examples of complete apologues are *D. of M.* Act III, Scene 5, l. 124, and Act III, Scene 2, l. 121. This practice is perhaps related to a habit of speaking away from the subject to answer cryptically and at first sight irrelevantly, a means more effective than a kindred artifice of Webster’s, of putting, in the remarks of some ‘sarcastic knave,’ strings of disjointed pungent aphorisms. These devices are equally foreign to the style of *Appius and Virginia* and to Heywood: examples occur only of the first, one in Act v, Scene 1, which is already suspect from the re-appearance of the advocate and the satire on his profession, a common butt of Webster:

‘Let me alone; I have learnt with the wise hedgehog,  
To stop my cave that way the tempest drives.  
Never did bear-whelp tumbling down a hill,  
With more art shrink his head betwixt his claws,  
Than I will work my safety;’

another in the trial scene, and a third at the end of Act v, Scene 2. Webster has a partiality for similes from animals—a kind of reformed euphuism—e.g. from the dormouse,

‘He is so quiet that he seems to sleep  
The tempest out, as dormice do in winter’

(cf. the above quotation from *Appius and Virginia*), the owl, the salamander, the cockatrice, the basilisk, the leveret, etc. Mr Brooke has noted his mathematical figures and his asides: I do not remember to have seen more than a passing reference in Mr Vaughan’s essay in *Cambridge History of English Literature*, vol. 6, to the medicine, surgery, alchemy, astrology and science of his day with which his plays are packed, but which do not appear in *Appius and Virginia*. Nor has this play many of Webster’s favourite words, ‘foul’ (see *John Webster and the Elizabethan Drama*, p. 177), ‘dunghill,’ ‘politic,’ ‘intelligence,’ etc., and all the solemnities of the grave, its ‘melancholy yew trees and death’s-heads.’ Webster’s most remarkable feature is the thrift of his style, his making the very most of his materials, but with a restraint and power comparable to Velazquez’s manipulation of his seven colours. In direct contrast is the flaccid, fluent, facile manner of *Appius and Virginia*: which has not even the most platitudinous pregnancy—there is not one detachable epigram in its five acts.

Probably what first brands *Appius and Virginia* as apocryphal in

the Websterian canon is the metre. On this Mr Brooke has comparatively little to say. *The White Devil* and *The Duchess of Malfi*, says Professor Saintsbury, 'are among the most irregular productions, prosodically speaking, of all the great age; the others are much less so, and *Appius and Virginia*, whether in compliment to its classical subject or not, is almost regular....*The Devil's Law Case* stands nearer to the great plays than to *Appius and Virginia*. The last, when it is not prose, is fairly regular blank verse of the middle kind, neither as wooden as the earlier, nor as limber and sometimes limp, as the later<sup>1</sup>.' But in Webster's greater plays prose, verse and versified prose are inextricably jumbled. One might say that 'it was pain and grief' to him 'to write verse' and that he 'shirked it as much as possible<sup>1</sup>.' But while Webster found it easier to write prose, Heywood dropped most naturally into verse, and used it frequently when prose was preferable. 'Heywood,' says Professor Saintsbury, 'has a sort of *tap* of blank verse, not at all bad, which he can turn on at any time<sup>2</sup>.' Now *Appius and Virginia* has exactly this easy, undistinguished, tolerable verse which one finds everywhere in Heywood—a versification characterised by its lack of characteristics. Mr Brooke has noted the frequency of rhyme, which, one might add, occurs in couplets and passages apparently irrationally, as prose does in Webster, and the large number of elisions. Heywood works on a strictly iambic basis and very rarely admits 'trisyllabic substitution,' ruthlessly expunging all hypermetric syllables, especially in his non-dramatic verse, whereas Webster freely uses anapæsts and dactyls. Never, however, are Heywood's lines cacophonous as Webster's frequently are, who throws all harmony to the winds to get the effect desired:

'Cover her face; mine eyes dazzle; she died young.'

Heywood does not break up his verse into such small phrases, but runs on and overflows from line to line: his syntax is not co-ordinative and disjunctive as Webster's is. Moreover Heywood fairly carefully dovetails his verse and rejects such licences as the Alexandrine. In every respect *Appius and Virginia* agrees with Heywood's practice.

Mr Brooke thinks that there is an *a priori* probability of a play with some thirty years of acting life being altered during that period. As evidence that this play was altered, he adduces a passage of prose in the midst of verse (Act I, Scene 1), and the strange collapse of Icilius' hostility to Appius in Act II, Scene 3, after he had accused him of sinister intentions, which incident is followed by a different version

<sup>1</sup> *History of English Prosody*, vol. II, pp. 76-77.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 80-81.



of it for no reason in Icilius' report to Virginia, etc., in Act III, Scene 1. Dyce also remarks that the scene of this interview between Icilius and Appius is at first an outer apartment of the latter's house; but he reproves Marcus Claudius later, when Icilius has retired, for sending 'a ruffian hither Even to my closet.' All these difficulties seem to point to an abbreviation of a work which in its longer form would have been quite intelligible. Such a supposition is supported by other facts which I shall adduce. In Act I, Scene 2, a servant interrupts the conversation of Icilius, Virginia and Numitorius who is saying *à propos* of what has gone before:

'Thus ladies still foretell the funeral  
Of their lord's kindness.

(*Enter a servant, whispers ICILIUS in the ear*)

But, my lord, what news?'

And despite the fact that a message of any length could not have been delivered, Icilius is able to give a detailed description of Virginus' arrival, appropriate only to an eye-witness:

... 'for his horse,  
Bloody with spurring, shows as if he came  
From forth a battle: never did you see  
'Mongst quails and cocks in fight a bloodier heel,  
Than that your brother strikes with,' etc.

How does he know all this? Is the servant not a later addition to disguise a cut in which Icilius had really seen Virginus? Then in Scene 3 of the same act, which seems to take place in Appius' house, Valerius enters to him and Marcus, to announce to the former:

'the Decemvirate entreat  
Your voice in this day's Senate,'

to which Appius replies:

'We will attend the Senate,  
Claudius, begone.

[*Exeunt VALERIUS and MARCUS CLAUDIUS.*

*Enter OPIUS and SENATORS.'*

In this case the mountain has come to Mahomet since we must now suppose the scene has changed to the senate-house while Appius has remained on the stage all the time<sup>1</sup>. Again in Act III, Scene 2, which to begin with is a street, Virginia enters with Corbulo and is seized by Marcus Claudius with four lictors: soon after Icilius and Numitorius enter, and in a short time Appius, who on being appealed to for justice, instead of adjourning, calls

'Stools for my noble friends.—I pray you sit'

<sup>1</sup> Hazlitt, in his edition of Webster, 1857, makes a new scene begin with the entrance of the Senate.

as if the place were a chamber. Such a change of the locale while several characters remain on the stage is usually indicated by their walking round the stage (i.e. those acting in the first scene, by this circumambulation, really enter to the actors in the next, not the reverse as here). Twice at the end of scenes (there may be more which a student of dramatic psychology might observe) occur passages which are quite irrelevant. This is especially noteworthy at the conclusion of Act III, Scene 3, a short scene in which Marcus praises Appius' policy and Appius asserts his confidence in its success, to which the client replies:

‘Mercury himself  
Could not direct more safely.’

Appius immediately and irrelevantly continues the dialogue:

‘O my Claudius,  
Observe this rule; one ill must cure another;  
As aconitum, a strong poison, brings  
A present cure against all serpents' stings.  
In high attempts the soul hath infinite eyes,  
And 'tis necessity makes men most wise.  
Should I miscarry in this desperate plot,  
This of my fate in aftertimes be spoken,  
I'll break that with my weight on which I'm broken.’

There has been no set-back to Appius' success: I suggest that here we have Webster's attempt (note the medical and zoological lore and the lack of association between the thoughts as well as a close resemblance to a passage in Ben Jonson, one of Webster's favourite authors) to heighten what seemed to him too tame. Again at the end of Act III, Scene 2, which has already been noticed as suspicious (see above), after Appius withdraws, seemingly enraged at Marcus whom he has ordered to be committed a prisoner to his own house to ensure his appearance as appellant, Icilius and Virginia are left alone:

‘ <i>Icilius.</i>	Sure all this is damned cunning.
<i>Virginia.</i>	<p style="text-align: center;">O, my lord,</p> <p>Seamen in tempests shun the flattering shore; To bear full sails upon't were danger more: So men o'erborne with greatness still hold dread False seeming friends that on their bosoms spread: For this is a safe truth which never varies, He that strikes all his sails seldom miscarries.</p>
<i>Icilius.</i>	<p>Must we be slaves both to a tyrant's will, And [to] confounding ignorance, at once? Where are we, in a mist, or is this hell? I have seen as great as the proud judge have fell: The bending willow yielding to each wind, Shall keep his rooting firm, when the proud oak, Braving the storm, presuming on his root, Shall have his body rent from head to foot: Let us expect the worst that may befall, And with a noble confidence bear all.’</p>

These remarks are not at all, in sense or verse (or grammar), like the rest of the scene. They have no obvious connexion with what has gone before or with each other. I offer as a tentative suggestion that these lines are a cento, made by some reviser of the play from a much longer interview between Icilius and Virginia, and without much care to assign the right remarks to their respective owners: a dialogue in which Virginia advised a policy of apparent submission and Icilius argued for the reverse, which is supported slightly by Virginia's exclamation earlier in the same scene:

‘O my Icilius, your incredulity  
Hath quite undone me.’

This remark is quite meaningless as the play now stands: we hear nothing before of Icilius being too credulous (? of Appius) or incredulous of her warnings. It may be that a sub-plot, woven around the opposing plans of Virginia and Icilius to circumvent Appius, has been lost. Another fact, hitherto unnoticed, is that two persons, Julia and Calphurnia, appear in the list of dramatis personae; but they appear only once and say nothing. I believe this silence indicates another cut, probably soon after Act II, Scene 1, where Virginia bids Corbulo:

‘Sirrah, go tell Calphurnia I am walking  
To take the air: entreat her company;  
Say I attend her coming.’

the encounter might have given us a scene like the visit of Valeria to Volumnia and Virgilia in *Coriolanus*.

As in all Heywood's acknowledged plays, there are several Shakespearean echoes. The writer was undoubtedly influenced by the severity of *Coriolanus*: the camp scenes in *Appius and Virginia* and the trouble with the plebs are specially worthy of comparison. I have already noted the clown's reminiscence of Falstaff. The interview between Icilius and Appius (Act II, Scene 3) recalls Hamlet's visit to his mother after the play scene: one might cite the lines, spoken by Icilius:

<i>Appius.</i> <i>Icilius.</i>  <i>Appius.</i>	‘Sit still, or by the powerful gods of Rome I'll nail thee to thy chair: but suffer me, I'll offend nothing but thine ears. Our secretary! Tempt not a lover's fury; if thou dost, Now by my vow, insculpt in heaven, I'll send thee— You see I am patient.’
---	--

The line,

‘This sight has stiffened all my operant powers,’ (Act v, Scene 3.)

also recalls *Hamlet*:

‘My operant powers their function leave to do.’ (Act III, Scene 2.)



(*Hamlet* was a special favourite of Heywood's: there are at least four imitations in *A Maidenhead Well Lost*.) Dyce has noted the debt to *Julius Caesar*:

‘To that giant,  
The high Colossus that bestrides us all.’ (Act III, Scene 1.)

From *Othello* comes a single phrase:

‘Had your lordship yesterday  
Proceeded, as ’twas fit to a just sentence,  
The apparel and the jewels that she wore,  
More worth than all her tribe, had then been due  
Unto our client:’ (Act IV, Scene 1.)

and one, either from *Coriolanus* or the induction to *2 Henry IV*:

‘The world is chang’d now. All damnations  
Seize on the hydra-headed multitude,  
That only gape for innovation.  
O, who would trust a people!’ (Act v, Scene 3.)

Heywood's indebtedness to Shakespeare is no mere fancy: I could quote many passages, not a few scenes, some motifs, and perhaps a few characters, more or less directly borrowed. Webster, on the other hand, is not influenced in his dialogue to anything like the same degree by his greater contemporary. Sidney, Jonson, Marston, the satirists, and especially Donne, as Mr Brooke has pointed out, are the persons from whom he purloined and whom he plagiarised verbatim, whereas Heywood, like the writer of this play, speaks Shakespeare because he cannot help it, and perhaps does not know it. Webster's borrowings are of an aphoristic character.

The following list supplements and adds to Mr Brooke's examination of the vocabulary of *Appius and Virginia* which in this respect I can confidently assert is nearer to *The Rape of Lucrece* than to any other drama<sup>1</sup>.

‘Confine’ in the sense of ‘banish,’ ‘exile’ (*A. and V.* v, 3). *Brazen Age* 211, *Apology for Actors* (‘The Author to his Booke’), *Hierarchy* 74, *Golden Age* 41.

‘Obdure’ (*A. and V.* iv, 2), an adj. meaning ‘obdurate’ or, more generally, ‘hard.’ This rare Latinism occurs in *Pleasant Dialogues* 114, *Γυναικείον* 46, 362, 393, 435, *Silver Age* 144, *Hierarchy* 312, 365, 498, *Love's Mistress* 138, *Brazen Age* 171.

‘Obdure’ as a verb, *Hierarchy* 82.

‘Obdure-hearted,’ which is not in *N.E.D.*, is in *Γυναικείον* 353.

<sup>1</sup> I do not give occurrences of the words already given by Mr Brooke, but such additional and therefore confirming examples as I have noticed.

The following were the editions used: for the plays, pageants and the *Pleasant Dialogues*, *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Heywood*, 6 vols., Pearson, 1874; *The Hierarchy of the Blessed Angels*, London 1635, fol.; *Γυναικείον*, London, 1624, fol.; *Apology for Actors*, Shakespeare Society reprint, 1841; Britain's Troy, London, 1609; England's Elizabeth, Harleian Miscellany; *Nobody and Somebody*, Tudor Facsimile Texts, ed. Farmer, No. 76, 1911. The numbers refer to pages unless in prefaces, etc., where no pagination is found.

'Palped' (*A. and V.* III, 1), 'perceptible by touch.' Mr Brooke says there are only three known instances of this word: the two others are both from Heywood. But I have found another instance, also Heywoodian, in *Hierarchy* 27:

'So void of sens'ble light, and so immur'd,  
With palped darknesse.'

'Deject' (*A. and V.* I, 1) in its literal sense. *Fair Maid of the West* 405:

'Upon a poor dejected gentleman  
Whom fortune hath dejected even to nothing,'

*Royal King* 24, 25, 43, 71, *Silver Age* 91, *Four Prentises* 167, 168.

'Dejected' = 'deposed' occurs in *Nobody and Somebody*, which was certainly pretty thoroughly revised by Heywood, Sig. d<sub>1</sub>, e<sub>2</sub>, h<sub>1</sub>. 'Dejection,' *Fair Maid of the West* 392, *Golden Age* 39. 'Dejectednesse,' *Royal King and Loyal Subject* 15.

'Prostrate' (*A. and V.* I, 3, twice) is used by Heywood both as an adj. and as a verb with the same rare metaphorical meaning as here. As a verb *Fair Maid of the West* 403:

'Behold, w'are two poor English gentlemen,  
Whom travell hath enforc't through your Dukedom,  
As next way to our countrey, prostrate you  
Our lives and services.'

*If you know not me*, etc. 196:

'Gracious Queene,  
Your humble subiects prostrate in my mouth  
A general suit,'

and as an adj., *A Royal King*, etc. 64:

'My prostrate duty to the King my Master  
I here present.'

76-7:

'Saw your Majesty  
With what an humble zeale, and prostrate love  
He did retender your faire Daughters Dower?'

'Infinite' (*A. and V.* I, 3), 'infinite in number': very unusual. It was a special favourite of Heywood's, and in addition to Mr Brooke's citations, I adduce *Hierarchy* 25, 83, 362, 394, 481, 537, *Γυναικείον* 133, 203, 280, 316, *Londini Speculum* 310, *Challenge for Beauty* 8, 28, *Iron Age* 284:

'He and Hecuba,  
My nine and forty brothers, Princes all,  
Of Ladies and bright Virgins infinite.'

'Invasive' (*A. and V.* I, 3):

'The iron wall  
That rings this pomp in from invasive steel.'

Mr Brooke notes the repetition of the phrase 'invasive steel' in *Golden Age* 40; but 'to ring' is also a Heywoodian usage, cf. *Lucrece* 242:

'if thou front'st them, thou art ring'd  
With million swords and darts.'

'Mediate' = 'beg on somebody else's behalf,' or a similar sense is very rare (*A. and V.* II, 1):

'You mediate excuse for courtesies.'

*Γυναικείον* 447, *Fortune by Land and Sea* 374, *Pleasant Dialogues* 277, *Londini Sinus Salutis* 296.

'Infalld' (*A. and V.* II, 3):

'Upon my infalld evidence.'

*N.E.D.* gives only two other examples of this very rare word of which one is

*Hierarchy* 308 (v. *John Webster and the Elizabethan Drama*). It occurs twice elsewhere in *Hierarchy* 285:

'Th' infallid testimonie...  
Of the most sacred Scriptures.'

311: 'And to give infalled testimonie of their faith.'

It will be noted that all the occurrences of the word in Heywood and the example from *Appius and Virginia* relate to evidence.

'Thrill' (*A. and V.* iv, 2):

'Let him come thrill his partisan  
Against this breast.'

Cf. *Brit. Troy* XIII, § lxx:

'He thrild a Iavelin at the Dardan's breast.'

*Pleasant Dialogues* 301, Γυναικείον 223.

'Novel' (*A. and V.* iv, 2):

'Marshal yourselves, and entertain this novel  
Within a ring of steel.'

Cf. *Hierarchy*, argument to Book 8; 28, 508, 611, Γυναικείον 134, 356, *Brazen Age* 210. 'Novelty' in the same sense occurs several times in Heywood.

'Ave' (*A. and V.* v, 3):

'One reared on a popular suffrage  
Whose station's built on aves and applause.'

I have no other instance to add but note the parallel to the quotation, *Silver Age* 95:

'With like applause and suffrage shall be seene  
The faire *Andromeda* crown'd *Argos* queen.'

'Strage' (Lat. 'strages') (*A. and V.* v, 3):

'I have not dreaded famine, fire, nor strage.'

In the later form of Mr Brooke's essay on *Appius and Virginia*, a foot-note says the earlier version had about a dozen more examples of this word than the two in the text. It may be useful to give the examples I have noted: *Pleasant Dialogues* 111, 143, 343, *Hierarchy* 54, 89, 163, 230, 276, 436, 492, 511, 569, 589, 605, Γυναικείον 441, *Ius Honorarium* 271, *Londini Status Pacatus* 371, 373.

To Mr Brooke's list I add the following:

'Imposturous' (*A. and V.* iv, 1):

'And verily  
All Rome held this for no imposturous stuff.'

This rare word is found in *The Woman-Hater* but not in Shakespeare. Cf. *Hierarchy* 289:

'Further to speake of his impost'rous lies,'

308, 468, Γυναικείον 103 'I will therefore shut up all their imposturous lies in one short...truth,' *Silver Age* 112.

'Lust-burnt' (*A. and V.* v, 3):

'Redeem a base life with a noble death  
And through your lust-burnt veins confine your breath.'

The only example of this rare compound in *N.E.D.* is from *Silver Age* 143:

'The lust-burn'd and wine-heated monsters.'

'Lust-burnings,' the nearest to it, is found in Sylvester. The word is, however, common in Heywood. *The English Traveller* 58, *The Rape of Lucrece* 222, 236, 241, *Brazen Age* 180. It is worthy of remark that 'confine' = 'banish,' also in the above quotation, is almost exclusively Heywoodian.



'Manage' (*A. and V.* i, 3 and iii, 1) :

'Are you the high state of Decemviri  
That have those things in manage?'

and :

'I'll leave it to thy manage.'

This usage is, of course, not confined to Heywood, but it is very typical of him.  
Cf. *Fair Maid of the West* 316 :

'The manage of the fight  
We leave to you.'

*Silver Age* 95, *The Rape of Lucrece* 210.

'Motion' (*A. and V.* ii, 2 and iii, 2) :

'Tis a motion (i.e. proposal)  
Which nature and necessity commands.'

'I think the motion's honest.'

I give this common Elizabethan word merely because of its frequency in Heywood who seems never to use any synonym for it. *Fair Maid of the West* 308, 320, *If you know not me*, etc. 252, 261, 263, *Pleasant Dialogues* 181, *Hierarchy* 550, *Γυναικείον* 120, 121, 130, 142, 143, 232, 448, 460, *English Traveller* 45, *Wise Woman of Hogsdon* 289, *Londini Speculum* 309, *The Late Lancashire Witches* 177, *England's Elizabeth* 310, 322, *Iron Age* 307, 393, 399.

'Comrague' (*A. and V.* iv, 2) :

'Comrague, I fear  
Appius will doom us to Actaeon's death.'

Dyce says he had several examples of this word, but mislaid all but the case in the *Lancashire Witches* of Heywood and Brome 244 :

'Nay, rest by me,  
Good Morglay, my comrague and bed-fellow.'

*N.E.D.* lists this example under 'comroque.'

'Enthronise' (*A. and V.* iv, 2) :

'Let him come thrill his partisan  
Against this breast, that through a large wide wound  
My mighty soul might rush out of this prison,  
To fly more freely to yon crystal palace,  
Where honour sits enthronis'd.'

The whole passage, at a venture, one would say, came from Heywood's *Ages*. I don't know of any occurrence of 'enthronise' (cf. Raleigh's *History of the World* 1614, 'Now inthronized he sits on high In golden Palace of the starry skie') in Heywood, but the termination '-ise' is a common means of making a verb in his work, e.g. 'eternize,' 'etimologise,' 'monarchise,' 'metamorphise,' 'merchandize,' 'peculiarize.'

'Impart' (*A. and V.* v, 3) :

'Grieves it thee  
To impart (i.e. to share in) my sad disaster?'

Not in Shakespeare: cf. *Fortune by Land and Sea* 398 :

'I am likely to impart his loss,'

404, *English Traveller* 63, 68, *Four Prentises* 194, *Pleasant Dialogues* 174, *Silver Age* 95.

'Opposite' (*A. and V.* iii, 1) :

'If you will needs wage eminence and state  
Choose out a weaker opposite.'

Very common in Heywood, *Royal King*, etc. 55, 55, *If you know not me*, etc. 195, 197, *A Woman Killed with Kindness* 130, *Apology for Actors* 44, *Hierarchy* 12, 202, *Lucrece* 192, *Challenge for Beauty* 14, 23, 35, *England's Elizabeth* 315, 330, *Iron Age* 299, 320, 341, 362.

'Opposite to' = 'opposed to.' *Londini Speculum* 314.

'Opposite' = 'hostile.' *Royal King* 6, 6, *Hierarchy* 268, 497, Γυναικεῖον 330, *Iron Age* 370, *Golden Age* 74.

'Regreets' (*A. and V.* III, 1):

'Yet ere myself could reach Virginia's chamber,

One was before me with greets (i.e. fresh greetings) from him.'

In Shakespeare only in sense of 'greeting': cf. *Fair Maid of the West* 419, *Iron Age* 329.

'Scandal,' as a verb (*A. and V.* III, 1):

'Know you the danger what it is to scandal

One of his place and sway.'

In Shakespeare: common in Heywood, e.g. *Fair Maid of the West* 378, *Edward IV* 177, *A Maidenhead Well Lost* 105, 105, 119, 151 (*Nobody and Somebody* Sig. e<sub>2</sub>).

'Statist' (*A. and V.* I, 3, and III, 1):

'To you the statistis of long-flourishing Rome,'

and:

'for your private ends...

Against that statist, spare to use your spleen.'

Only twice in Shakespeare: twice also in *England's Elizabeth* 314, 330.

'Torved' (*A. and V.* v, 3):

'but yesterday his breath

Aw'd Rome, and his least torved frown was death.'

All the derivatives of Lat. 'torvus' are very rare and obsolete. 'Torvity' occurs in *Londini Speculum* 307 'wherein hee might behold the torvity and strange alteration of his countenance.'

Many of these words, if taken singly, would prove nothing; but the fact that all of them are found in Heywood's works, some frequently, is an almost incontrovertible argument for his authorship. There are many others which go to make up the Heywoodian word-board, but are less peculiar to him, e.g. 'aspire' = 'aspire to,' 'back' = 'to ride upon,' 'beautify,' 'censure,' 'distaste' = 'to express dislike of,' 'inhabit' = 'to dwell,' 'insculpt,' 'lift' = 'lifted,' 'mount' = 'to raise,' 'to pleasure,' 'suspect' = 'suspicion,' 'fame' = 'to make famous,' 'interpose' = 'to intercept,' 'to slave' = 'to enslave,' 'to siege' = 'to besiege,' 'to sad' v.t., 'to wage' = (i) 'to pay wages to' and (ii) 'to wage war with,' 'ague' = 'to make tremble with fear,' 'to cashier,' 'satiety' = 'satisfaction,' etc. The only really uncommon words which I have not found in Heywood's acknowledged works were 'to concionate' = 'to harangue' (it occurs in a remarkably Heywoodian passage, Act v, Scene 3), 'to oratorize' in the same passage (Heywood has 'to orator' in *English Traveller* 68: see also 'enthronise' above) and 'Panthean' ('all you Panthean gods,' Act II, Scene 3: Heywood has 'enthean' (*Hierarchy* 25), 'Hymenean' (Γυναικεῖον 337, 338)). In any case Heywood has a long list of ἀπαξ λεγόμενα, and these three, all of them formed on analogies similar to his, are rather favourable than the reverse to the

claim for his authorship. Practically all the compounds, of which there are many in *Appius and Virginia*,—Heywood was an inveterate compounder while Webster was not—either appear in Heywood's undoubted plays and compilations, e.g. 'new-reap'd,' 'short-liv'd,' 'lust-burnt,' 'trindle-tale'; or are formed on the models from which he worked, e.g. 'sweet-toothed,' 'true-bred,' 'sharp-pointed' (cf. 'sweet-tuned,' 'sweet-featur'd,' 'true-hearted,' 'true-stampt,' 'true-breasted,' 'shallow-witted,' 'thick-leav'd,' 'thin-fac'd,' etc.), 'bondslave-like' (cf. 'horse-like,' 'subject-like,' 'star-like,' 'sphere-like,' etc.), 'long-flourishing' (cf. 'long-neglected,' 'long-continued,' 'long-liv'd,' 'long-sided,' etc.), 'hydra-headed' (cf. 'hare-hearted,' 'horse-tricks'), 'sword-proof' (cf. 'star-spangled,' 'silver-coloured,' 'soul-vext,' 'sayle-winged,' 'state-quaking,' etc.).

Not much can be deduced from the syntax of the play. As was noticed above, the sentence structure is much less co-ordinative and broken than Webster's, being indeed indistinguishable from Heywood's. There are one or two mannerisms which are peculiarly Heywoodian. The first we might call the 'imperative hypothesis' (*A. and V.* II, 2):

'Sound all the drums and trumpets in the camp  
To drown my utterance, yet above them all  
I'll read our just complaint,'

and (*A. and V.* II, 2):

'Show but among them all so many scars  
As stick upon this flesh, I'll pardon them.'

Cf. *English Traveller* 21:

'Ope but thy lips againe, it makes a way  
To have thy tongue pluck'd out,'

etc. etc.

Heywood very frequently omits 'neither': *A. and V.* III, 1:

'Where Appius nor his Lictors, those bloodhounds,  
Can hunt her out.'

Cf. *Londini Speculum* 314:

'Masking nor mourning cannot change their tone.'

*English Traveller* 73:

'Sir, sir, your threats nor warrants can fright me.'

*Royal King* 53:

'Thy teares nor knee shall once prevaile with us.'

The use of the reflexive instead of the personal pronoun is also like Heywood: *A. and V.* II, 3, 'ere herself could study Her answer,' III, 1 'ere myself could reach Virginia's chamber.' But more convincing to me



are such passages as the following, which there is hardly any possibility of assigning to another than Heywood:

'Or if the general's heart be so obdure  
To an old begging soldier, have I here  
No honest legionary of mine own troop,  
At whose bold hand and sword, if not entreat,  
I may command a death?' (IV, 2.)

Or:

'Where should a poor man's cause be heard but here?  
To you the statists of long-flourishing Rome,  
To you I call, if you have charity,  
If you be human, and not quite given o'er  
To furs and metal; if you be Romans,  
If you have any soldier's blood at all  
Flow in your veins, help with your able arms  
To prop a sinking camp: an infinite  
Of fair Rome's sons, cold, weak, hungry, and clotheless  
Would feed upon your surfeit.' (I, 3.)

The play nearest *Appius and Virginia* in source, unlocalised anachronistic setting, characters and style is, as has already been said, *The Rape of Lucrece*. Mr Brooke has noted the quite extraordinary parallel to the non-payment of the soldiers and its consequences in *A Maidenhead Well Lost*, but he does not quote the most remarkable passages: cf. *A. and V.* Act I, Scene 3:

'O! my soldiers,  
Before you want, I'll sell my small possessions  
Even to my skin to help you; plate and jewels,  
All shall be yours.'

with *M. Well Lost* 113:

'even for grieve,  
That he could neither furnish us with pay  
Which was kept back, nor guerdon us with spoile,  
What was about him he distributed,  
Even to the best deservers, as his garments,  
His Armes, and Tent.'

and 115:

'All his Gold and Jewels  
I have already added, yet are we still  
To score to souldiery.'

and 109:

'We understand that by this negligence  
He has beene put to much extremity  
Of Dearth and Famine, many a stormy night  
Beene forc'd to roofe himselfe i' th' open field,  
Nay more then this, much of his owne revenue  
He hath expended, all to pay his Souldiers.'

In Act III, Scene 4, Corbulo says, 'The Lord Appius hath committed her to ward, and it is thought she shall neither lie on the knight side, nor in the twopenny ward; for if he may have his will of her, he means to put her in the hole' (various divisions of a prison): cf. *Fair Maid of the Exchange* 24:

'Cripple. What, sirra, didst thou lie in the Knight's ward, or on the Master's side?

Bowdler. Neither, neither, yfaith.

Cripple. Where then, in the Hole?'

The conclusion I would come to is that the play was plotted and written by Heywood and as a companion piece to *The Rape of Lucrece*, after the appearance of *Coriolanus*. There may be a reference to Chapman's *The Widdowes Teares* in Corbulo's remark, 'Of all waters I would not have my beef powdered with a widow's tears' (III, 2). The obscurity of part of the action precludes the possibility of Webster's collaboration at the outset: but later by order of the company he hastily revised it, making several cuts and only roughly sewing the jagged edges together, for the task was not much to his liking. He seems to have excised entirely any scene in which Julia and Calphurnia spoke, simplified, without making more intelligible, the plot by removing what could only have been a sub-plot of Icilius and Virginia to delude Appius, and shortened at the expense of clarity the meeting of Icilius and Appius at the latter's house, besides introducing two accounts conflicting with each other and the facts. Webster had a partiality for law-suits and probably the difference from Heywood's usual style in the court scene in *Appius and Virginia* is due to the former's remodelling and retouching. Moreover his hand is traceable in the preliminary hearing of the suit, especially in Appius' description of Marcus:

'But will you truly know his character?

He was at first a petty notary;

A fellow that, being trusted with large sums

Of honest citizens, to be employ'd

I' th' trade of usury; this gentleman,

Couching his credit like a tilting-staff,

Most cunningly it brake, and at one course

He ran away with thirty thousand pound...

...he hath sold his smiles

For silver, but his promises for gold;

His delays have undone men.

The plague that in some folded cloud remains,

The bright sun soon disperseth; but observe,

When black infection in some dunghill lies,

There's work for bells and graves, if it do rise.' (III, 2.)

The dishonest advocate, one of Webster's bug-bears, is probably also his introduction (he does not appear in Painter or Livy) in the court scene, and I believe that Act v, Scene 1, in which this person re-appears, is Webster's also. Mr Brooke has already drawn attention to traces of his style in Act I, Scene 1: nor, I am sure, is his touch wanting in minor details elsewhere. But the revival was incomplete and hurried: the bulk of the play is Heywood's alone.

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## THE ORIGIN OF THE ENGLISH HEROIC PLAY.

It is generally recognised by competent critics that the post-Restoration drama simply continues and develops the habits of the Caroline drama. Certain allowances must be made for the exercise of new influences and for certain new theatrical conditions. French influence has been asserted and denied again and again, but I hope to show that a certain definite French influence is incontestable. Alterations in the shape of the stage, the introduction of scenery, the appearance of female actors, and the far-reaching influence of the new opera must be taken into account, but the main elements of the Heroic Play, the heroic *personae dramatis*, the love-interest, and the point of honour, are as clearly seen in the plays of Goffe or Cartwright or Carlell as in those of Orrery or Dryden. It is principally in form and in the employment of mechanical contrivances on the stage that the post-Restoration drama is original.

In both these respects it is usual to look to Davenant as the pioneer. *The Siege of Rhodes* is an important document, but its importance as an influence is questionable. It exhibits, no doubt, the earliest expression of heroic material in rhyme, but it must be noted that the verse is not mainly heroic. The couplet appears, but the staple is lyrical. It is worth while to notice, too, that Davenant was not an enthusiast for the heroic couplet, even for non-dramatic uses, and employed in his *Gondibert* the so-called heroic quatrain. It would have been a strange irony if the contemner of the couplet for its natural employment had succeeded by his example in establishing it for its least appropriate use in the drama! In spite of this, however, *The Siege of Rhodes* is interesting to us. It indicates the strong heroic tendency of the age, and in an interesting passage of the preface casts a light upon the 'Heroic Play' (perhaps the earliest use of the phrase) as a protest against the domestic comedy and tragedy of the Elizabethans.

It is not only in literature that we find this reaction against the *Bartholomew Fair* of everyday life. The societies that grouped themselves around the Duchess of Newcastle and Mrs Katherine Philips illustrate the same process. Mrs Philips, who becomes 'the matchless Orinda,' will interest us later, so she deserves our chief attention here. She and her friends seem to have created for themselves an ideal world,



based on the most lofty ideas of virtue and friendship, rejecting their everyday names and titles to become Sylvanders and Ardelias, Antenors and Lucasias. It is small wonder that, in the literature cultivated by these circles, a dramatist should claim the liberty of 'drawing all things above the ordinary proportion of the stage as that is beyond the common words and actions of human life' (Dryden, *Of Heroic Plays*). Heroic literature is simply the reflection of the endeavour to realise the Heroic ideal in actual life.

When we leave the Heroic Temper and come to the problem of form, there is less unanimity. We must all admit the necessity for the abandonment of the blank verse of Suckling and Carlell, but there is not much agreement as to the circumstances and causes of the adoption of rhyme. Mr Gosse, in his *XVIIth Century Studies*, argues for the priority of Etheredge. 'As a point of fact,' he says, 'Dryden was the first to propose, and Etheredge the first to carry out, the experiment of writing plays in rhyme.' Now Dryden's preface to *The Rival Ladies* is dated 1664, *The Comical Revenge* belongs to the same year, so we may take it that Mr Gosse dates the introduction of rhyme from 1664. Unfortunately for his argument, an essay on 'the matchless Orinda' in the same volume relates the story of the completion by the middle of October 1662, and the performance in Dublin in the following February of her rhymed translation of Corneille's *Pompée*. Writing in the *M.L.R.* of January, 1917, Mr Montague Summers speaks of the priority of Roger Boyle as having been established by quite recent research. I do not know to what research Mr Summers refers, but Orrery's claim was known to Dr Johnson. 'The practice of making tragedies in rhyme,' he says, 'was introduced soon after the Restoration, as it seems by the Earl of Orrery, in compliance with the opinion of Charles the Second, who had formed his taste by the French theatre.' There is also the evidence of Dryden's dedication of *The Rival Ladies* to the Earl of Orrery in which, though Mr Gosse seems to have missed the point in referring to it, the poet supports his argument in favour of rhyme by an appeal to his Lordship's practice.

The actual date at which Orrery began to write plays in rhyme is determined by a passage in his *State Letters* (2 vols., Dublin, 1745). He writes to the Duke of Ormonde, then Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, from Dublin, January 23, 1661/2:

May it please your grace,

When I had the honour and happiness the last time to kiss his majesty's hand, he commanded me to write a play for him. I did not scruple therein to evidence my great weakness, since thereby I did evidence the greater obedience; and

therefore, some months after, I presumed to lay at his majesty's feet a tragi-comedy, all in ten feet verse and rhyme. I writ it in that manner upon two accounts, first because I thought it was not fit a command so extraordinary should have been obeyed in a way that was common; secondly, because I found his majesty relished rather the French fashion of writing plays than the English. I had just grounds to believe; at least fear, that my play would have been thought fitter for the fire than the theatre, but his majesty's mercy having condemned it to the latter, and then giving it to be acted by Mr Killigrew's company, my old friend, Will. D'Avenant, appeared so displeased his company missed it, that nothing would reconcile me to him but to write another purposely for him. Therefore this last and this week having gotten some few hours to myself from my public duties, I dedicated those to please my particular friend, and wrote this unpolished draught of two acts....The plot is such that I wish you could but as much like the rest of the play as I flatter myself you will like that, when by the finishing of what is begun you will know it. And that your grace may have some guess at it, I will tell you here, that Acoris is Romisa in disguise...The humour of Hilar, of which your grace will see some touches in the beginning of the second act, shall be interwoven, if your grace dislike it not, in every one of the three remaining, though I despair to make my Hilar as famous on the theatre as the marquis of Urfé has made his in the romance; for besides his genius being exceedingly above mine, his Hilar was not limited to numbers and rhyme as mine is....

Writing again on February 26, we find Orrery saying 'I have presented about a fortnight since to your grace the whole play.'

It appears, then, that in February 1661/2 Orrery had written two plays in rhyme. His visit to London was extended at any rate to December 1660, as one of his letters shows, so the first play in all probability dates from 1661. In February 1662/3 Charles writes (*State Letters* as before) expressing his intention to produce the play 'as soon as my company have their new stage in order, that the scenes may be worthy the words they are to set forth.'

The King's House (the Theatre-Royal in Drury Lane) was opened on the 7th May, 1663, according to Pepys, but we have no record of the production of any play by Orrery in that year. In a letter to the King, the author speaks of the second play as superior to the first, 'the plot, humours and discourses being more proportionate to the genius of those who frequent the theatre.' *The General* is the first play by Orrery we know to have been performed at the King's house (September 28, 1664) and it was certainly a failure, being described by Pepys, in words reminiscent of the author's own, as utterly inferior 'in words, sense and design' to *Henry the Fifth*, produced by Davenant a month earlier. The identification of this with the first play is hazardous, as Orrery may conceivably have written two bad plays for Mr Killigrew. The second play is certainly lost, for there is no known play which corresponds to the description given to Ormonde, so we have a precedent for assuming the loss of the first.

Whatever the fate of these early plays, Orrery was not discouraged.

Reckoning the two lost plays we find that he contributed nine examples of the Heroic Play, and by the volume of his work, no less than by the popularity of some of it or by his personal example, exercised a great influence upon his contemporaries. The dedication of *The Rival Ladies* (1664) indicates Dryden's willingness to follow his leadership; Sir Robert Howard's preface to *Four New Plays* (1665) recognises in him the chief force in the new movement, while six years later, John Crowne dedicates to Orrery his first play, *Juliana, or the Princess of Poland* with a fulsome panegyric of *Mustapha* and *Henry the Fifth*. More convincing than the flattery of dedications is the sincere imitation in the use of rhyme. We have already alluded to Dryden's *The Rival Ladies*, to Etheredge's *The Comical Revenge* and to Mrs Philip's *Pompey*. Of these the last is the most interesting to us, being the earliest of the three and the only one entirely in rhyme. It is not without significance that this play was shown to Orrery when only one scene had been translated, that it was at his instigation that the work was completed, and that it was finally by his influence that it was produced at the Smock-Alley Theatre in Dublin in February, 1662/3.

By a curious coincidence, while Orinda was preparing her *Pompey*, another version of the same play was being made in England. One act and the original plan were due to Waller, who made a point of translating some portion of each new play by Corneille, and among his collaborators are named Sedley and Dorset. The success of Orinda's play postponed the publication of this translation, but it saw the light in 1664, over a year after the announcement that it was completed and about to appear. One feels a certain satisfaction in connecting Waller, 'an obstinate lover of rhyme to the very last,' with the rise of the Heroic Play, whose vogue he supported not only in this but in his rhymed alteration of *The Maid's Tragedy*, and a similar moral certainty with regard to Denham, who shares with him the credit for the refinement of our numbers, is vindicated by his use of rhyme in one scene of *The Sophy* as early as 1641 and by his completion of Mrs Philip's *Horace*.

In the rather pathetic figure of Lodowick Carlell the development of the Heroic Play is epitomised. In his youth an execrable botcher of blank verse, the recipient of a dedication from Thomas Dekker, and an exponent of the Heroic temper in drama, in his later years he accepts 'the troublesome bondage of rhyming.' Carlell's plays were praised by Ward and Mr C. H. Gray has edited *The Deserving Favourite*. Another American, Professor Schelling, writing in the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, assures us that Carlell's *Heraclius* met with great



success, though not equal in merit to other translations from Corneille. I do not know from what source Professor Schelling derives his opinion of the merit of the play, but even if it was not possible for him to consult the text he might have learnt from the *Biographia Dramatica* or from Genest that Carlell's play was never acted, another version by an unknown author being preferred for the performance on the 8th March, 1664. Carlell's play was printed in the same year. The references to the Duchess of Orleans and to the Queen Mother in the advertisement are especially important: 'Though my humble respects to her Royal Highness prompted me to undertake a translation in verse, because she loves plays of that kind, and is as eminent in knowledge as in dignity, yet I presume not to beg her protection; only as it took birth at Sommerset House, I hope she will not despise it from the report of others. For my most gracious Mistress whome I have so long serv'd, and in former Playes not displeas'd, I dare not address this, because my first essay of this nature.'

In these earliest rhymed plays certain features must be noticed. Orrery, speaking of rhyme, calls it the French manner, while Carlell, Waller and Orinda use rhyme in translations from Corneille. Again Orrery and Carlell adopt this manner in frank deference to the opinions and taste of the Court, Waller and Orinda because they move in the aristocratic circle of Court influence. No doubt the personal taste of the monarch, or mere imitation of the French, will not explain the vogue of rhyme, but, while we appreciate the importance of those circumstances which made the adoption of rhyme seem necessary and desirable, we must not ignore the channels by which the new form came to England.

MERVYN L. POSTON.

BELFAST.

## CAMBRIDGE FRAGMENTS OF THE ANGLO-NORMAN 'ROMAN DE HORN.'

It is gratifying to learn that we shall not have to wait much longer for a new critical edition of the Anglo-Norman *Roman de Horn*<sup>1</sup>, which has been a desideratum for many years. The material on which it will have to be based includes, besides the three well-known manuscripts of Cambridge (C), Oxford (O), and London (H), some unedited fragments copied by me long ago, the intended publication of which, delayed by adverse circumstances, appears now to be urgent. They are all in the Cambridge University Library and marked Add. 4407 and Add. 4470.

I. Add. 4407, which I propose to call F<sup>1</sup>, consists of two small fragments, measuring 41 × 165 mm. and 47 × 130 mm., of a manuscript on vellum, both cut out of the same sheet and containing altogether 21 lines. The text is in two columns, and the handwriting that of the end of the thirteenth century. The recto of the sheet originally contained 2 × 38 lines, the verso 2 × 39 lines. The recto consisted of:

- col. a: ll. 2106—2110<sup>2</sup> (preserved; fragment a)
- ll. 2111—2143 (missing)
- blank part (preserved; fragment b)
- col. b: ll. 2144—2148 (preserved; fragment a)
- ll. 2149—2181 (missing)
- blank part (preserved; fragment b).

The verso consisted of:

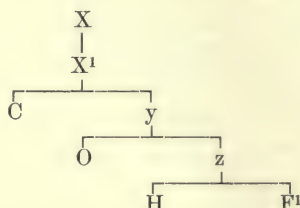
- col. a: ll. 2182—2186 (preserved; fragment a)
- ll. 2187—2219 (missing)
- l. 2220 (preserved; fragment b)
- col. b: ll. 2221—2225 (preserved; fragment a)
- ll. 2226—2258 (missing)
- l. 2259 (indistinct traces of clipped letters preserved; fragment b).

<sup>1</sup> See P. Studer, *The Study of Anglo-norman*, Oxford 1920, p. 28.

<sup>2</sup> The numbering of the lines is that of Brede and Stengel's edition (*Das anglonormannische Lied vom wackern Ritter Horn*) in Stengel's *Ausgaben und Abhandlungen*, viii, Marburg, 1883.

## 24 Cambridge Fragments of Anglo-Norman 'Roman de Horn

F<sup>1</sup> has not been the basis of COH, for it has some lines which are too short or too long, while they are correct in COH: see ll. 2107 (- 2), 2110 (- 2), 2223 (+ 1). On the other hand F<sup>1</sup> is not derived either (1) from C, see ll. 2186, 2221, also 2183, or (2) from O, see ll. 2106, 2184 (O: - 1), or (3) from H, see ll. 2106 (H: + 2), 2146 (H: - 1), 2186, 2223 (H: - 2). While F<sup>1</sup> has no mistakes in common with C or O or CO or CH, it has with H: see ll. 2106 (*ore* for *or*), 2220 (*ches* for *esches*), and with OH: see l. 2182 (*ariuez* for *ariue*). Hence we get the following stemma<sup>1</sup>:



It follows that readings which F<sup>1</sup> and C have in common presumably occurred in X<sup>1</sup>; such as F<sup>1</sup> and O have in common may be derived from X<sup>1</sup> or only from y and must be carefully weighed against readings of C; such as F<sup>1</sup> has in common with CO or with CH presumably occurred in z, y, and X<sup>1</sup> and have therefore a high claim to consideration; such as F<sup>1</sup> has in common with OH probably go back to y, but not necessarily to X<sup>1</sup>; readings which F<sup>1</sup> has in common with H against CO are to be rejected, as they probably only go back to z.

In the following text of F<sup>1</sup> (a) and (b) the letters printed in square brackets are indistinct.

### FRAGMENT a.

r <sup>o</sup> ]	[e] <i>pus sil harez tant cum ore lestes amant.</i>	2106
col. a.	<i>a tant sen est munted al alferant.</i>	
	<i>e nuers la mer trestut dreit fud sun chemin tenant.</i>	
	<i>en tur lui sunt uenu trestuit si bien uoillant.</i>	
	<i>Qui de Suddene uindrent el chalant.</i>	2110
col. b.	<i>Sire dist li esturman ne vus iert pas cele.</i>	2144
	<i>Vers Westir uoil aler qui est regne loe.</i>	2145
	<i>l amaint un riche rei qui Gudreche est nume.</i>	
	<i>d ous fiz ad cheualers de mult grant large.</i>	
	<i>c heualers qui la uunt bien isunt soldeie.</i>	

<sup>1</sup> See below, p. 26, and J. Vising, *Studier i den franska romanen om Horn*, I, Göteborg, 1903, pp. 4 ff.



v°]	Quant sunt ariuez issent fors al terral.	2182
col. a.	.H. sen <i>est</i> eisuz al nobile caral.	
	<b>B</b> [uer] fud hyrlande. fu lors Westir numee.	
	V la nef ariuad qui .H. out aportee.	2185
	I l eissid as premiers facun out bien mollee	
col. b.	e nuers qui sen preist nul ueintre nel purroit.	2221
	e ntritant .H. li proz tut lur chemin teneit.	
	S is cheuals iert mult beals de suz luj grant brut feseit.	
	e il iert bien a[rmez lescus] bien li seeit.	
	B ien senblout cheualer. v hom fier sei deueit.	2225

v<sup>o</sup>]                                  FRAGMENT b.

col. a. laltre juout as ches q [tu hom] 2220

II. Add. 4470. Two fragments of another manuscript on vellum, handwriting of the early part of the fourteenth century, which I propose to call F<sup>2</sup> a and b. They were used as fly-leaves for the binding of a printed book, which was bought for the Cambridge University Library by the librarian, Mr F. J. H. Jenkinson (who kindly called my attention to it), at Sotheby's Miscellaneous Sale, June 15, 1897. The Catalogue of the sale describes the book as follows :

259. Dionysius Carthus. Quattuor Novissima. Delft, 1487.—Dathus (Aug.) de variis loquendi figuris [part of an unknown book] Antwerp per me Matthiam Goes, s. a. 4to. Contemporary oak boards, stamped leather.

\*\*\* Four leaves of an ancient Romance in barbarous French used as fly-leaves.

The four fly-leaves (eight pages) contain in single columns

- (1) on recto 34 lines (4944—4980)  
on verso 32 lines (4981—5013)
- (2) on recto 32 lines (5014—5047)  
on verso 34 lines (5048—5082)
- (3) on recto 33 lines (5149—5180)  
on verso 34 lines (5181—5213)
- (4) on recto 34 lines (5214—5245)  
on verso 5 lines (5246—5249)

Total 238 lines.

The missing sheet between 2 and 3 contained 66 lines (ll. 5083—5148).

At the beginning of a new *laisse* room is left for an initial to be painted by the rubricator; the letters which were to be inserted are faintly traced by the scribe.

The fragments begin at that point of the romance where Horn, after

avenging the death of his father and reconquering his realm, meets his mother who had been hiding in a cavern. In the following night he dreams that Rigmel is threatened by Wikle, and he prepares to go to her rescue. Then the poet relates Wikle's treason, which is disapproved by his brother. Wikle decides to murder him, but his brother flees and goes to Hunlaf, to whom he tells Wikle's designs. Here the first fragment ends. At the beginning of the second fragment, while Wikle sits at the wedding banquet with Rigmel, his brother hastens to the strand anxious to hear news of Horn. Horn is just arriving, and informed by Wikle's brother of Rigmel's desperate plight, he sets out with his faithful ones disguised as jongleurs. They ask to be admitted to the palace and then take by surprise and kill Wikle and his men.

A comparison of F<sup>2</sup> with O, the only other manuscript in which the concluding portion of the romance is preserved, shows that neither was derived from the other, but that they both go back to a faulty copy (X<sup>1</sup>) of the original (X). That O is not, directly or indirectly, a copy of F<sup>2</sup> is proved by the following facts. Lines which seem to be required by the context are omitted in F<sup>2</sup>, but not in O: 5043, 5078 (the non-occurrence in F<sup>2</sup> of ll. 4985, 5017, 5250, is no conclusive evidence, as these lines may possibly be additions made by the scribe of O). In other cases two or three lines, which are complete in O, have been contracted into one in F<sup>2</sup>, the scribe's eye having obviously wandered from a word in the first line to the same word in the following or second following line: ll. 4959, 4961; 4970, 4971; 5035, 5036; 5203, 5204. Twice the proper order of lines, while preserved in O, is reversed in F<sup>2</sup>: ll. 5037—5039 and 5052—5054. Also the metre of certain lines is wrong in F<sup>2</sup>, but correct in O: 4951 (— 1), 4952 (+ 2), 4958 (+ 1), 4965 (+ 1), 4975 (bad *cæsura*), 4981 (+ 1), 4982 (— 1), 4990 (+ 1), 5011 (— 1), 5019 (+ 1), etc.

Similar facts show that O, though written by a more careful scribe than F<sup>2</sup>, was not, directly or indirectly, copied by the latter. Necessary lines or parts of lines which are preserved in F<sup>2</sup> are omitted in O: see especially ll. 5171 b, 5233 b, 5243 (ll. 5045 b, 5181 b, 5192 b may be additions made by the scribe of F<sup>2</sup>). There are also lines metrically wrong in O, but correct in F<sup>2</sup>: 4948 (— 1), 4983 (+ 1), 4986 (+ 1), 4991 (+ 1), 5005 (+ 1), 5013 (— 1), 5019 (+ 1), 5020 (— 1), etc.

That both O and F<sup>2</sup> go back to a copy (X<sup>1</sup>) which was not the autograph (see above, p. 24), seems to be confirmed by l. 5196, where both have the probably erroneous reading *le* instead of *se*.

The four sheets of F<sup>2</sup> have not belonged to either of the now incomplete manuscripts C and H, for while F<sup>2</sup> has 32—34 lines to a page,

C has only 24 (see the fac-simile in Brede and Stengel's edition), and H 46 (see e.g. folio 60 on pp. 78 ff. of the same edition).

In the following text only one form of *r* is used, while the scribe uses two: generally (and especially after *o*, *d*, *b*, *p*) the form *r*, less frequently the form *r*. He practically always uses the long form of *s* (*f*); the short form occurs only once (in l. 5187: *palais*). The contraction *o* has been expanded into *com* or *con*: there seemed to be no reason to abandon the usual value of the contraction, as the closed *o* sound is expressed in F<sup>2</sup> by *o* as well as by *u*, cf. *couent* l. 5059, *conust* l. 5151, *commence* l. 5218, *cosin* l. 5228, by the side of *cunut* l. 4947, *cum* l. 4955 etc., *cunquis* l. 5015, *cumpaignuns* l. 5174. The contraction *p* has been expanded into *per* in *peril* l. 4986, *perir* l. 5156, *empereur* l. 5192, otherwise into *par* (e.g. *part* l. 4973, *aparceit* l. 4976, *partut* l. 5010, *pardunement* l. 5058, *esparnement* l. 5210).

Even at the time when F<sup>2</sup> was written, there was a hole in the parchment of the second sheet, which divides the text of ll. 5026—5029 and 5059—5063 at the places indicated by the sign ||<sup>1</sup>.

1 r <sup>o</sup> ]	<i>Par</i> mi tut ce <i>que</i> ele ert pourement <i>conree</i> .	4944
	Dan hardre la vit ben si lad mult auisee.	
	Ces clers oiz esun vis esa buche ad notee.	
	Ben cunut <i>que</i> ce ert sa damee lonure.	
	<i>Pus est</i> venu a horn dit li ad en celee.	
	<i>Vostre</i> mere uei la <i>que</i> auez ci amenee.	
	Ce est swanburc la gentil ma dame la loe.	4950
	Ne sai dampnedeu la <i>nus</i> ad si tensee.	
	Mes ore pensez veer <i>que</i> ele seit ben <i>conseille</i> .	
	Horn sailli sus enpez <i>vers</i> li <i>curt</i> randunee.	
	Sil enbraca <i>vers</i> lui e cent feit lad baisee.	
	Sil lad tantost <i>cum</i> pot en la chambre guie.	4955
	V ele fu noblement custee ebaignee.	
	E apres fu de dras haltement acesmee.	
	E ala feste fu <i>pus</i> noblement celebree.	
	Tut <i>pur</i> lamur delui la valdur esforce.	4959, 4961
	Quant ele fu asa dame en la chambre assenble.	4962
	La feste ad este grant tute ior aiornee.	
	Tresque la <i>que</i> vint la nuit apres la vespre.	
	Lores sen vnt tuz cucher <i>pur</i> fere reposee.	4965

<sup>1</sup> As F<sup>2</sup> is temporarily at the Bodleian Library, Oxford, I was not able, as I should have wished, to collate several lines of my copy, which I suspected. Miss M. K. Pope has very kindly done so for me.



E la reyne en vait en sa chambre *est* cucheë.

E li reis ensement od sa noble maisnee.

q uant la mienuit vint *que* li reis sendormeit.

Si vit vn auisiun dunt forment se cremeit.

Quil ert sur vn flum bele Rimel ueeit. 4970, 4971

Es granz vndes bruianz tresqual mentun tut dreit. 4972

Wikele ert del altre part qui naier la voleit.

Vne furke defer ensa main si teneit.

Dunt la butout enz si cum ele sen isseit. 4975

E en grant angoisse ert mult quant ille aparceit.

Si li criout enhalt e amult grant espleit.

Sil tost ne la saisast quil le compareit.

Cil ne laisseit pur ce plus mal li feseit.

Mult ert forment dolent quant aider ne poeit. 4980

1 v°] Lores trouout vn batel v il enz se metteit.

Equant ovtre ert venuz esil sen fueit.

Pur le doel quil out grant apres fort lensiwait.

E quant il out ataint la teste li toleit. 4984

Eissi bele Rimer de peril garrisseit. 4986

E ali pur cel plai grant merci len rendeit.

p vr le sunge ki ert gref li reis sen esueilla.

Tant en fu effree *que* pur veir le quida.

Il se seait sur sun lit e entur sei garda. 4990

Mes il bele Rimer ne wikele ni troua.

Dunt sout *que* ert auisiun qui en dormant veu a.

Qui giseit deuant lui haderof apela.

E sun sunge trestut cum il fu lui conta.

Equant il out oi si sen esmerueilla. 4995

Pus respondi issi si deu plest bien irra.

Mes de wikele succrem quil alquone rien fra

Vers madame Rime dunt ele se maira.

Par ma fei dist li reis mult crei ben *que* si va.

Apres dit *que* tresque ert iur quil se apresterà. 5000

E as neff trestut dreit od sa gent en irra.

Kar Rimel uolt veer iaplus ne targera.

En la garde hardre sun regne si larra.

Entretant *que* il vienge sa mere enseruira.

Kar asun repaireir Rimer en amerra. 5005

Haderof quant lout oi tuz ses diz ben loa.

Vne ni out plus dormi de ci quil aiorna.

	Tresque il uirent le iur li reis horn se leua.	
	E al palais halcur ses baruns assembla.	
	t      Resque partut li iur eli reis fu leue.	5010
	Dunt sunt libarun el paleis assemble.	
	E li reis lur ad tut descouert sun pense.	
	Trestut entel semblant cum vus ert ia mustre.	
2 r <sup>o</sup> ]	Seignurs ce dit li reis deus nus seit aoure.	
	Par laie deus ai cunquis mun regne.	5015
	A ceus qui munt serui ai mes terres done.	5016
	Par le men escient ne dei estre blasme.	5018
	Des ore mest ben auis que mult ai suiurne.	
	Si reuoil or errer ce est ma volente.	5020
	Pur Rimer amener ia nert plus targe.	
	Mun pais gardera entritant dan hardre.	
	Ema mere swanburc seruira asun gre.	
	Seignurs venez od mei pur la mei amiste.	
	Ne sai que en conterai vers plusurs sui fae.	5025
	Ne ne sai ben    de ci cum hunlaf ert troue.	
	Kar quers ch  argent suuent quant gent sunt esloyne.	
	Pur ce est    demener od sei bel barne.	
	Quil ad    tel cum iol ai issi alose.	
	Si trouuns el pais par trestut seurte.	5030
	E nus le prendrun ben si en ert deu loe.	
	E si nus trouunt el si seit sempres venge.	
	Or en alun as nefs ia nert mes tresturne.	
	E ore iparra seignurs cum vus mavez ame.	5034
	Sire ce dient tuz ia nert commande.	5035, 5036
	Issi ad li reis horn fait sun aprestement.	5037
	Or le conduiez deu li rei omnipotent.	5039
	En ses nefs est entre ored ad ebon vent.	5038
	Quil ad fait de wikele redirrun enpresent.	5040
	Kar nen fet aceler le soen contenment	
	Cum il vers sun seigneur ad erre folement	5042
	Qui ren ne li custa sil despent largement	5044
	Vn chastel ad ia fait bel efort durement }	
	En vn fort liu lad fet depere edecement. }	5045
	De partut iad trait mult grant garnissement.	5046
	Cum de vin ede char de fore e de forment.	
2 v <sup>o</sup> ]	Cheualers retent mult eserianz ensement.	
	Kar il volt ahunlaf senz sun otriment.	

	Tut parforce tolir Rimel od le cors gent.	5050
	Si la prendra aper ce ert sun purposement.	
	Mes vn frere quil out en erra lealment.	5052
	Sen aparceit quil voleit errer folement.	5054
	Wycohter aueit nun en sun baptemement.	5053
	A lui vint si lui fist issi chastiment.	5055
	Que feiz desue as tu mis en vbliement.	
	Que feis ahunlaf le grant encusement.	
	Dunt horn par sa bunte vus fist pardunement.	
	Simes forseiz vers lui ben    ensez le couent.	
	Nel te pardurra mes ne    deit fere nent.	5060
	Mal lendeit auener qui vers    sun seignur prent.	
	Sifais qui as enpense tu mur  ras veriemment.	
	E ce abon dreit iel sai a    escient.	
	Treitre ert e felun si ie vus icest consent.	
	Quant wykele oust cest oi purpoi de dol ne fent.	5065
	Jamais le ne serra sil nen ad vengement.	
	La nuit murdrir le fra ce ad enpensement.	
	Que ne sache hom mot ce est sun entendement.	
	m Ais sil par sun senblant sen aparcut asez.	
	Asun ostel ala tresque fu auesprez.	5070
	Coiment est mult bien deses armes armez.	
	Sur le destrer meillur quil aueit est muntez.	
	Par la posterne eissi qui esteit vers les prez.	
	Vnc hom nel aparcut qui de mere fu nez.	
	Issi est del felun cum deu volt eschapez.	5075
	Tute nuit ad erre vnc sis cors nest finez.	
	Tresquil vint la ov mist reis hunlaf lonurez.	5077
	V esteit dunc li reis ases consels priuez.	5079
	Ilad trait vne part des autres esloignez.	5080
	Mande ifu Rimel od ses grandes bealtez.	
	Quant ele ivint dit lur fu emustrez.	
3 r <sup>o</sup> ]	Sila put dehorn rien nuueleR.	5149
	E quant est la venuz uit la flote sigleR.	5150
	Ben conust parles trefs que ce ert horn libeR.	
	Il ne sunt gueres loinz pres sunt del ariueR.	
	Nen sen pot abstenir epur els plus hasteR.	
	Sest il mis enz anod kar ille volt encontreR.	
	Si se haste vers horn pur lui noueles conter.	5155
	Ne crent de perir tant se fiet el destreR.	



- E quant hom lout veu fait sa barge geter.  
 E si ad dit as sons cist hoem ad grant mester.  
 Je irrai ia *contre* lui noueles demandeR.  
 E sil ad nul bosoing si lui voldrai aideR. 5160  
 Atant gettent batels *partut* li marineR.  
 E *vers* terre sen wnt *cum* plus poent nageR.  
 Celui cuillent acels *pres* ert del *perille*R.  
 Mes quant il fu enz *trait* ni donast vn deneR.  
 Ainz ad horn mustre elemal *elencomb*reR. 5165  
*Que* sis freres ad fait aRimer alvis cleR.  
 Si li prie *pur* deu quil sen auge tost vengeR.  
 Quil le trouera ia seant asun mangeR.  
 V il se fait seruir de *piement* ede vin cleR.  
 E dan horn li respunt vnout *que* curuceR. 5170  
 Certes ie serrai ia si ie *pus* sun iugleR. 5171  
 Vn lai bretun li frai od mespee de asieR.  
 n ert pasla cite loin *vhunlaf* ert al iuR. 5172  
 horn iuolt aler tut ape acel tuR.  
 Cumpaignuns amenad cent qui mult sunt de valuR.  
 Harpes portent asquanz vieles li plusuR. 5175  
 Ce volt li sire horn quil senblent iugleuR.  
 Halbercs vnt forz vestuz dunt clere *est* laluur.  
 Si vnt les chapes desus dediuerse coluR.  
 Les bons branz ceinz aslez *cum* vassal deredduR.  
 Ja la grant ieie wykele *turnerunt* adoluR. 5180  
 3 v°] Elur chant *que* refunt finerunt entristuR. 5181  
 Ben se vengera horn desun mal *traitu*R.  
 De Rimer edelui quil volt *partir* lamuR. 5182  
 Issi deit auener tut dis aboiseuR.  
 Kar vnc ben ne fina qui *tricha* sun seignuR.  
 Encestui *purrez* ben estre espermentur. 5185  
 Els venent al porter prient *liparduc*ur.  
 Quil les lait entrer enz el palais halcuR.  
 Si ert *par* nostre deduit li seruice forceuR.  
 Asquanz seuent de harpes asquanz sunt bon retuR.  
 Tels iad qui de chant sunt si bon chanteuR. 5190  
 Ja quis orra chanter ne se tendra depluR.  
 Par fei dit li porters teus nad li empereuR. 5192  
 Sus cel nad nobles hoem qui de teus nait honur.  
 Or entrez beu seignur plus nert *contredit*ur. 5193

	m es idunc entra horn eli soen baldement.	
	Qui awykele e as soens fra itel present.	5195
	Dunt le tendrunt tut mat curecus edolent	
	Vnc asnoces nout nul peior iuglement.	
	El palais sunt entrez venent elpauement.	
	Veient wikele seer al plus halt mandement.	
	Juste lui bele Rimer qui face cler resplent.	5200
	Lores sen marrist dan horn ecel irusement.	
	Les chapes sachent tost qui lur funt musement.	5202
	Par laire sunt chaet quel part nul dels cure neprent.	5203, 5204
	Es halbercs sunt remis trait sunt librant trenchant.	5205
	Par ces tables vunt seruent els malement.	
	Tut de el que de bons mes ne mestre piement.	
	Kar nul ni est ataint quil ne fet sanglent.	
	Que par wykele sewt ne qui seit desa gent.	
	Mes lagent hunlaf cil vnt esparnement.	5210
	Ehorn veit vers wykele manacant forment.	
	Tel lidona el chef que trestut le purfent.	
	Pus le fait fors sacher cum mastin pullent.	
4 r°]	Eprendre aquarefurs que seit esgardement.	
	Sulunc que aserui sun seruise lui rent.	5215
	q vis del traitur est la sale voidee.	
	Ad reis horn deses nefs sa gent tute mande.	
	Equant il sunt venuz lafeste est comence.	
	Qui tuz les quinze iurs noblement ad duree.	
	Mustre lad ahunlaf cum lachose est alee.	5220
	Cum il ad vassalment sa terre purchacee.	
	Ecum il ad depaens sa guere finee.	5222
	Ela ioe quil out desa mere trouee.	
	De quanquil out fait ne li fu chose celee.	5223
	Pus la feste sen wnt chascun ensacontree.	
	Ni ad vn qui nen ait de horn riche soldee.	5225
	E apres ad Rimer asun pere laisse.	
	E il ad en westir lores sa veie turnee.	
	A sun cosin modun qui est rei definee.	
	Ad il bele lenburc par richesce donee.	
	El laltre ad sis compaignuns haderof espuse.	5230
	Od sa terre trestute quil li fu otrie.	
	De gudrike le rei qui sa vie ad mue.	
	Pus que la chose fud tute si pur alee.	5233

- Enbretayne revint aRimer lonure.  
 E iloc suiurna tant *cum* li agree. 5234  
 e Ntritant desuiur *cum* il la suiurna. 5235  
 Le vaillant hadermod de Rimer engendra.  
 Qui aufrike *conquist* equi *pus* iregna.  
 E qui tuz ses parenz de paens iuenga.  
 De proesse ede sens trestuz les utreia.  
 Cum sil *purra* mustrer qui lestorie saura. 5240  
 Icest leeis amun fiz willemot quil dirra.  
 Qui la rime apres mei sai *ben que* entrouera.  
 Kar troueur ert bon de mei ce retendra.  
 Ore reuenuns ahorn diuns *cum* il sen ala.  
 En sudeine lagrant sa muiller en mena. 5245  
 4 v°] E mult grant tens od lui bone vie mena.  
 Tant *que* richesse grant la savie fina.  
 Or endeit auant qui lestorie saura.  
 Thomas nen dirra *plus* tu autem chantera. 5249  
 Issi finist dehorn. AmeN.

On the margins of the pages of F<sup>2</sup> single words and sentences of no importance are scribbled by various hands and drawings of leaves and ornaments sketched. On 2 r<sup>o</sup> we find the note : *pertinet iste liber vni Rudbignorum*. On 2 v<sup>o</sup> the following two hexameters are written :

S R *preposita*, vox nulla latina sonabit.  
 Israel s re sonat ; *quia* dictio barbara, stabit.

At the end the following riddle has been scribbled :

Freit est de yuer l'oree.  
 Vn diuinail vos ert mustre.  
 En yuer quant l'oree chaunge,  
 Vne uerge cress estraunge,  
 Verge sanz verdour,  
 Sanz foil *et* sanz four ('branch').  
 Quant vendra l'este,  
 La uerge donc n'ert troue.

Red yat redeles, red uihat it my be ; c'est vn esclarcil (perhaps : icicel ?) en engleys.

E. G. W. BRAUNHOLTZ.

CAMBRIDGE.



## AN ANGLO-NORMAN POEM BY EDWARD II, KING OF ENGLAND.

EDWARD II is one of the most pathetic figures in English history. The tragedy of his downfall has thrown into relief his checkered and inglorious career. But it has also awakened the sympathy of posterity with a man unfitted by training and temperament to wield the destinies of a kingdom. His utter failure in strategy and statecraft, his lamentable lack of tact and common sense have been duly emphasized. On the other hand, his love of sport and his devotion to his friends have not been overlooked. But too little has been made of one of his redeeming points, his taste for art and music. It is true, a man may be endowed with poetic genius and none the less turn out to be a very bad king. His talent does not relieve him from the grave responsibilities he has incurred, it does not absolve him from incompetence, and less still from weakness and cowardice. But it kindles in our hearts a keen sense of grief that such a man was placed by fate in a position for which he was so utterly unsuited.

Edward II valued more highly a skilful fiddler than an able minister of state. He forsook his peers and revelled in the society of minstrels, strolling players and other men of low repute. He soon acquired their vices of gambling and hard drinking. But, on the other hand, he shared their enthusiasm for the lighter forms of art, and took some pains to make himself proficient in music and verse. All this has long been common knowledge, but little opportunity has hitherto been afforded us to test the merit of his achievements. This is not very surprising. The songs with which the king and his boon companions heightened their mirth, or dispelled the gloom of a cheerless reality, were doubtless never committed to writing. Both words and melodies perished with their authors, not leaving behind them even a lingering echo. Indeed it is almost a miracle that of the songs composed by Edward II one at least should have been preserved. It is a song of sorrow, the last probably he ever sang; and he must have sung it with a heavy heart.

Fabyan, in his *New Chronicles of England and France*<sup>1</sup>, after relating the circumstances of the deposition of the king, adds:

<sup>1</sup> Ed. H. Ellis, 1811, pp. 430-32.

Than Edwarde thus remaynyng in pryson as fyrste in the castell of Kenelworth, and after in the castell of Barkle, took great repentaunce of his former lyfe, and made a lamentable complaynt for that he hadde so greuously offendyd God; whereof a parte I have after sette out but not all, leste it shulde be tedyous to the reders or herers.

Dampnum mihi contulit tempore brumali  
Fortuna satis aspera vehementis mali.  
Nullus est tam sapiens, mitis, aut formosus,  
Tam prudens virtutibus, ceterisque famosus,  
Quin stultus reputabitur et satis dispectus  
Si fortuna prosperos avertat effectus.

Theyse, with many other after the same makynge, I have seen, which are reportyd to be of his owne makynge in the tyme of his enprysonement; the whiche, for lengthe of tyme, I have lefte out of this werke, and shewed the effecte of them in Englysshe, as folowyth.

Whan Saturne with his colde isy face  
The grounde with his frostys turneth the grene to whyte,  
The tyme of wynter which trees doth deface  
And caüsyth all verdure to a voyde quite:  
Than fortune, whiche sharpe was with stormys not alyte,  
Hath me assautyd with hir frowarde wyll,  
And me beclypped with daungeours right yll.

What man in this worlde is so wyse or fayre,  
So prudent, so vertuose, or famous under thayre,  
But that for a foole, and for a man despyed,  
Shalbe take, whan fortune is from hym devyded?

Alas now I crye, but no man doth me moone,  
For I sue to them that pytye of me have noone.  
Many with great honours I dyd whylom advaunce,  
That nowe with dyshonoure doon me styng and launce;  
And such as some tyme dyd me greatly feere,  
Me dyspyse and let not with sclaunder me to deere.

O mercyfull God, what love they dyd me shewe!  
And with<sup>1</sup> detraccion they do me hacke and hewe.  
Alas, moste synfull wretche, why shulde I thus complayne,  
If God be pleasyd that I shulde thus<sup>2</sup> susteyne  
For the great offence before by me doone?  
Wherefore to the good Lorde I wyll retourne efte soone,  
And hooly commytte me thy great mercy untill,  
And take in pacyence all that may be thy wyll;  
And all onely the serve with all dylgence.  
Alas! that before this tyme I had not that cence.  
But nowe good Lorde, which arte omnypotent,  
Beholde me mooste wretchyd and greatly penytent;  
And of my trespase forgyvenes thou me graunt,  
And by what sorowe my carkes is now daunt,  
Graunt it may be to my sowe remedy,  
That the sooner I may attayne<sup>3</sup> it by:  
For to the swete Jhesu I yelde my<sup>4</sup> sore wepyng,  
As aske of the pardon for my grevouse synnyng.

Most blessyd Jhesu  
Roote of all vertue,  
Graunt I may the sue  
In all humylyte;

<sup>1</sup> MS. Now with.

<sup>2</sup> MS. this.

<sup>3</sup> MS. thy grace atteyn.

<sup>4</sup> MS. me.

Sen thou for our good  
 Lyste to shede thy blood,  
 And stretche the upon the rood  
 For our inquite.

And thou moost mylde mother and vyrgyn most pure,  
 That barest swete Jhesu, the worldys redempture,  
 That shynyst and florysshed as flowre moost sure ;  
 And lyke as nardus of his swete odoure,  
 Passyth all other, so thou in all honoure,  
 Surmountys all sayntis, by thy great excellence,  
 Wherefore to praye for my grevousse offence<sup>1</sup>.

I the beseche,  
 Moost holsome leche,  
 That thou wylte seche,  
 For me suche grace.

That<sup>2</sup> my body vyle  
 My sowle shall exyle,  
 Thou brynge in short whyle  
 It in rest and solace.

Fabyan's account is disappointing. Not a word is said about the document in which the song was preserved. We are not even told in what language it was written. From the chronicler's ambiguous wording we might almost infer that Edward wrote it in Latin, if we did not know from other sources that he was so ignorant of that language, that at his coronation he had to take his oath in the French form. Fabyan purposes to give an English version of part of the king's poem, but he fails to grasp the meaning of certain passages, and where he understands aright, he drowns the author's simple style in flowery and pedantic language. It is fortunate for the king and for Anglo-Norman poetry that his literary reputation does not rest solely on the evidence of this translation.

The Anglo-Norman original has been preserved in a unique MS. of the Longleat Collection. For the purpose of this edition Lord Bath, the present owner, very generously placed the MS. at my disposal. I take this opportunity to express to him my sincere gratitude. The MS. is mentioned in the *Historical MSS. Commission Report*, vol. III, p. 180, but the account given of it is so inaccurate that a fresh description will not be superfluous<sup>3</sup>. It is usually referred to under the title of *Tractatus varii Theologici saec. XIII et XIV*, and consists of a bound volume, octavo size, containing 170 folios of vellum. The handwriting belongs clearly to two different periods. The Latin texts which make up the bulk of the volume are in an early thirteenth century hand, while

<sup>1</sup> These seven lines are omitted in edit. 1542.

<sup>2</sup> that when, edit. 1533, 1542, 1559.

<sup>3</sup> In the *Report* all the Latin items are wrongly described and I suspect that the accounts of various MSS. have been confused.



the French texts have been added on blank pages and in margins during the first half of the fourteenth century, certainly not later than 1350. The following are the principal items :

Fol. 1 is torn in half from top to bottom. The recto is blank ; the verso contains *Anglo-Norman Proverbs*, those near the bottom of the page alone being complete : e.g. 'Il valdroit plus de refuser que d'estre refusé. Celuy fait malement qe prent le repas de un jour qe li fra perdre cent, etc.' These proverbs are continued at the foot of the next folio.

Fol. 2 r°. A *Latin Homily* : 'Dilectus meus misit manum suam per fenestram ac ventū<sup>1</sup> meus conturbatur quia adtactum eius Bonum est...'

Fol. 6 r°. An *Anglo-Norman Lapidary* : 'Coment hom deit conustre peres precioses.' This will be included in the edition of A.-N. Lapidaries which I am preparing in collaboration with Miss J. Evans.

Fol. 9 r°. A *Latin Homily* : 'Nichil amarius peccato et si quidam videantur dulcia in primis. Unde Salomon in novissimis felle amarius invenies peccatum...'

Fol. 21 v° at the bottom of the page and in the margin, an *Anglo-Norman Dialogue on the Ages of Man* : 'Ore agardetz danz vayllards | Jolité de ceste part, etc.' (36 lines).

Fol. 33 r°. A Latin treatise entitled *Brevis Hortulus*, chiefly in prose, but fols. 36 v° to 40 r° are in verse. It consists of 81 chapters. Chap. I begins, '[V]idetur in deum cadere necessitas rerum faciendarum...' The explicit after the table of contents [fol. 33 v°] runs as follows : 'Explicit libellus qui potest dici Brevis Hortulus eo quod breviter in eo tamquam in ortulo fructus dulces excerptantur.'

Fol. 41 r°. A Latin treatise entitled *Speculum [de Mysteriis] Ecclesiae*. 'De sacramentis ecclesiasticis ut tractarem...' (cf. Migne, *Patrolog.* vol. 177, pp. 335 sq.).

Fol. 57 r°. A Latin treatise entitled *De Compunctione Cordis*. 'Cum te intueor Beate Demetri frequenter insistentem mihi et omni cum vehementia exigentem de cordis compunctione sermonem admiror valde...'

Fol. 76 v°. An *Anglo-Norman poem by King Edward II*.

Fol. 77 v°. *Chastel de leal amour*, an Anglo-Norman poem of 75 lines, beginning : 'Du chastel d'amurs vus demaund | Qele est luy primere foundement | D'amer lealment...' There are at least four other MSS. of this poem which shows the obvious influence of the *Roman de la Rose* (cf. P. Meyer, *Bull. Soc. d. anc. textes fr.* 1875, pp. 26, 30, and *Romania* XIII, p. 503).

Fols. 78 v° and 79 r°. Blank.

<sup>1</sup> *Vulgate, Cant. v. 4* : 'per foramen et venter meus intremuit ad tactum ejus.'

Fol. 79 v°. *De la Diffinission de Amur*, in A.-N. prose, beginning: 'Amur est seigneur de lui mesmes E ne est al comandement de nuly ne al priere ne al conseil de nuly...'

Fol. 80 r°. *Verba domini ad Abbatem*, a collection of Latin sermons beginning: 'Egredere de terra et de cognitione (= cognatione) et de domo patris tui et valde (= vade ?) ad terram quam monstravero tibi<sup>1</sup>...'

Fol. 143 r°. A *Latin Treatise* beginning: 'Triplex est divine scripture cognitio secundum historiam, allegoriam, et tropologiam. Historia est res gesta...'

Fol. 156 r°. *Salomon in proverbiiis*, Latin version of proverbs ascribed to Salomon, 'Aqua frigida anime sitienti nuncius bonus de longinqua terra. Omnes prelati ecclesie tam superiores quam inferiores...'

Fol. 170 is a fragment out of a service book bound up with the present volume. It tells the life of some Saint and refers to the burial of Abbess Sexburgh, the wife of Earconbert 'rex cantuariorum,' whose sepulchre was found at Grantacester.

The poem of Edward II occupies folios 76 v° and 77 r°. It is written in double columns and from the nature of the handwriting it would seem to have been transcribed before 1350. Nevertheless it is not possible to assume that we have it in the king's own hand. There are unmistakable indications that the version in the Longleat MS. is the copy of a scribe and not an autograph. The rubric alone makes this sufficiently clear. But whoever the scribe may have been, he was a contemporary of the king, and his testimony, even though it be not absolutely conclusive, must at all events be accepted as strong evidence in favour of royal authorship. Professor Tout has suggested to me that the poem may have been written by one of the king's friends and utilised in the active propaganda which was carried on—apparently with a considerable amount of success<sup>2</sup>—to arouse popular sympathy with the deposed monarch and facilitate his restoration. But however plausible such an explanation might seem, it is not borne out by internal evidence. The tone of the poem, the line of arguments, the touches of deep personal feeling unmistakably stamp the work as genuine.

It bears obvious signs of Provençal influence. In form and style it has all the characteristics of the *canço*. It opens with a reference to the season of the year, and ends with an *envoy*. After the fashion of

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xii, 1: 'et veni in terram quam monstrabo tibi.'

<sup>2</sup> For a detailed account of the activities of the king's sympathisers, the reader is referred to Professor Tout's monograph on *The Captivity and Death of Edward of Carnarvon*, Manchester University Press, 1920. Appendix II contains an interesting note on the poem.

troubadours, the poet addresses his song to a lady<sup>1</sup> whose real name he conceals under the *senhal* of 'La Bise,' i.e. 'The Doe.' If due allowance is made for the uncertainty of scansion in later Anglo-Norman poetry, the versification is very regular. All the stanzas are built on a uniform pattern and run on two rhymes each, and these rhymes are much purer than those of contemporary Anglo-Norman works. It is true that we find -é rhyming with -ié, e.g. *esprové* : *preysé* (= *prisie*) 4 : 6, *encumbrier* (= *encumbrier*) : *pener* 14 : 16. On the other hand original *ei* is always written *oi* and rhymes with itself or with etymological *oi* (cf. stanzas iv and viii), the only exception being *merci* : *otroy* 38 : 40, where -*oi* appears to rhyme with -*i*; or should we read *otry*? As one might expect, the number of syllables is not constant, at least if judged by continental canons. The bulk of the verses are octosyllabic, but lines varying from six to ten syllables are also found, and some of them at least can hardly be the result of faulty transcription. In other respects, however, the poem compares favourably with the fourteenth century products of Northern France. It is free from their mannerism and artifice, and possesses a directness of speech and an accent of deep sincerity which they seldom exhibit.

In the time of Edward II Provençal literature had passed the zenith of its splendour. In fact the exuberant growth of troubadour poetry showed signs of decay even before the crusade of Simon de Montfort ruined its haunts and chilled its inspiration. But before the work of destruction was complete, the poetic leaven of Provence had permeated Western Europe, and called into existence the lyric vein of Italy and Spain, of Northern France and England. Ever since the days of Queen Eleanor troubadours found appreciative audiences among the Normans settled in this country, and counted among their disciples kings and princes. In his devotion to poetry Edward II continued the traditions set up by his illustrious predecessor Richard Cœur-de-lion and those which his mother<sup>2</sup> brought from Castile, where Provençal art had found a second home. The king's song is a rare and valuable specimen of Anglo-Norman lyric poetry. In addition it possesses artistic merit and real historic interest; it is therefore well worthy of an edition.

I have found it necessary to introduce a few corrections, but in such cases the reading of the MS. has always been recorded in the footnotes. Minor alterations are indicated by means of brackets; words and letters

<sup>1</sup> Even with the assistance of Professor Tout's authority and learning I have not succeeded in identifying the lady to whom the king dedicated his poem.

<sup>2</sup> The influence of Eleanor of Castile was probably not very considerable as she died when Edward of Carnarvon was only seven years old.



between ( ) should be suppressed, those between [ ] should be added. For the benefit of those who are not familiar with Old French I have added an English translation which renders the meaning almost verbatim, but does not attempt to reproduce the rhythm of the original nor the harmonious effect of its rhymes.

DE LE ROI EDWARD LE FIZ ROI EDWARD, LE CHANSON  
QE IL FIST MESMES.

I.

- 1 En tens de iver me survynt damage,  
Fortune trop m'ad traversé :  
Eure m'est faili tut mon age.  
Bien sovent l[e]ay esprové :  
5 En mond n'ad si bel ne si sage,  
[Ne] si curtois ne si preysé,  
Si eur(e) ne lui court de avantage,  
Que il ne serra pur fol clamé.

II.

- Ma clamour face, mes rien n'ataint :  
10 A cel(uy) que grace ne puit trover,  
Terrien amur [est] tost esteint.  
Ne me deveroye trop affier !  
Les grans honurs ay fest a meynt  
Qe ore me queront encumbrer ;  
15 Poy sui amé et meins pleint :  
En fort prison me font pener.

III.

- Pener me funt cruelement—  
E duint qe bien l'ai deservi.  
Lour fausse fai en parlement  
20 De haut en bas me descendi.  
(Hay !) sire de salu, jeo me repent ;  
(Et) de toutz mes mals vus cri merci :  
Ceo qe le corps soufre de torment,  
Soit a l'alme joie et merci.

## IV.

- 25 Merci me ert, si com(e) je croy,  
 [Et] les honurs et les bontez  
 Qe a mon poair sovent fesoy  
 A mes amys et mes privetz.  
 Si je ey(e) mesfet, ceo poise moy :  
 30 A lor consayl estoie jurez.  
 Ceo qe ai mesfet encontre ma foy,  
 Beu sire Dieu, vus le savez.

## V.

- Vus le savetz apertement,  
 Car nul n'est si bien covery,  
 35 Qe ne le voyetz tut clerement :  
 Le bien le mal tut altresi ;  
 Solom ceo freetz jugement.  
 Mes mals la mene ou(e) ta merci !  
 (E) de moy facez vostre talent,  
 40 Car quoyer et corps a vous otroy.

## VI.

- A vus me octroy, sire Jhesu,  
 Pardon et grace requérant.  
 Jeo solay estre tant cremu,  
 Ore me vont toutz despisant :  
 45 L'em m'apele 'rois abatu,'  
 Et tut le secle me veit gabant ;  
 Mes plus privetz me unt desu :  
 Trop tart le vey apertemant.

## VII.

- Apertement me unt defy [?],  
 50 Les quels me unt issi tray ;  
 Moud lur quidai estre amis,  
 Ore me ount tutz degerpi.  
 Je lur donay meint juel de pris,  
 Que ensi le me ount mery ;  
 55 Je ay le plur et eaux le rys,  
 M'est avys le ju (est) mal parti.

38 *MS.* Mes melles la.40 *read* otry ?48 *MS.* le ay.49 *MS.* Aperteynant ; *instead of* defy *we should expect a word in* -is.51 *MS.* amez.

## VIII.

- Parti me ount un ju sanz joye.  
 Par tiel(e) tristour mi quoe se pleynt  
 De cele en qi trover quidoie  
 60 Femme leal : vers moy se feint.  
 Isabeux tant amay, la bloye !  
 Mes or(e) l'estencele est esteint  
 De fyn amur ; pur ceo ma joie  
 S'en est alé, com est de meint.

## IX.

- 65 Maintenant sanz delay  
 Bien serroit tens de morir,  
 A moy cheitif que perdu ay  
 Tutz honors sanz recuverir.  
 Allas ! dolent ! pur qei m'emay ?  
 70 Puis q[ue] il est a Dieu pleyssir,  
 Mult bonement le suffirai :  
 (De) tout me durray a luy servir.

## X.

- De luy servir mettray m'entent(e) ;  
 Mult me desplet qe ensi ne fis.  
 75 N'est pas mervoyle, si me dement,  
 Si terrien honor m'est faylliz !  
 Mon quoe contrite soy present  
 A cel(y) q'en croys pur nous fu mys,  
 Mes voyl[e] bien qe me repent  
 80 De mes mals q[ue] ay fest tut dis.

## XI.

- Tut dis enfeble en fermerie  
 (Sui) par ceaux que felons sunt ;  
 [Qui] par lur ruste reverie  
 Troys roys eslu en ount ;  
 85 Le plus jofne par mestrie  
 Coroune de oor porter en fount :  
 Jhesu luy gard(e), le fiz Marie,  
 .De treson, que Dieu confund !



## XII.

- Deux confund[e] ses enemys !  
 90 E luy faceo un roy moud sage,  
 [Et] enpernant et poystifs  
 De meyntenir pris e barnage !  
 E que toutz ceaux soyent jus mys,  
 Q'ennoy luy querount ou (en)damage !  
 95 E si moy serroit acomplis  
 Le greingnur desir de mon corage.

## XIII.

- Mon corage pas ne se pleint  
 De terrien honur regretere ;  
 Mais douce Jhesu, qe nous ad reint  
 100 Par son saunk precieuse et chiere,  
 Par la priere de toutz ly seins,  
 Q'en sa glorie sount parcenere,  
 A cele joie tost nous meint,  
 Q'en nule tenps [ne] peust finere !

## XIV.

- 105 Finer m'estut, ne voyl plus dire.  
 Va t'en chaunson ignelement  
 A La Bise du par Kenire  
 Si la ditez brefment :  
 Qe quant le serf se saut de ire,  
 110 Et ou(e) ses perches bestes purfent,  
 Gard(e) soy q'el(e) n'eyt mester de mire !  
 Tant se porté sagement !

## XV.

- Sages et fouz, trestouz vus pri,  
 Pur moy priez communement  
 115 (A) Marie, la mere de mercy,  
 Que Jhesu norist, omnipotent :  
 Que pur les joyes q'ele uist de ly,  
 Q'ele luy prie devoutement,  
 Qe de touz trays eye mercy,  
 120 (Et) de touz forjuges falcement !

Explicit.

102 *could also be read* partenere.  
 107 *could be read* du parke vire. 119 *MS.* eyt mercy.

I append the following literal translation into English :—

OF KING EDWARD, THE SON OF KING EDWARD,  
THE SONG WHICH HE MADE.

I.

- 1 In winter woe befell me ;  
By cruel Fortune thwarted,  
My life now lies a ruin.  
Full oft have I experienced,  
5 There's none so fair, so wise,  
So courteous nor so highly famed,  
But, if Fortune cease to favour,  
Will be a fool proclaimed.

II.

- My clamour rises—yet in vain ;  
10 When favour once is lost,  
Soon does man's love grow cold.  
Too fondly have I trusted,  
And honours done to many  
Who now seek my destruction ;  
15 They love me little, pity me less,  
In prison they torment me.

III.

- Torment me, aye ! most cruelly—  
Ev'n though 'twere well deserved.  
Their evil faith in Parliament  
20 From high has brought me low.  
Lord of Salvation, I me repent ;  
For all my sins forgiveness crave :  
May from the pain the flesh endureth  
The soul receive both joy and mercy.

IV.

- 25 Mercy, I trow, I needs shall reap  
From precious gifts and kindly deeds  
Which oft upon my friends and kin,  
Within my power I did bestow.  
If I have erred, it grieveth me :  
30 But to their counsel was I sworn.  
What I have sinned against the faith,  
Alas ! dear Lord, full well Thou knowest.

V.

- Thou knowest well and openly,  
For nought is there so well concealed  
35 But is to Thee fully revealed,  
Both good and ill all equally ;  
Thereon will rest Thy judgments dread.  
Deal with my sins mercifully !  
But nonetheless Thy will be done,  
40 For body and soul to Thee I yield.

## VI.

I yield me all to Jesu,  
 Craving His grace and pardon.  
 Once was I feared and dreaded,  
 But now all men despise me,  
 45 And hail me 'crownless king,'  
 A laughing stock to all.  
 My dearest friends deceived me;  
 Too late I see it openly.

## VII.

And openly have they defied me,  
 50 Those who betrayed me thus;  
 Methought I had their love,  
 Now have they all forsaken me.  
 For many a jewel and many a gift  
 I have now their reward.  
 55 The tears are mine, but theirs the laugh;  
 The game's unfairly dealt.

## VIII.

They've dealt to me a joyless game.  
 And 'mid such grief my heart complains  
 Of her whom fondly I believed  
 60 A faithful wife—turned to deceit!  
 Fair Isabel I dearly loved,  
 But now love's spark is dead;  
 And with my love my joy is gone,  
 As 'tis from many a heart.

## IX.

65 And now 'twere time indeed  
 That I in death should sleep,  
 Since honours all I've lost  
 Beyond recovery.  
 And yet why be dismayed?  
 70 What God hath thus ordained  
 Full meekly will I bear,  
 And serve Him faithfully.

## X.

His service be my constant thought.  
 Ah! why was it not ever so?  
 75 What marvel then that I am sad,  
 And earthly grandeur faileth me?  
 O let my contrite heart be near  
 To Him who suffered on the cross,  
 That truly now I may repent  
 80 Of all the sins that e'er I did.

## XI.

For ever in captivity  
 Those felons make me languish,  
 Who in their crass insanity  
 Three kings have now elected.  
 85 Upon the youngest, in stately pomp,  
 A crown of gold they've placed.  
 Keep him, Jesu, the Son of Mary,  
 From traitors, whom God confound!



XII.

- May God confound his enemies,  
 90 And make of him a monarch wise,  
 Endowéd both with might and will  
 Fair fame to uphold and chivalry!  
 And let them all be brought to shame  
 Who seek to harm or injure him!  
 95 And then at last shall be fulfilled  
 The inmost wish of all my heart.

XIII.

- My heart no longer will lament,  
 And weep o'er earthly honours;  
 But let sweet Jesu, Who redeemed us  
 100 By His most precious blood,  
 Moved by the prayers of all the Saints  
 Who in His glory share,  
 Lead us ere long to that great joy  
 Which shall be without end.

XIV.

- 105 An end I'll make and say no more.  
 Hie thee, my song, on wings!  
 Go to the Doe beyond Kenire [= Kenilworth?]  
 And tell it her in brief.  
 That when the stag is roused to wrath  
 110 And turns upon the hounds,  
 She may forgo the leech's care,  
 Bearing herself so wise.

XV.

- Both wise and fool I would entreat,  
 Make prayers for me, ye all,  
 115 To Mary, the mother all merciful,  
 Who bore the almighty Lord,  
 That through the joys she had of Him  
 She may her Son beseech,  
 For all my sins and treacherous deeds  
 120 To grant me mercy yet.

MONTANA, SWITZERLAND.

PAUL STUDER.

## COURT MASQUERADES IN SWEDEN IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

### I.

A SURVEY of the ballets and similar amusements of the Swedish court during the seventeenth century reveals some interesting parallels with the masques of Ben Jonson and his successors under James I and Charles I. Most of the pieces described in the following pages were performed in honour of the versatile and pleasure-loving Queen Christina, who, like Anne of Denmark and Henrietta Maria of France, herself often led the dancers. The position and character of the young queen in fact bore no slight resemblance to the character and position of Charles I. The court of Sweden at this time was one of the most brilliant in Europe; but while a circle of wise statesmen directed, or strove to direct, the weightier affairs of State, the personal favour of the sovereign was given to a succession of younger men, many of them foreigners, who conspired with the rest of Europe to flatter her vanity and minister to her self-will. In Sweden, as in England, large sums were spent over the amusements of the court, and there were not wanting those who complained bitterly of the queen's extravagance and frivolity.

Again, contemporary letters and memoirs furnish us with exactly the same illuminating and sometimes amusing hints on the ballets as are given for the English masque by the letters of Chamberlain or the 'choice observations' of Finnett. We hear of the most careful preparations, and of hitches in the same, of the costs of production, of petty jealousies and quarrels, of postponements, of dissatisfaction with some piece that did not come up to expectations. We learn too of the great crowds that thronged the hall specially arranged in the palace at Stockholm for the performance of these masquerades. This hall was called *stora Spel-salen* or *la grande Salle des Machines* (in imitation of that at the Tuileries in Paris), and served the same purpose as the Banqueting-House in England. A statement made<sup>1</sup> for one ballet tells us that not only courtiers but all kinds of people (*allahanda folk*) had access to the piece: on another occasion we learn from the same source

<sup>1</sup> By Ekeblad; see below.

that a ballet was performed before 'an enormous crowd of people.' The same was certainly true of other ballets, though it does not appear that the Swedish citizen had such difficulty in gaining admission as is suggested by Robin Goodfellow's amusing and probably not much exaggerated account in Jonson's *Love Restored*. It is interesting to note that in Sweden, just as in England, disputes between the different foreign ambassadors sometimes threatened to destroy the peace of mind of the sovereign and even to stop the performance altogether<sup>1</sup>. One of the main purposes of both masque and ballet was indeed, as Reyher has pointed out<sup>2</sup>, to conciliate these touchy gentlemen and keep them innocently employed. Further, the services of the foremost poet and one of the most learned men of his day, Georg Stiernhielm, were requisitioned for the Swedish versions of the most important of these pieces, and Stiernhielm's classical learning and high idea of the dignity of his poetic vocation are at least two points of connexion between him and Jonson. It is true that most of the Swedish ballets were originally designed by Frenchmen and were sketched out and often performed in French, the Swedish texts that we have being translations, or rather rehandlings, intended for the use of those who could not—or like the Chancellor Oxenstierna would not<sup>3</sup>—speak the fashionable language of the court; nevertheless the ballets present certain features which differentiate them from the French ballets preserved in the collections of Lacroix<sup>4</sup>, and which seem to suggest at least the possibility of an influence from England.

The character of Queen Christina is a problem which has at once fascinated and baffled all the historians who have tried to deal with it. There can be no doubt, however, of her real mental ability, or of the hold which she possessed upon the loyalty and affections of her subjects. As the daughter of Gustavus Adolphus she was born to a heritage of love and veneration; it was the constant desire of her advisers that by her marriage the preservation of the direct line of descent might be ensured; and the distress felt at her abdication was both widespread and genuine. In the entertaining collection of letters to which I shall frequently have occasion to refer, Ekeblad, who was present at the abdication ceremony on June 6, 1654, relates that from the queen herself down to the

<sup>1</sup> See Whitelocke's account of the masquerade given at Uppsala in honour of the Spanish ambassador Pimentelli on April 8, 1654, and of his own dispute with the Danish ambassador in the matter of precedence on that occasion. (B. Whitelocke, *Journal of the Swedish Embassy*, 2 vols., London, 1855, II, pp. 107 ff.)

<sup>2</sup> P. Reyher, *Les Masques Anglais*, pp. 289 f.

<sup>3</sup> See Whitelocke, *op. cit.*, I, p. 300.

<sup>4</sup> P. Lacroix, *Ballets et Mascarades de cour*, 6 vols., Genève et Turin, 1868–70.



humblest member present there was not one who did not shed tears, and adds that the queen 'may justly be likened to a mother parted from her children'.<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless there was a large section of the community that lamented Christina's complete subservience to the favourite of the moment, and saw in the wave of foreign culture that passed over the court at the end of the Thirty Years' War the signs of a deterioration in the national customs and morality.

French influence began to make itself felt most strongly at the court from about 1645 onwards. It was deepened in the case of Christina herself by her friendship with Pierre Chanut, French ambassador to Sweden from 1645 to 1649. Count Magnus de la Gardie was also of French extraction. Over twenty French *savants*, real or pretended, lived in Stockholm. Bourdelot, the quack who supplanted the philosophers and whose ascendancy over the queen's mind covered the years 1651-3, was a Frenchman. Most of the queen's servants were French: she herself spoke and wrote the language fluently. Mdlle de Scudéry, Malherbe, Scarron, and Balzac united in praising her. Both Claude de Saumaise and Descartes came by her invitation to live in Stockholm, the latter, as is well known, dying there in February, 1650. In Christina's reign therefore we see the beginnings of the French influence that was to dominate Swedish (and European) literature throughout the eighteenth century. And, as was only natural, a strong German, as well as French, influence was one result of the Thirty Years' War. Swedish noblemen wrote their names in German characters, foreign words were heard in the very streets of Stockholm, and on the signs of tradesfolk German was used more than Swedish<sup>2</sup>. After the conclusion of the Peace of Westphalia there was an influx of foreign adventurers into Stockholm, and the warriors of Gustavus Adolphus brought back with them the customs, as well as the possessions, they had acquired abroad. When Christina assumed the reins of government in 1645, she became assiduous in encouraging foreign artists to the capital. Her cosmopolitan taste is shown by the fact that in 1652-3 there were present at the Swedish court, though not simultaneously, German and Polish musicians, French violinists and lutanists (as well as singers), Italian instrumentalists, and

<sup>1</sup> *Johan Ekeblads bref*, utgifna af N. Sjöberg (2 vols., Stockholm, 1911 and 1915), I, p. 343. These letters are among the most valuable of the documents relating to court affairs in Sweden under Christina and Carl X. Johan Ekeblad (1629-97) was a gentleman usher at the court of Queen Christina, and later became chamberlain to Hedvig Eleonora, Carl X's queen. His principal correspondent was his father, a colonel in the Swedish army. A few of the letters are written from London, whither Ekeblad accompanied the Swedish ambassador to Cromwell in the autumn of 1655.

<sup>2</sup> J. Grönstedt, *Svenska hoffester*, I, p. 86.

English, Dutch, and Italian troops of players. The queen's tastes would naturally be followed by the courtiers, and the ballets performed at court may therefore be regarded as one indication of a desire for a European culture and a greater elegance and refinement of manners. They served to counteract in the noblemen who took part in them the roughening effects of camp life.

In the somewhat meagre dramatic literature of Sweden the court masquerades of the seventeenth century are of small importance, even when due allowance is made for the limitations of the form. There exist only some half-dozen texts written in Swedish, and five of these are rehandlings of French originals. Stiernhielm's pieces, it is true, are in many places much superior to the French models upon which he worked, and he produced one masterpiece, *Den Fångne Cupido*, which will compare with the best masques of Jonson. But Stiernhielm remained for too short a time at the Swedish court to attempt any development of the form of the ballet, and in any case it is by no means certain that he would have thought it worth while to do so. The chief effect of the court ballets upon the legitimate drama was the improvement of stage decoration and machinery; in Sweden, as in England, the appliances and decorations used in the court masquerades seem to have been greatly in advance of those employed in the regular drama. From a comparative point of view, however, these pieces are of considerable interest. They reveal the adaptations and transformations of French taste in a northern capital; they bring out the essential similarity of court life all over Europe; the types of character represented in them throw light upon the political and social conditions of the time; and they serve to bring us into contact with a very interesting period of history. The following account may therefore contribute to form a basis for a comparative study of the rise and development of the court masquerades in the various countries of Europe during the seventeenth century<sup>1</sup>.

It is not at all surprising that the gay nobles of the Swedish court, most of whom had recently been brought into contact with French and

<sup>1</sup> The general account here given, in so far as it relates to Sweden, is derived in the main from the following sources: G. Ljunggren, *Svenska Dramat intill slutet af 17de århundradet*, chap. viii (Lund, 1864: still the standard work on its subject); G. E. Klemming, *Sveriges dramatiska litteratur. Bibliografi* (Stockholm, 1863-79); C. Silfverstolpe, article on *Antoine de Beaulieu in Samlaren* (the organ of the Swedish Society of Literature), 10, 1889, pp. 5 ff.; E. Jacobsson, in *Meddelanden från svenska släktföreningen* (the Swedish Sloyd Society) for 1894, pp. 59 ff.; J. Grönstedt, *Svenska hoffester*, 1 (Stockholm, 1911). Of the texts, Stiernhielm's ballets have been several times reprinted, and Lindschöld's piece is also accessible in a modern edition. For the other pieces, including the French and German versions corresponding to Stiernhielm's, I have had to refer to the original editions, which have been kindly procured for me by the officials of the University Library of Lund.

German culture, should derive little pleasure from the serious tone and often inartistic methods of the school drama of Uppsala, nor was any encouragement given by the court to a Swedish national drama. In the earlier stages of dramatic development 'town' and 'court' are indeed almost invariably opposed. A national drama arises from the former, but is crushed by the latter<sup>1</sup>. The town of Stockholm was not sufficiently important at this time to counteract the influence of the court, and the national drama, which had made promising beginnings under J. Messenius, went under, never really to emerge again. Moreover the school drama was based on medieval traditions, while in the ballets the Renaissance makes its first serious entrance into the dramatic literature of Sweden<sup>2</sup>. Queen Christina did once summon the students to perform at court, but it is again significant of French influence that they performed on this occasion not Plautus or Terence as usual, but Seneca's *Hercules Furens*.

In 1635 Cardinal Richelieu's envoy, the Baron d'Avagour, came to Sweden and spoke to the queen-mother, Maria Eleonora, of the elegance of the French courtiers and of their skill in dancing. As a result he was bidden by the queen to summon to the Swedish court a French nobleman, Antoine de Beaulieu, who was at that time staying in England and was known as a skilful dancing- and ballet-master. Beaulieu arrived next year, and at once set about his task of instructing the aristocracy of Stockholm in 'danse et maintien.' Looking back in later days he could boast 'd'avoir poli toute la cour.' In the first ballet performed in Sweden, *Le Ballet des Plaisirs de la Vie des Enfants sans Soucy*, danced on January 28, 1638, Beaulieu himself played the part of *Le Joueur*, and as all the other dancers were his pupils, the piece was really a trial specimen of his art. It is probable that some at least of the earlier ballets were brought over direct from France and merely subjected to necessary alterations in Stockholm, more particularly in the concluding *grand ballet*, the chief function of which was always to flatter the sovereign. In at least two cases there seems to be evidence of direct Italian influence also. Of a possible English influence something will be said below. It is evident, however, that something more than a second-hand performance was very soon required. Beaulieu at first managed the production of the ballets unaided, but in 1649 we find that the Italian architect Antonio Brunati was called in to assist him. In 1650 Beaulieu was promoted to the position of *maître d'hôtel* to Christina, and

<sup>1</sup> Schück-Warburg, *Illustrerad svensk litteraturhistoria*, I, p. 492.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 494.



was succeeded as ballet-master by Jacques de Sonnes or des Ausnes. However he still continued to have an oversight of the productions of court ballets, and this fact possibly interfered with his success as major domo, for his authority seems to have been but lightly regarded in the royal kitchens. After Christina's abdication he fell upon evil days. His petitions for the payment of sums due to him were disregarded, and he died in want and misery in or about the year 1663. Besides Beaulieu and des Ausnes, the accounts also mention a certain Daniel, ballet-master to Frederick, Landgrave of Hessen.

For convenience in reference I give below<sup>1</sup> a list of the principal ballets performed in Sweden. A glance at the list will reveal the presence of an unusual and somewhat puzzling feature. Sometimes we find, in addition to the French text, Swedish and German versions of the ballet, although in only one or two cases do we know that more than one performance was given. A comparison of these various texts establishes it almost as a certainty that the French version is the original; the German as a rule follows the French closely, the Swedish much less so, a fact for which the individual genius of Stiernhielm is probably responsible. In these alternative versions the persons of the entries always remain the same, but the length of their speeches may vary considerably. Metres and verse-forms are freely altered: in fact the pieces are rather rehandlings than translations. The question then arises: why should so much trouble be taken to secure elegant poetic versions of the French original if these versions were only to be handed round among the spectators, so that those ignorant of French should understand what was going on? A brief prose summary would have answered the purpose just as well. Stiernhielm's three ballets were almost certainly performed as he wrote them, in Swedish, and it seems probable that when two or more dates are mentioned, and perhaps in other cases also, the performance was given in different languages on different occasions. It is of course not impossible that where a Swedish version exists, the verses were declaimed on the same occasion first in one language and then in the other.

With this question is connected another somewhat obscure point. What was the exact relationship between the dances and the verses assigned to the person or persons of the entry? In England we know that the masquers themselves never either spoke or sang; the speaking parts of the masque were usually, though not invariably, taken by professional actors<sup>2</sup>, and the masquers remained hidden in their rock or

<sup>1</sup> In the second instalment of this paper.

<sup>2</sup> On this point see Reyher, pp. 84 ff.

cave or mountain until the climax of the piece came, the rock was opened to the sound of loud music, and they emerged to dance their 'Entry.' But this working up to one supreme moment when the stage was filled with a blaze of light, colour, and sound is a peculiarity of the English masque. In the ballet, though there may often be a central idea running through the piece, the different entries are independent of one another. There are no set dances corresponding to the English 'Entry,' 'Main,' and 'Going Out,' but each dancer or group of dancers gives a separate performance and retires to make room for the next. In a common type of French ballet there is a threefold division into dances, *récits* and *vers*. The *récits* were delivered on the stage, but the verses were printed on loose leaflets and handed round among the audience<sup>1</sup>. In some cases, e.g. *Les Effects de l'Amour* and *Les Boutades ou Proverbes*, the same method may have been adopted in Sweden, but the majority of the pieces are so constructed that this can hardly have been the case, but the verses must have been closely associated with the dance. It seems probable that the verses assigned to each character were recited either by the dancer himself or by some other *before* the dance took place. The costume and character of the dancer could often not be understood without some explanation, and it is difficult to see how verses and dance could be carried on simultaneously, except where the former were sung to music, when it would of course be easy. This was sometimes done in France. In the *Ballet du Roy...sur l'aventure de Tancrede et la forest enchantée*, 1619<sup>2</sup>, one entry consists of a 'ballet des anges,' in which it is expressly stated: 'Ils estoient 28 en tout, dont les uns chantoient seulement, et les autres dançoient.' Here we have the 'dancing to song' recommended by Bacon<sup>3</sup>, and we find it also in the *Masque of Mountebanks* and in Campion's masque for the wedding of Lord Hayes. As a rule the headings of the entries in Stiernhielm's ballets contain simply the names of the characters represented, but the twelfth entry in *Freds-Aft* is headed 'Justice speaks; with her dance Pax and Pallas,' and the heading of the tenth entry in the same piece is 'Earth speaks, dancing with the other three elements.' In *Den Fångne Cupido* some of the entries are quite long, and constitute little dramatic scenes.

The ballets performed in Sweden are therefore constructed on the

<sup>1</sup> See e.g. the *Ballet dansé par le roy*, January 29, 1617: 'Tandis que le grand Bal se dança, et que chacun s'amusa à lire les vers particuliers que le Roy et les seigneurs de sa suite donnerent aux Dames, sur le personnage que chacun d'eux avoit représenté aux entrées,' Lacroix, II, p. 119.

<sup>2</sup> Lacroix, II, pp. 161 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Essay xxxvii, *Of Masques and Triumphs*. Cp. R. Brotanek, *Die englischen Maskenspiele*, p. 262.



French model. It will be seen, however, from the abstracts given below, that there is often dialogue in the separate entries, and that an attempt is usually made to construct the piece around some central idea. In other words there is more unity than in most of the French ballets, where the literary and dramatic elements are often almost non-existent. It is possible that this development may be due to English influence. Nevertheless it remains true of the ballet in Sweden, even more than of the masque in England, that it 'cannot...be recovered to a part of that spirit it had in the gliding by<sup>1</sup>.' Much of the beauty and grace of the masterpiece of the Swedish ballet, *Den Fångne Cupido*, can indeed be recaptured from the printed text, but for most of the others we have to draw largely upon our imagination<sup>2</sup>.

The authors of these pieces are for the most part unknown. Of the French texts two are by Urbain Chevreau, a dramatist and miscellaneous writer of some distinction<sup>3</sup>; one certainly, another probably, is by Hélie Poirier, who in 1646 published in Amsterdam a book of poems dedicated to Queen Christina; one by 'le Sieur de Monthuchet,' of whom nothing is known. For the German versions only one name has been assigned—that of Johann Freinshemius, a German scholar who was called to Sweden by Gustavus Adolphus and was one of Christina's masters in Greek. For Stiernhielm and Erik Lindschöld see below.

The details of the staging and production of the ballets in Sweden do not present any great novelties, but are none the less of considerable interest. In the National Museum in Stockholm there is a collection

<sup>1</sup> Jonson, *Hymenaei*.

<sup>2</sup> Lacroix (I, *Introd.*, p. ix) quotes a passage from the *Mémoires* of the Abbé Michel de Marolles (Paris, 2 vols., 1656-7), in which the ballet is defined 'de la façon qu'il est aujourd'hui en usage parmi nous.' 'Il me semble,' says the abbé, 'que ce n'est autre chose qu'une danse de plusieurs personnes masquées sous des habits éclatans, composée de plusieurs entrées ou parties, qui se peuvent distribuer en plusieurs actes et se rapportent agréablement à un tout, avec des airs différens, pour représenter un sujet inventé, où le plaisant, le rare et le merveilleux ne soient point oubliés.' This definition will apply to Sweden. The main purpose of the ballet is to flatter. Where unity is attempted, the entries are held together by some abstract idea, which is also treated in such a way as to flatter the sovereign. There is no division into masque and antimasque, but grotesque personages frequently appear in the entries. Characters from real life are also introduced, though these are always representative of some class or profession and are without individuality. As in the masque, there is a strong mythological and allegorical element. Songs are comparatively rare, but there was always music for the dances, and the verses too were probably delivered *stylo recitativo*, as in Jonson's *Vision of Delight*, *Lovers made Men*, and elsewhere. The distinguishing feature of the English masque—the taking out of partners by the masquers and the dancing of 'Measures' and 'Revels' in the course of the performance of the piece itself—is absent in ballets of the French type. The various entries were danced and the ballet concluded before the general ball was begun. But both in masque and ballet we may be sure that the ball was for many of the audience the most important part of the proceedings, a part for which they would gladly have sacrificed all the mythological structure leading up to it.

<sup>3</sup> See the notices of him in *La Grande Encyclopédie* and the *Nouvelle Biographie générale*.



of coloured representations of the costumes used for a number of gods and goddesses and other mythological and allegorical characters in the ballets. Three specimens are reproduced by Jacobsson. The drawings closely resemble the Chatsworth designs by Inigo Jones reproduced in *Shakespeare's England*. The foundation of the costume is always some richly embroidered stuff; hats with feathers and white gloves seem to have been *de rigueur*. Masks were also an indispensable part of the attire, as is proved by references both in the texts themselves and in the accounts for materials used, and the same was the case in France and in England<sup>1</sup>. Full information as to the materials used in the ballets is given in the Accounts of the Royal Wardrobe<sup>2</sup>. From them we learn, for instance, that for the ballet *Den Fångne Cupido* Beaulieu had during the months of October and November, 1649: 3726 $\frac{1}{4}$  ells of cloth (cloth of silver, velvet, silk, taffeta, damask, linen, gauze, holland, etc.), 3222 ells of lace, 211 $\frac{1}{2}$  ells of galloon, 2496 $\frac{1}{4}$  ells of ribbon, 43 dozen buttons with 133 ozs. of silk and 3 lbs. of thread, 10 pairs of gloves, 81 pairs of stockings, 127 feathers (larger and smaller), 2 'fine beaver hats,' 2 hatbands (1 gold, 1 silver), 128 'masks of various kinds used for the face,' 60 rosettes for shoes, and 32 lbs. of whalebone. Queen Christina's dress as Diana consisted of: 22 ells of wide silver lace, finest quality, weight 45 ozs., 28 ells of silver gauze, 1 pair of English gloves, 15 ells of white satin ribbon, 10 ells of silver ribbon, 3 ells of silver lace—at a total cost of just over 1014 daler (silver<sup>3</sup>). The cost of the materials for the ballet, not including the making of the dresses, was over 16,850 daler, or a little less than £2250. According to the statement of the Danish resident, Peder Juul, Chevreau's ballet *Les Liberalitez des Dieux* and the tilt that followed it cost 100,000 rix-dollars (about £20,000<sup>4</sup>). If this statement be correct the case was unusual, for otherwise we hear of no such immense sums as were expended over the later court masques in England. It must be remembered, moreover, that when the costs of masque or ballet are given, it is often uncertain how much must be set down to the banquet or other festivities accompanying it; though on the other hand, in Sweden at least, part of the cost was in some cases probably borne by the individual dancers in the ballet and is therefore not included in the court accounts. In any case the sums expended were large enough to cause considerable dissatisfaction. The

<sup>1</sup> The statement of Evans, *English Masques*, Introd., p. xxxv, that 'this unbecoming and unnecessary disguise was soon dispensed with' is without foundation.

<sup>2</sup> Extracts in Jacobsson, pp. 86 ff.

<sup>3</sup> 1 daler (silver) = 2 $\frac{1}{2}$  daler (copper) =  $\frac{2}{3}$  rix-dollar = (according to Whitelocke) 2s. 8d. English money.

<sup>4</sup> Ljunggren, p. 419.

costumes for Chevreau's *Balet de la Felicité* cost 4500 daler (silver). There were 59 of them in all, including some for the 14 musicians. Abr. Leijonhufvud as Jupiter had a costume of flame-coloured satin, draped with gold and silver gauze, flame-coloured stockings, and a mask; Harald Oxe, Venus, wore flame-coloured taffeta, trimmed with gold and silver lace, flamed-coloured stockings, and mask; three nymphs were dressed in flowered and rose-coloured taffeta, with silver gauze scarves and flowered silk stockings; the Cupids wore dresses of flesh-coloured taffeta trimmed with gauze<sup>1</sup>. Some of the materials were ordered direct from France, others were bought from merchants in Stockholm.

The stage decorations and scenery carried out under Brunati naturally show a strong Italian influence. A little Italian pamphlet of eight pages, printed at Stockholm in 1654<sup>2</sup>, gives interesting details of the scenery of Chevreau's *Balet de la Felicité* (see list). We learn that the hall was divided into two amphitheatres, one for the nobility and one for the *bourgeoisie*. The proscenium was painted to imitate marble, and represented fluted Doric pilasters, with an entablature in the frieze of which were placed the names of the royal pair, surrounded by arms, emblems, etc. (cp. the 'compartment' of the masque). On both sides of the stage were seen niches with statues, between double rows of pilasters. The ballet was divided into three parts. In the first there was a perspective of a very bright sun arising from a hill, on the right the walls of a city, adorned with towers and other buildings, and on the left, in equal proportions, 'un luogo delizioso d' alberi frà quali era una casa d' alloggio ed altre fabbriche.' In the second part the scenery was principally formed by 'tre grandi strade à tre ponti concorrenti ornate con dilettevole varietà di pretiosi alberi di cedri, granati, aranci, ed altre.' The scenery of the third part included a representation of a tier of columns of lapis lazuli. These descriptions are an additional proof, if any such were needed, that the columns, streets, buildings, and arbours which Inigo Jones introduced into the scenery of Jonson's masques came in the first place from Italy. The triumphal arch, which was so common a feature of the Caroline masque, was used in Sweden also. It is found e.g. in *Heela Wårdenes Frögd*. Another stock feature of the scenery of the ballets is the Mount

<sup>1</sup> Accounts of the Wardrobe, Jacobsson, p. 83.

<sup>2</sup> *Festa Teatrale. Fatta per le nozze della Maesta di Suecia con la Principessa d'Holsatia, dedicata al conte Magno Gabrielle della Guardia..... da Antonio Brunati Teatrsta, Italiano inventore*, Stockholm, Janssonius, 1654. The description of the scene is by 'Jacopo dal Pozzo, maestro di lingue.' Brunati was responsible only for the scenery, not for the piece itself, as Silfverstolpe seems to think.

of Parnassus. In Sweden, as in France and England, elaborate and costly machinery was often employed in the entrances of triumphal cars and in the appearances of gods and goddesses. For one *upptåg*<sup>1</sup> we learn from Chanut's memoirs that several hitherto unknown machines and mechanical devices were specially imported from Nuremberg. The curtain was fastened with rings to an iron pole, and was drawn to the sides at the proper moment. For various reasons it had to be renewed somewhat frequently. At the beginning of 1651 there had been a new curtain, but by the end of the year another new one was required for the ballet on the queen's birthday. The reason, we are told, was that 'the people in the ballet had cut holes all over the curtain in order to look through,' so that it was quite spoiled and had to be cut up for bed-hangings<sup>2</sup>.

The accounts preserved in the Royal Archives of Stockholm (Kungl. Slottsarkivet) give details of the fittings of the new ballet-hall or 'grande salle des machines' already mentioned. This was a room originally used for court balls and banquets, situated in the eastern part of the palace on the topmost storey. The walls were hung with tapestries. The curtain was of white satin, with gold and silver cords, and there was another 'veil' (*förlåt*) of blue and yellow linen. Of the decorations are mentioned 'one Swedish landscape on white satin' and 'one landscape on paper lined with brown holland.' The seats were covered with costly rugs and hangings. Torches and candles were used to illumine the dances, and the hall itself was lit with oil lamps. The hall was finished early in 1649, and was inaugurated by the performance of *Les Passions Victorieuses et Vaincues* on April 4 of that year. It was subjected to a thorough renovation before the *Balet de la Felicité* was performed in 1654. The accounts of the Inland Revenue Department (Kungl. Kammarkollegiet) mention innumerable boards, beams, nails, etc. used on this occasion, as well as 116 ells of broad linen required for the curtain, 3 measures of Russian soap used in cleaning 72 old screens for the wings, 4 pieces of thin cloth for 'the perspective representing the sun,' tin lamps and sweet-oil, etc.<sup>3</sup> No important renovations seem to have taken place subsequently.

The nobles who took part in the ballets included all the younger aristocracy of the court. The names of Prince Carl Gustaf (afterwards Carl X), Prince Johan Adolphe of the Palatinate (his brother), Frederick of Hessen, Magnus, Jacob, and Pontus de la Gardie, Count Tott, Gustaf and Svante Baner, Corfiz Ulfeldt, Erik Sparre, Otto and Jakob Taube,

<sup>1</sup> *La Pompe de la Felicité*; see below.

<sup>3</sup> Jacobsson, p. 82.

<sup>2</sup> Extract in Jacobsson, p. 91.



Gustaf Horn, Gustaf Soop and others are of frequent occurrence. Pages and superior servants also danced in the ballets, and we find many French names in the lists of the dancers. As was the case in France, the grotesque feminine characters of some entries were always impersonated by men. Ladies, however, took part in the *grand ballet*, and might represent mythological characters in the piece itself (cp. *Den Fångne Cupido*).

Several passages in Ekeblad's letters reveal the great importance that was attached to the forthcoming performance of a court ballet. On November 17, 1652, he writes: 'At Court all are now working for the ballet that is to be danced on the [queen's] birthday. Since the time is short, they are working the more diligently<sup>1</sup>.' On December 1, speaking of the same ballet, *Les Liberalitez des Dieux*, he writes: 'For there is now so much to be done with the ballet and tilt that are to be held that no business of importance is transacted<sup>2</sup>.' When the queen did not go to the funeral of the Chancellor Axel Oxenstierna's wife, Ekeblad gives as the reason partly that she was indisposed, but partly that she wished to hurry on the performance of *Den Fångne Cupido* for the sake of the French ambassador<sup>3</sup>. Further references are needless.

<sup>1</sup> Letters, I, p. 193.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, I, p. 198.

<sup>3</sup> '...både för det att hon något opasslig varit hafver såsom ock till att hasta på balleten för denne fransöska ambassadörens skull, hvilken hastar till att resa hädan förr än vattnet tillfrys, men vill gärna se balleten först' (I, p. 19). The ambassador was the Comte de Brégy, French envoy to Poland, who stayed at the Swedish court on his way home.

(*To be continued.*)

## MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

### SUGGESTED EMENDATIONS IN OLD ENGLISH POETICAL TEXTS.

#### *Fight at Finnsburg.*

l. 35. MS. (text of G. Hickes) *ymbe hyne godra fæla hwearflacra hrær*. Grein emended to *hwearflicra hræw*, but *hwearflc* does not occur elsewhere. Read *ymbe hyne godra fæla; hreas wlancra hræw*. The letters *r*, *s*, *f*, *w* are frequently confused by the copyist, who moreover often omits the mark over a vowel indicating a following *n*.

l. 40. MS. (Hickes) *ne nefre swa noc hwitne medo sel forgyldan*. Grein's emendation, *swanas* for *swa noc*, if accepted, would put an early date for the poem out of the question, as the meaning 'man-at-arms,' 'retainer,' for *swan* was borrowed quite late from the Danish *sveinn*. In O.E. *swan* means 'swineherd,' as in the A.S. Chron., *anno 755 A.D.* It would be better to omit *swa noc* as a printer's error. This omission would also correct the metre (B-type).

#### *Characters of Men* (Grein-Wülker, III, 144).

l. 25. MS. *printeð him in innan ungemede madmod*. Read *unge-medemad mod* and transl. 'inside them pride swells unmeasured'; *medemian* is formed from *medeme* 'midway,' 'moderate.'

l. 28. MS. *breodað* is a contraction of *breogdað* = *bregdað*, from *bregd* 'trick.'

#### *Fates of Men* (Gr.-W., III, 148).

l. 83. MS. *gearo se þe hleapeð nægl neomegende*. Read *sceardfeðer hleapeð, nægl neomegende*. *Sceardfeðer* is the quill or plectrum, the same as *nægl*. The copyist has confused the consonants.

l. 93. MS. *weorod anes god*. Read *weoroda nergend*. Confusion of *r* and *s*, and failure to notice or expand the contraction for *n*.

#### *Exodus* (Gr.-W., II, 445).

ll. 59, 193. MS. *gearwe bæron*. Read *geatwe bæron* 'bore their armour,' i.e. 'advanced.'

l. 145. MS. *ymb an twig*. Read *ymb anes wig* 'concerning the attack of one man (Moses).'

l. 180. MS. *ymb hine wægon*. Read *ymb hine wæron*. *Wægon* would have no object.

l. 239. MS. *licwunde swor*. Read *licwunde swol* 'the burning of a wound.'

l. 265. MS. *ægnian mid yrmðum israhela cyn*. For *ægnian* read *ognian* 'terrify,' from *oga*.

ll. 286, 287. MS. *þa forð heonon in ece yðe þeah-ton*. For *ece* read *ecnesse*, and transl. 'which hitherto the waves for eternity had covered.' *Forð* here means 'extending from now backwards,' the usual word being *feorran*.

ll. 290, 291. MS. *bring is areafod sand sæcir span*. Read *brim is areafod, sandsæ aspranc* 'the sea is cleared away, the sandy waters have started aside.' The copyist has read *a* as *ci*, confused *s*, *p*, *r* with each other, and omitted *c* or *cg* owing to the closely following *c* of *ic*.

l. 344. MS. *guðcyste onþrang deawig sceaf-tum*. Read *deaðwigsceaf-tum* 'with deadly spears.'

l. 358. MS. *onriht godes*. Read *anriht Godes* 'the privileged of God'(?); *anriht* does not however occur elsewhere.

l. 465. MS. *cyre swiðrode*. Read *cym swiðrode* 'the clamour increased.'

l. 469. MS. *forðganges nep searwum æsæled sand barenodon witodre wyrde hwonne*, etc. Read *forðgang esnes searwum asæled. Sand hi renedon witodre wyrde hwonne*, etc. 'The advance of the warrior(s) was impeded by their armour. The sands prepared for their appointed destiny,' etc.

l. 475. *se ðe feondum geneop*. Read *gehweop* 'menaced.'

l. 484 ff. MS. *þa se mihtiga sloh mid halge hand heofonrices weard werbeamas ulance ðeode ne mihton forhabban helpendra pað mere-streames mod*. Inserting *on* after *werbeamas* and reading *fæðm* for *pað*, we transl. 'When the Almighty with his holy hand, the guardian of heaven, struck the barriers. Neither the proud people (the Egyptians) nor the hand (lit. embrace) of helpers could check the fury of the sea.' *Werbeam* means 'weir-bar,' 'flood-gate.' The insertion of *on* corrects the metre.

l. 491. MS. *witrod gefeol heah of heofonum*. Read *wigrod* 'the war-pole,' i.e. the mighty thunderbolt which God hurls down upon the Egyptians; it is compared to an 'old sword,' *alde mece*.

l. 498. MS. *siððan hie on bogum hran yrringa modwæga mæst*. Read *siððan hie on hogum hran yrringa modwæga mæst* 'when the greatest of angry waves furiously seized them by the heels.' The copyist has been careless here with the consonants.

l. 500. *mægen eall gedreas ða þe gedrecte*. For *ða þe* read *deape*,



and for *gedrecte* read *gedrencte*, which agrees with the plural idea in *mægen*.

*Riddles* (Gr.-W., III, 183).

II, 10. MS. *beamas fyllle holme gehrefed*. Read *helme* 'tree-top,' for *holme*.

IV, 24. MS. *þær bið hlud wudu bringiesta breahm*. Read *wada* for *wudu* and transl. 'there will be the loud crash of the waters, of the sea-travellers (i.e. waves).'

XVI, 15. MS. *hine berað breost*. Read *hi ne beriað breost* 'they (i.e. my young ones) do not leave (lit. lay bare) my breast.'

I, 16. MS. *nele þæt ræd teale*. Read *ne ic* for *nele* and transl. 'I do not consider that advisable'; cp. *Beowulf* l. 2027, *þæt ræd talað*.

LVI, 15. MS. *se hine on mede wordum secgan hu se wudu hatte*. For *hine on mede* read *him ne ormede* 'despairs not.' *Ormedan* is not found elsewhere, but is a regular derivative from *ormod*. A finite verb is necessary to the sense.

LIX, 25. MS. *ofer heahhofu*; read *heahhafu* 'deep seas.'

*Rhyme Poem* (Gr.-W., III, 160).

II, 6-8. MS. *frætwed wægon wic ofer wongum wennan gongum lisse mid longum leoma getongum*. Taking *wennan* as Kentish for *wynnum*, we transl. '(Gaily) caparisoned steeds bore me, rejoicing and delighted, in long rambles amid the branches (of the forest).'

I, 9. Read *onstreaht* for *onspreht*.

I, 18. MS. *þenden wæs ic mægen*. Read *þenden wæs ic on hyhte*, to rhyme with *geþyhte*.

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'BENGEMENES JOHNSONES SHARE.'

The entry of the 28th of July, 1597, in *Henslowe's Diary*<sup>1</sup>, whereby Henslowe acknowledges that he had received 'of Bengemenes Johnstones Share' the sum of 3s. 9d., has never, I think, been satisfactorily explained, though it has frequently been dealt with. At any rate, no less an authority than Dr Greg considers that the meaning of the entry is still an open question<sup>2</sup>. What exactly was the nature of Jonson's 'share'? I propose an answer which suggests itself to me after a study of certain analogous entries in the *Diary*. To present my point adequately it will be necessary to say a preliminary word about Elizabethan theatrical

<sup>1</sup> Ed. W. W. Greg, I, p. 47.

<sup>2</sup> See below, p. 64, n. 1.

'shares' and 'sharers,' and to review the explanations of the entry that have hitherto been offered.

In the Elizabethan theatre there were at least two types of sharers: first, the 'actor-sharers,' that is to say, the eight or ten mature players who had passed beyond the 'hireling' stage. Each actor-sharer's income consisted of his part of the company's share in the daily takings. That share, at the time with which we are concerned, was made up of the general admission receipts at the door, plus one-half the extra money collected in the galleries—for it is well known that in those days each man paid his penny or twopence on entering the house, and additional sums if he desired a place in the galleries, the boxes, or on the stage<sup>1</sup>. The other half of the gallery money went to the second type of 'sharer,'—the 'housekeepers,' or proprietors of the playhouses. Here it should be noted—as Dr Greg has shown<sup>2</sup>—that Henslowe frequently impounded his companies' share of the gallery receipts by way of security for the money he lent them to buy costumes and properties<sup>3</sup>. More significant for our purposes is a point which has not had the attention it deserves; namely, that Henslowe was in the habit of doing for individual actor-sharers just what he sometimes did for the companies at large. He repeatedly made loans to individual players, and recouped himself by attaching their part of the company's gallery money. Since the 'gathering' was done by the housekeepers or their employees<sup>4</sup>, the process was simple. I shall try to show in a moment that the Jonson entry was but one of many which record similar liquidations of debts incurred by Henslowe's actor-sharers.

Let us look, meanwhile, at two other transactions between Jonson and Henslowe which are intimately connected with the entry in question. We have seen that on July 28, 1597, Jonson paid Henslowe 3s. 9d. upon a debt he owed him. Henslowe also notes that 'Bengemen Johnson Plaier' had borrowed 5s. from him six months earlier<sup>5</sup>, and that, on the very day he paid the 3s. 9d., he borrowed another £4<sup>6</sup>. What is the meaning of these several transactions, and from what sort of a 'share' of Jonson's did Henslowe draw the smaller amount? Fleay thought<sup>7</sup> it

<sup>1</sup> I have discussed these matters at length in *Studies in Philology*, April, 1918, and *Publications Modn. Lang. Assn. of America*, March, 1920. Shakspeare, and other exceptional actor-sharers, were also housekeepers and thus shared twice.

<sup>2</sup> *Henslowe's Diary*, II, 124.

<sup>3</sup> His 1613 contract with the Lady Elizabeth's Men specifically provided that this security be allowed him. See *Henslowe Papers*, ed. Greg, p. 24.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 3.

<sup>5</sup> January 5, 1597. See *H. D.*, I, p. 200.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 200.

<sup>7</sup> *English Drama*, I, p. 342.

could 'hardly have been a share in the Rose, much more likely in Paris Garden, where Jonson played Zulziman,' according to Horace's admission in *Satiromastix* (acted 1601):

*Tucca.* Thou hast been at Parris garden, hast not?  
*Horace.* Yes Captaine I ha plaide Zulziman there<sup>1</sup>.

'The smallness of the amount' Jonson paid Henslowe on July 28, 1597, leads Mr J. T. Murray to agree that the poet could not have been buying a share in the Rose, but, since Paris Garden—the Bear Garden, to be more exact—was an older and poorer house, Murray accepts as a plausible conjecture Fleay's view that Jonson held a proprietary share in that house<sup>2</sup>.

There are, however, many reasons for doubting this explanation. In the first place, the *Satiromastix* passage alludes to an early stage of Jonson's career<sup>3</sup>, and it seems clear that at the time he was acting at the Bear Garden he had but recently graduated from the ranks of the strollers and had yet to win his reputation as a playwright. It is well to recall, therefore, that the owners of proprietary shares in the theatres were at that time of two types only: either successful business men who were able to invest substantial sums of money, or actors and playwrights who stood at the very top of their profession<sup>4</sup>. Indeed, there is no real evidence to show that any actors or playwrights owned proprietary shares until the Burbages built the Globe in 1599, when, according to Cuthbert Burbage, they 'joyned to ourselves those deserveing men, Shakspeare, Hemings...and others...partners in the proffittes of that they call the House<sup>5</sup>.' In any case, Alleyn and Henslowe and Jacob Meade, waterman, appear to have been the sole owners of the Bear Garden and the Hope, which replaced it later<sup>6</sup>. Nor is there any other entry in the *Diary* which would justify the conclusion that Henslowe ever impounded a housekeeper's share.

He certainly did frequently lend money to individual actor-sharers, and then collected from their gallery money. On September 4, 1602, for example, he lent half a crown to Thomas Heywood, then an actor-sharer in Worcester's Men, to 'bye hime a payer of sylke garters<sup>7</sup>,' and though in this case we have no record of a liquidation of the debt, there

<sup>1</sup> Scene 7. Ed. Scherer, p. 46.

<sup>2</sup> *English Dramatic Companies*, II, p. 144.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, II, p. 145.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. the 1635 Globe and Blackfriars Share Papers, Halliwell-Phillipps, *Outlines*, I, p. 312 ff., and the mass of theatrical litigation discovered by Professor Wallace and others. (Bibliography in Sir Sidney Lee's 1916 ed. of the *Life of Shakespeare*, p. 310.)

<sup>5</sup> Halliwell-Phillipps, *op. cit.*, I, 317.

<sup>6</sup> Greg, *H. D.*, II, pp. 37-41; cf. *Hensl. Papers*, p. 19.

<sup>7</sup> *H. D.*, I, p. 178.



are a number of other cases where both loan and settlement are accounted for. Before examining them, let us look at Dr Greg's statement concerning the entry we are discussing. 'Jonson,' he says<sup>1</sup>, 'is...said to have acted himself, and, indeed, Henslowe describes him as "player" in the *Diary*. It is also possible that he may at one time have contemplated acquiring a share in the Admiral's Company.' He then notes the payment of 3s. 9d., and adds, 'but no further payments seem to have been made. Of course the entry may refer to something quite different.' Dr Greg, too, seems to have thought that Jonson may have been paying an instalment upon a share he had bought. Here it should be said that if Jonson was then acquiring a share in the Admiral's Men (in the company, be it noted, as distinct from the playhouse) he would scarcely have paid an instalment upon the purchase to Henslowe, who was chief housekeeper, but not a member of the company.

The fact of the matter seems to be not that Jonson was paying for a share he expected to buy, but that he was an actor-sharer at the time, and that Henslowe was recouping himself for an earlier loan to the poet—from Bengemenes Johnsones share of the gallery takings. This was exactly what he did eight months later for another one of his actor-sharers, none other than Gabriel Spencer, whom Ben killed very shortly after<sup>2</sup>. From March 10 to April 5, 1598, Spencer obtained from Henslowe personal loans amounting to 46s.<sup>3</sup> A day later, on April 6, Henslowe was beginning to get his money back, for he notes that he had received 'of gabrell spencer...of his share in the gallereyes,' 5s. 6d.,—an entry almost identical with that 'of Bengemenes Johnsones Share'<sup>4</sup>. Probably just such another series of transactions was that between Henslowe and Humphrey Jeffes, another actor-sharer in the Admiral's Men. On April 6, 1598, once more, Jeffes borrowed from Henslowe 20s. 'In Redy mony'<sup>5</sup>. Probably there had been earlier borrowings, for, beginning with January 14, 1597, Henslowe was receiving regular weekly payments 'of humfreye Jeaffes hallffe sheare'<sup>6</sup>. At all events, the debt of April 6, 1598, seems to have been taken care of, for, beginning on April 29 and for several months after, Henslowe started to keep 'A Juste acownte of all suche moneye as I dooe Receue for vmfrey Jeaffes and antoney Jeaffes'<sup>7</sup>—pay-

<sup>1</sup> *H. D.*, II, pp. 288–9.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *Hensl. Papers*, p. 48.

<sup>3</sup> *H. D.*, I, p. 75. He was also concerned, with one of his fellows, in another loan of 30s., on March 8, 1598. (*Ibid.*, I, p. 73.)

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, I, p. 63.

<sup>5</sup> And further sums of 35s. later. *H. D.*, I, p. 64.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, I, p. 67.

<sup>7</sup> Another sharer in the Admiral's Men and perhaps a brother of Humphrey? See *H. D.*, I, 64.

ments, usually, of half a crown each week. Three years later, when the Admiral's Men had moved to the Fortune, their actor-sharers apparently borrowed and paid in the old way. Between June 30 and September 5, 1601, Henslowe received from four of them, Richard Jones, Thomas Dowton, Robert Shaw, and William Bird, a number of weekly payments towards 'ther privet deats wch. they owe vnto me'.<sup>1</sup> In any one week the four paid identical amounts, but these amounts vary from one week to the next—a fact which suggests that the payments came from a common source: doubtless each man's part of the company's gallery takings. Henslowe, in short, regularly lent money to his actor-sharers, and as regularly collected from the earnings of their shares. It seems a fair inference, then, that Gabriel Spencer's share and Humphrey Jeffes and Ben Jonson's were all of a kind, and that Jonson in 1597 was not a part owner of the Rose nor yet the Bear Garden, but an actor-sharer in the Admiral's Men. Like Shakespeare, Heywood, Nathaniel Field, and many another playwright, he scored his first success as an actor, for the actor-sharers were players who had made their mark.

ALWIN THALER.

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# AN ALLUSION IN BROWNE'S 'RELIGIO MEDICI'

In Part I, Section 30 of the *Religio Medici* we read: 'As the Devil is concealed and denied by some, so GOD and good Angels are pretended by others, whereof the late defection of the Maid of Germany hath left a pregnant example.'

A MS. which was in Wilkins' possession when he edited the *Religio Medici* in 1836 had the following note attached to the words 'Maid of Germany,' 'That lived without meat, on the smell of a rose.' The same MS. for 'defection' had 'detection.' I am informed that another MS. (unknown to Wilkins) which has been for 200 years in the library of St John's College, Cambridge (class-mark H. 15), agrees with Wilkins' MS. in both respects.

It is probably an open question whether the gloss on the words 'Maid of Germany' was added by Browne himself, or by some one else on a MS. then in his hands. It is also uncertain whether Browne is responsible for the two forms 'defection' and 'detection,' or whether one of them is a corruption of what Browne wrote, and in this case which is Browne's word and which is the corruption. Further if Browne wrote 'defection,' in what sense did he use the word?

<sup>1</sup> *H. D.*, I, p. 162.

The allusion to the maiden 'that lived without meat on the smell of a rose' appears to have had no light thrown on it by Browne's commentators. It seems, however, to be illustrated by a ballad of the beginning of the seventeenth century preserved in MS. in Lord Macclesfield's library and printed by Mr Andrew Clark in the *Shirburn Ballads* (1907) p. 54. The heading is: 'Of a maide nowe dwelling at the towne of *meurs* in *dutchland*, that hath not taken any foode these 16 yeares, and is not yet neither hungry nor thirsty; the which maide hath lately been presented to the lady *elizabeth*, the king's daughter of *england*. This song was made by the maide her selfe, and now translated into *english*.'

The maid is made to say:

No thirst nor hunger me annoyes,  
nor weakenes my estate;  
But liues like one that's finely fed  
with dainties delicate.  
For daily in my hand I beare  
a pleasant smelling flower,  
Which to maintaine me safe in health  
hath still the blessed power.

She goes on—in agreement with Browne's account of his Maid of Germany—to claim divine assistance:

Then yeelded I the lord aboue  
eternall laude and prase  
That thus hath made me in my life  
a wonder of these daies.

It seems likely that the maid of the ballad was the one that was in the mind of Browne's annotator: and if the annotator was Browne himself she was his Maid of Germany. But the ballad throws no light on the 'detection' or 'defection' of the Maid. Whichever of the two words is the authentic one, the general sense of Browne's allusion would lead us to suppose that the Maid of Germany was somehow convicted of fraud, or gave way under examination.

G. WOLEDGE.

LEEDS.

#### DOORS AND CURTAINS IN RESTORATION THEATRES.

There still remain, it is true, 'a few moot points in regard to...the theatres of the Restoration,' but the number, position, and use of stage doors in the Theatre Royal and at Lincoln's Inn Fields in the days of Dryden are no longer obscure points and difficulties. Mr Allardyce Nicoll, however, who speaks of the stage doors as a 'minor detail,' and almost apologizes for attaching any consequence to 'such apparent



trivialities,' whereas in reality they were an extremely important, prominent, and long-enduring<sup>1</sup> feature of the theatre, does not seem aware that the whole question of stage doors in the Restoration play-houses has already been fully examined and the actual facts clearly established. Commenting upon a stage direction in *The Rover*, 1: '*Enter two Bravoes, and hang up a great picture of Angelica's, against the Balcony, and two little ones at each side of the Door,*' I gave a detailed account of the balconies and doors and showed that 'if required, all four balconies, and more frequently, all four doors could be and were employed<sup>2</sup>.' I was largely helped in my investigations by Mr W. J. Lawrence's discovery of Sir Christopher Wren's designs for the second Theatre Royal, Drury Lane, 1674. These Mr Lawrence most generously placed at my disposal. All this is completely ignored by Mr Nicoll.

In his recent essay<sup>3</sup>, Mr Nicoll having occasion to refer to Mr R. W. Lowe's *Thomas Betterton* (1889) praises this painstaking and indeed valuable study with more enthusiasm than knowledge. To speak of Mr Lowe's 'almost unerring theatrical judgment' is more creditable than critical. The book deserves warm commendation, but it is by no means so free from faults as Mr Nicoll believes, and more than a word of caution is necessary to those who use it. One serious blemish is that, pp. 188-9, Lowe gives a list of 'Characters played by Betterton. In addition to those mentioned in text,' the dates ranging from 1661-1708-9. This list Lowe wholly based upon Genest, and it follows that in many cases the dates are entirely erroneous. Thus Mrs Behn's *The Forc'd Marriage* was produced in December, 1670, at the Duke's Theatre, Lincoln's Inn Fields. Lowe, following Genest, gives 1672. Mr Nicoll here falls into a double mistake, for he writes that *The Forc'd Marriage* was produced at Dorset Gardens, 1672. *The Atheist*, which Lowe dates 1684, was produced in May or June 1683. Lee's *The Massacre of Paris* was produced in the autumn of 1689, not in 1690. There are blunders also in the body of the book: Otway's *The History and Fall of Caius Marius*, produced in 1679, preceded not followed *The Orphan*, produced in the early months (probably February) 1680. Lowe places *The Orphan* before *Caius Marius* and dates both tragedies 1680 (p. 122).

In the course of his article Mr Nicoll cites various stage directions from John Banks' *The Albion Queens: or, The Death of Mary Queen of Scotland*, 4to, 1704. In this tragedy the Duke of Norfolk was acted by

<sup>1</sup> See W. J. Lawrence, *The Elizabethan Playhouse: Proscenium Doors*, p. 189, and the present writer's edition of *The Rehearsal* (1914), p. 104.

<sup>2</sup> *Mrs Behn*, vol. 1, pp. 441-2.

<sup>3</sup> *Modern Language Review*, vol. xv, p. 137.



produced at Lincoln's Inn Fields in 1697, was spoken by Verbruggen, who acted Sir Francis Wildlove. Act I commences: 'Sir Francis Wildlove in his Chamber Dressing with Searchwell his man.' Searchwell was played by Knap.

The curious Prologue to D'Urfey's *The Virtuous Wife; or, Good Luck at Last*, produced at the Duke's Theatre in 1679—not 1680 as Dr Forsythe erroneously states<sup>1</sup>—deserves particular attention. It was 'spoke by Mrs Barrer' who says:

I'll give o'er  
Desert the Muses Cause and play no more;  
For *Vnderhil*, *Jevan Currier*, *Tony Lee*,  
*Nokes*, all have better Characters than me.

whereupon 'Lee *peeps out of a little window over the Stage.*'

*Lee.* What Mrs Barrer! hah—what's that you say?

This is a Plot, a trick—'twixt you and *Nokes*.

*Nokes* *peeps out of a little Window the other side of the Stage.*

Presently Mrs Barry declares:

be friends, I'll Act—for once I'll trye.  
*Lee.* Why then all's well again—(*shuts one Window.*)  
*Nokes.* And so say I—(*shuts t'other Window.*)

The existence of these little windows, which obviously had shutters to open or close, has not, I think, been noted by any writer on the Restoration theatre. One of the windows is used in Mrs Behn's *The Round-Heads; or, The Good Old Cause* (produced at the Duke's Theatre, 1681–2) Act V, Scene 3, when, after the soldiers have gone off cheering and shouting *Viva les Heroicks*, Fleetwood, '*peeping out of a Garret Window*,' calls on the lay elder, Ananias.

That the curtain in a Restoration theatre, having been raised after the Prologue, was not lowered between the acts has been shown so clearly and in such scholarly detail by Mr W. J. Lawrence that any recapitulation of his arguments would be the merest impertinence. He is followed by all authorities on this period. Accordingly when Mr Nicoll writes that the curtain 'seems...to have been employed with ever-increasing frequency between the acts' he is venturing a statement which, utterly unsupported by any evidence as it is, must be pronounced something more than temerarious. It is true that Mr Nicoll cites four examples to support his theory. Of these Settle's *Cambyzes*, *King of Persia* (Lincoln's Inn Fields, 1666) and Sir Robert Howard's *The Surprisal* (Theatre Royal, 1665) are wholly beside the point. In each play

<sup>1</sup> 'A Study of the Plays of Thomas D'Urfey. Part I.' *Western Reserve University Bulletins*, May 1916.



there is a presentation of a masque which required special arrangement in setting the scenes. The Stage Direction, Act II, of Mrs Behn's *The Forc'd Marriage*, Mr Nicoll, apparently relying upon the corrupt text of 1724, misquotes. '*The Curtain is let down, and soft Musick plays*' should be '*The Curtain must be let down and soft Musick must play.*' The very wording of this direction shows it to be exceptional and I have drawn attention to the point in my *Mrs Behn*, vol. III, p. 472 and p. 493, both in the Textual and Critical notes. It is equally obvious that the example quoted from *The Young King* (Dorset Gardens, 1679) is also exceptional: 'Act III, Scene 1. *The Curtain is let down.*' This was so used for 'a special show piece of theatrical business,' the discovery of Orsames seated on his throne in full state, with *On either side of the Stage, Courtiers ready drest, and multitude of Lights*. In fine, in the Restoration theatre the curtain did not fall between the acts, but the conclusion of each act was shown by a clear stage. This has been the actual practice in the recent revivals by the Stage Society and the Phoenix of comedies by Congreve, Vanbrugh, and Dryden, and it has proved extraordinarily effective.

'The curtain,' writes Mr Nicoll, 'seems in most cases to have been lowered before the Epilogue.' To prove this amply several instances are cited from Orrery's works. No more unfortunate examples could have been chosen. Orrery's plays are largely spectacular, and on account of their magnificent mounting, scenic display, pomp and crowds, they demanded special production and a particular use of the curtain. They are exceptional altogether. The same remarks equally apply to the operatic *The Prophetess: or, The History of Dioclesian*, put on by Betterton at Dorset Gardens in 1690.

Innumerable examples could be quoted to show that the Epilogue was spoken before the curtain fell. A few of the most striking must suffice. At the conclusion of Sir Robert Howard's *The Vestal Virgin: or, The Roman Ladies* (Theatre Royal, 1664) 'Just as the last Words were spoke Mr *Lacy* enter'd and spoke the Epilogue,' which commences:

By your leave, Gentlemen——  
After a sad and dismal Tragedy  
I do suppose that few expected me.

Sir Robert Howard altered the play, and it was *Acted the Comical Way*. We then have 'Epilogue spoken by Mr *Lacy*, who is suppos'd to enter as intending to speak the Epilogue for the Tragedy.'

By your leave, Gentlem..... How! what do I see!  
How! all alive! Then there's no use for me.  
'Troth, I rejoyce you are reviv'd agen;  
And so farewell, good living Gentlemen.

I. Nay, Mr *Lacy*. La. What wou'd you have with me?

The Epilogue to Crowne's *Juliana; or, The Princess of Poland* (Lincoln's Inn Fields, 1671) is spoken by Mrs Long (Paulina) and Angel (the Landlord). If the curtain had fallen all point would be lost. The Epilogue to Crowne's *The Destruction of Jerusalem*, Part II (Theatre Royal, 1677) was spoken by Mrs Marshall (Berenice). Berenice had left the stage some eighteen lines before Kynaston as Titus declaimed the final tag, and *The Play ended, Mrs Marshall returns and speaks The Epilogue in the character of Queen Berenice*. The Epilogue to Ravenscroft's popular *The London Cuckolds* (Dorset Gardens, 1681) is spoken by no less than seven actors, Smith (Ramble), Mrs Curren (Eugenia), Leigh (Dashwell), Mrs Barry (Arabella), Nokes (Doodle), Underhill (Wiseacre), and Mrs Petty (Peggy). It would have been more than awkward for these characters to have left the stage and then returned for the Epilogue. The Epilogue to Mountford's *The Successful Strangers* (Theatre Royal, 1690) was 'Spoke by Mr Nokes, Mr Lee, and Mr Mountfort.'

Mr Nokes pulling Mr Mountfort. Nay, Prithce come forward and ben't so ashamed.  
Mr Lee. Time enough to be sad when thou'rt sure thy  
Play's damn'd;

and nineteen lines later we have '[Mount. bows to Audi. and Exit.]'. Had the curtain already fallen this business would have been impossible.

There is a passage in Davies' *Dramatic Miscellanies* (1784), vol. III, p. 391, which has extremely puzzled writers upon Congreve, but which is quite clear when we remember that at the end of a play the actors remained grouped upon the stage whilst the speaker of the Epilogue advanced or entered, as the case might be. Davies writes: 'The stage, perhaps, never produced four such handsome women, at once, as Mrs Barry, Mrs Bracegirdle, Mrs Mountford, and Mrs Bowman: when they appeared together in the last scene of the Old Batchelor, the audience was struck with so fine a groupe of beauty, and broke out into loud applauses.' Mr Gosse, referring to this anecdote (*Life of William Congreve*, p. 57), says: 'No doubt the fact is correct, except in one particular: Mrs Barry had nothing to do on the stage in the last scene. She acted Letitia Fondlewife; but if we replace Mrs Barry by Mrs Leigh, the quartet is again complete.' No such change is necessary. Mrs Bracegirdle (Araminta), Mrs Mountford (Belinda), Mrs Bowman (Sylvia), were on the stage when Betterton (Heartwell) spoke the last lines, and Mrs Barry, entering to deliver the Epilogue, completed the quartet of beautiful actresses, although Letitia Fondlewife is not seen after Act IV of the comedy.

MONTAGUE SUMMERS.

LONDON.

## REVIEWS.

*The Lollard Bible and other Medieval Biblical Versions.* By MARGARET DEANESLY. Cambridge: University Press. 1920. pp. xx + 483. 8vo. 31s. 6d. net.

Miss Deanesly's work is worthy of comparison with that of Samuel Berger in the variety of its interest and the knowledge that underlies it. Her title hardly does her justice; the most interesting and important part is not the somewhat technical study of particular versions and texts, but her examination of the attitude of the medieval Church towards the use of the Bible by the laity and by theological students. But since her enquiry was prompted by doubts concerning the notion of an orthodox version anterior to Wyclif's, as Miss Deanesly with a laudable freedom from pedantry calls it, we may congratulate her upon her complete statement of the proofs to the contrary. Cardinal Gasquet's guess has long been discredited, but there has not yet been an adequate refutation of the idea that lay behind it in the mind of Sir Thomas More, the Cardinal's authority. This was that the fear of misuse had been the only cause of the discouragement, and even prohibition, of the study of the Bible, and that it had been sanctioned and promoted where no danger was felt. Miss Deanesly is able to show that the Bible, as such, had held but a small place in religious practice and theological study before the days of controversy, and therefore that it was not the strife which drove the Book into obscurity. It had never, in the medieval period, been prominent or popular. The devotional literature from about 1300, of which Miss Deanesly gives an interesting account, is not based on the whole Bible but on selected portions, and she shows that the Vulgate itself was a comparatively rare possession of monastic houses. It was the religious movement of the generation before Wyclif, of which Richard Rolle is typical, that created the demand for the parts of the Bible most suited for meditation, such as the Psalter, in the vernacular; and in southern Europe this was supplied by Waldensian versions, the heretical origin of which was suspected neither by the devout nor by their directors. But the author points out that there is comparatively little evidence for the use of translations even of the liturgical portions of the Gospels till the spiritual revival. Then, as she narrates, the Congregation of the Common Life, gaining the respectable status of Austin Canons and protecting their lay followers by giving them position equivalent to that of tertiaries among the Mendicants, gave a new vogue to the study of the Bible. In the later fourteenth century there is much evidence for it; especially, as might be expected, among devout nuns, for whom a translation was necessary. Miss Deanesly might have mentioned that after the visitation of an English nunnery



the bishop's injunctions were always given in English, and the need of the vernacular would be equally great in the Low Countries. Still, suspicion remained, and she cites some interesting 'determinations' by jurists of Cologne in 1398 in favour of the use of German scriptures by the laity. They are of the nature of counsel's opinion, supporting the cause on behalf of which the lawyers were employed, and doubtless the problem had been stated in such a way as to suggest the answer that was desired. But at least these determinations prove that the use of the scripture in modern tongues was not absolutely unlawful, as since the Waldensian controversy it had been regarded.

This brings us to the very date of the English versions, that of which Nicholas Hereford was the chief author, made at Oxford while Wyclif's movement was still in the academic stage, and its revision by John Purvey, ten years later, completed with its Lollard preface by 1397. Perhaps the most interesting suggestion in the book is that as it was not Wyclif himself but his followers who laid stress on the study of the English Bible, so it was they who translated his writings into English. Miss Deanesly would localise this work at Leicester, the head of one of John of Gaunt's earldoms, where Wyclif's disciples, like their master at Lutterworth in the same county, found protection.

After the conciliar condemnation of the English Bible in 1408, followed by the Archbishop's sanction of the translation of St Bonaventure's Meditations as a substitute for devotional purposes, Miss Deanesly continues her enquiry. She notes the instances of religious books bequeathed in wills, and the evidence of monastic catalogues. She is able to show that the books were few, and that when the English Bible, or parts of it, were possessed it was by persons of rank, whose confessors would supervise their reading. Among such must be classed the nuns of the two wealthy houses of Sion and Barking, where alone among nuns there is proof that such reading was practised. As for the one rival to the Wycliffite translation, a rival that had no success, the author connects its scanty remains with Lincoln Cathedral. There is no doubt of its orthodoxy, or of its failure. When the rise of Humanism is reached, there is a good statement of the contrary views of Erasmus and More, who not only judged *a priori* that a translation made by heretics must be corrupt and therefore that the existing translation, being honest, could not be the work of Wyclif's school, but also held that the public was better without the Book. The story ends with Thomas Cromwell's injunction of 1538 that the Great Bible should be set up in every church, which was in itself a notable victory of Humanism.

In this long and leisurely study of evidences for the knowledge and use of the Bible and of books which might take its place, though much is rightly drawn from the learned quarterlies much is also an original contribution to our knowledge. A good deal is inevitably tentative, for evidence is not exhausted. But it is unlikely in the extreme that the picture will be seriously modified, and Miss Deanesly has done us a lasting service by her survey of a wide and varied field. It would be too much to demand that one pair of eyes should never fail. Bishop Fox

of Hereford was not the author of the *Acts and Memorials*; an Archbishop of Metz (several times mentioned) would be vainly sought in Eubel or Gams; the Diatessaron in its original language for two centuries took the place of the Gospels in public worship, though the Codex Fuldensis, its Latin version, had not a widely extended influence. And who was Palmatus, baptised at Rome about the year 200?

Mr Coulton, in introducing this as one of a series of Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought, makes high claims which will doubtless be justified by achievement. But is he not unduly hopeful when he expects the general public to be interested as deeply in historical researches as in scientific, if only the accuracy be equal? After all, what attracts the world to the physical sciences is that experiments can always be repeated; if a dye or an explosive has once been invented, anyone who knows the formula is as well off as the discoverer. But history is a matter of observation, and the science with which it can best be compared is astronomy. We do not find that interest in it is increasing; and in these days of cheap watches it is probable that we know and care less about its practical use than did our grandfathers.

E. W. WATSON.

OXFORD.

*Early Theories of Translation.* By FLORA ROSS AMOS. New York: Columbia University Press; London: H. Milford. 1920. pp. xv + 184. \$2 net.

In this volume a useful piece of work has been done at the cost of much painstaking research extending over many centuries of our literature. The subject was not one in which new and surprising discoveries were to be expected, but it demanded and has engaged the constant exercise of sound and discriminating judgment, and a sense of proportion which has forbidden any unnecessary divergence from the main theme. At the same time, this has not excluded a good deal of relevant and interesting detail; and although a manageable subject could only be obtained by limiting reference to practice as compared with theory, practice has not been lost sight of, or absence of standards too readily inferred from absence of express statement.

The work begins with a section on 'The Mediaeval Period,' in which the treatment of originals was generally very much as the author pleased, and amid much comment very little theory made its appearance; followed by two on 'The Translations of the Bible' and 'The Sixteenth Century' respectively, in which are separately shown the influence of Biblical translation and the enthusiasm inspired by the Renaissance, in developing ideas of progress towards accuracy without obscurity, of the need of noting the differences and correspondences of the languages involved, of approximation to the style of an original so as to echo its grace, and, as expressed by Chapman at least, of the possibility of capturing its spirit. The last section, 'From Cowley to Pope,' develops the change



from theory comprised in comment mostly scattered and incidental to theory considered and formulated by a few men well acquainted with each other's views. The chief figure is of course Dryden, and effective use is made, as the subject requires it, of his various reasoned advocacies of the middle course between literalism and the license championed by Denham and Cowley, and his illuminating discussion of all related points. Perhaps he loses something in fulness of treatment by this convenient method of citing his pronouncements separately as the argument provokes them, but his pre-eminency does not suffer, and his claim to be a pioneer in regard to the reproduction of metrical effects in translating is recognised. Finally, the excellent theories set forth by Pope in his preface before Homer, and accepted by his contemporaries, are contrasted with the real sacrifice of fidelity made by him and them to decorum and the standard of his own diction and style, and the book ends with Cowper's reaction against such methods.

I now turn to one or two particular points. It is well that attention should have been drawn to the real freedom, comparatively speaking, of sixteenth (and early seventeenth) century translators, as contrasted with Chapman's charge that they 'all so much apply Their pains and cunning word for word to render Their patient authors,' and to the prevalence of the same view in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Indeed it is not yet extinct, and one cannot help feeling that though no doubt the known practice of Jonson, and his importance, had a good deal to do with the impression, there must at least have been more behind it than is here indicated. In the case of Horace, Drant, whose theory (as set forth in 'To the Reader' before *A medicinale Morall, that is the two Bookes of Horace his Satyres*, &c., 1566) is cited as 'most radical of all' in regard to 'undue liberty with source,' might also have been quoted on the other side from his remarks before *Horace His arte of Poetrie, pistles, and Satyrs Englished*, &c., 1567, and so, presumably, according to his second thoughts. After noting the charge that 'the boke by me thus Englished is harde and difficulte,' he says: 'That it shoulde not be harde through me what haue I not done which might be done? I haue translated him sumtymes at Randun. And nowe at this last time welnye worde, for word, and lyne for lyne.' *Lucan's First Book. Translated line by line*, &c., is the title of Marlowe's translation of Lucan, 1600.

To the literal seventeenth century translators, May, Sandys, etc., who are coupled with Jonson as deepening the impression, Christopher Wase may be added. His edition of *Grati Falisci Cynegeticon* appeared in 1654 with a pleasant commendatory poem by Waller and 'A preface to the Reader,' in which he expresses his hope that the poem 'may be understood with ease, and the delight of attending to the elegancies in it' may be 'rather doubled, then intermitted: by adjoyning a Translation in equall consort.' He gives 'the sense of the author in a strict Metaphrase; the whole 540 Latine verses being rendred into a like number of English,' and has much to say on the difficulty 'of rendring terms peculiar to any Art out of one Language into another.' In a short book



on an extensive subject omissions are inevitable, but for their own sakes I should have liked to see the names of those excellent translators and friends, Thomas Stanley and Sir Edward Sherburne, in the index. The conclusion of Sherburne's *Life of Seneca* (*The Tragedies*, etc., 1701), comprising 'A Brief Discourse concerning Translation,' was probably written after 1691, but the three tragedies given were done long before, the *Medea* as early as 1648. Sherburne denies the right of free translators to appeal to Horace, *Nec verbum verbo curabis*, by pointing out that this precept must be taken with its context, and describes his translation as 'not curtail'd or diminished by a partial Version, nor lengthened out or augmented by a preposterous Paraphrase; but the genuine Sense of *Seneca* in these Tragedies intelligibly delivered, by a close Adherence to his Words as far as the Propriety of Language may fairly admit; in Expressions not unpoetical, and Numbers not unmusical. But representing, as in a Glass, his just Lineaments and Features, his true Air and Mien, in his own Native Colours, unfaded with adulterate Paint, and keeping up (at least aiming so to do) his distinguishing Character, in a word rendring him entire, and like. Which are the things a Translator should chiefly, if not solely intend.'

Gildon's section on Roscommon's *Essay on Translated Verse* in his *Laws of Poetry*, 1721, supports the attack on rhyme with which that essay concludes, and which ought to have appeared on p. 161 of Dr Amos's book, if not elsewhere, in modification of what is there said as follows: 'Roscommon, whose version of Horace's *Art of Poetry* is in blank verse, says that Jonson's translation lacks clearness as a result not only of his literalness but of the "constraint of rhyme," but makes no further attack on the couplet as the regular vehicle for translation.' The attack had already been made. Henry Felton's *A Dissertation on Reading the Classics, And Forming a Just Style Written in the Year 1709*, &c. (ed. 3, 1718), deserves mention, in any later edition, for an attempt to treat with perspicuity and considerable fulness the subject of translation and imitation; which, in his own opinion at any rate, 'will appear perhaps in a different Light from any Thing hitherto advanced upon it.'

The book appears to be very correctly printed, but why should quotations be modernised, those in Middle English verse excepted, in a book of this kind? Henry Brome, on p. 136 and in index, should be Alexander Brome (Henry was the publisher), and the reference to note 2 on p. 144 should be removed from 'Brome' to the previous word. There appears to be a misprint of 'Main' for 'Maim' in the verses on p. 152. On p. 17 the impression is accidentally given that Alfred's translation of Boethius (not the *Metra* only) is in verse.

R. H. CASE.

LIVERPOOL.

*The Percy Reprints.* Edited by H. F. B. BRETT-SMITH. No. 1. *The Unfortunate Traveller.* By THOMAS NASHE. xx + 132 pp. 5s. No. 2. *Gammer Gvrtton's Nedle.* By M<sup>r</sup> S. M<sup>r</sup> of Art. xv + 80 pp. 4s. 6d. Oxford: Basil Blackwell. 1920.

These volumes, excellently printed on good paper and light to hold, begin a series of reprints which promises to be of much interest and wide range. It wisely seeks to meet the wants of students by reprinting texts unaltered in spelling and punctuation, and by recording important variations and all misprints. This last is unobtrusively done by relegating the misprints to a list at the close of each book, with a view to the convenience of general readers who are optimistically expected. To propitiate them further, explanations are reduced to a few pages of notes in the same place, but all readers would prefer a glossary, at once complete, concise, and frank about the unknown. It is irritating to turn to notes and draw blank.

The editor's brief introductions are eminently readable. In prefacing No. 1, *The Unfortunate Traveller*, he justly deprecates the idea of imitation of *Lazarillo de Tormes*, and draws a distinction between Jack Wilton and this earliest picaresque hero in rank and motive, which is both true and important in the main, but not quite impartial. Jack Wilton is a heartless young rascal, and self-approvingly records how he tricked a foolish captain into seeking torture and death, while Lazarillo has a kind heart, some natural principle, and an amusing simplicity of nature which blends with and qualifies his complacency as a husband. These points are evident enough to have been seized upon by the best continuator and used with good effect.

Nashe, who had behind him the development of the Jest-Book in the direction of the picaresque novel, Lyly's *Euphues*, the English Faust book, the books on coney-catching, and Greene's realistic work, the translations from Italian, etc., fuses elements resembling all these into a narrative medley with an historical background. It begins with jests and trickery (flat, indeed, beside the protracted and fascinating duel between Lazarillo and the blind beggar), and ends with a crude but forceful intensification of the lust and blood of the Italian novella, complicated with the popular theme of scandalising the Pope and bemonstering the Jew. In between are found Ascham's horror of Italy, the didacticism of Lyly, the anti-Martinist's scornful gibing at puritans and all ultra-protestant sects, the heroic romance element in the story of Surrey and the fair Geraldine, and ingredients of the book of travel. We may be thankful he omitted pastoral. The greatest pleasure to be got from the book, and it is a real one, is the free exercise of Nashe's well-known satirical gifts, and extraordinary command of language vividly expressive and abusive, in the editor's words, his 'sovereign gift, the faculty of racy and coloured speech.' I do not, however, see the point of citing his earlier repudiation of the charge of imitating *Euphues*. Some of the features of Lyly's style are certainly often employed in this book, nor will it do to limit it with Jusserand (*The English Novel in the Time of Shakespeare*, note, p. 309)



'to the mouth of his self-confident good-for-nothing as the finishing touch of his portrait.' The old banished earl preaches in Lyly's manner, and Heraclide tries to melt her ravisher by similes, and laments her rape in the same fashion. In the notes the editor's interpretation of *zanie*, p. 83, in an unusual sense as *femme de chambre*, seems to me to be quite put out of court on p. 90, where the husband finds his wife's fellow victim, 'his simple Zanie *Capestrano* runne through.' The book is carefully edited, and I have noted only two or three unimportant misprints.

No. 2, *Gammer Gurton's Needle*, supplies an exact and handy reprint of the second regular English comedy and only existing specimen of sixteenth century vernacular University comedy. Mr S.'s observation of character puts his work on a higher plane than would otherwise be appropriate to its farcical plot and broad humour in rustic dialect, savouring more than a little of 'the dungy earth.' The editor briefly but vividly shews the interest of the comedy as a jovial picture of village life at its date; and in the play itself every character lives, from Cocke, the merry boy, to Master Baylye, an arbitrator of disputes as acute and humorous as Justice Clement, without his eccentricity. Perhaps even the portraiture of the two angry dames, 'alike,' as the editor says, 'in suspicion and action, yet subtly differentiated in character,' must yield to that of Hodge. His putting of the male point of view, when he learns the loss of the needle, on which not only the whole story turns, but also the mending of his breeches for the courtship of Kristian Clack, Tom Simson's maid, has only to be read once to be remembered ever:

Wherto serued your hands and eies, but this your neele to kepe  
What deuill had you els to do, ye kept ich wot no sheepe  
Cham faine a brode to dyg and delue, in water, myre and claye  
Sossing and possing in the durte, styll from day to daye  
A hundred thinges that be abrode, cham set to see them weele  
And foure of you syt idle at home, and can not keepe a neele.

The editor's notes, so far as they go, are useful and to the point. Perhaps in suggesting that *this* (v, ii, 308) is a misprint for *'tis*, he has considered and rejected the possibility of its being the contraction of *this is* which sometimes occurs. It would have been well to note (with defence of the original) the reading *fyth!* for *sayth* (I, iii, 17) in Dr Bradley's text (*Representative English Comedies*, ed. Gayley, 1907), and that *breafast* (II, ii, 64) is not a misprint. The following appear to be such, *it* for *if* (II, v, 5) and *y* for *y<sup>t</sup>* (v, ii, 196). A welcome addition to the book is an appendix containing the earlier version of the famous drinking song in Act II, as printed by Dyce in 1843.

LIVERPOOL.

R. H. CASE.

*Die Characterprobleme bei Shakespeare. Eine Einführung in das Verständnis des Dramatikers.* Von LEVIN L. SCHÜCKING, Professor an der Universität, Breslau. Leipzig: B. Tauchnitz. 1919.

'In all commentating upon Shakespeare, there has been a radical error never yet mentioned. It is the error of attempting to expound his



characters, to account for their actions, to reconcile their inconsistencies, not as if they were the coinage of a human brain, but as if they had been actual existences upon earth.'

E. A. POE, *Marginalia: Addenda*.

Different ages and countries may have produced poets as great as or greater than Shakespeare, but none has produced a dramatist who has harped more intensely and convincingly on the eccentricities, follies, failures, weaknesses and enormities of human nature. In all the long procession of his outstanding characters, hardly one has made the best of his or her life. This disconcerting realism has proved too much for the Nineteenth Century, and while poets have recreated the actual world, after their own imaginations, critics (some of them hardly less poetical) have read into Shakespeare's mimic world the tendencies which they yearned to feel around them. A reaction was sure to come and since the dawn of the Twentieth Century, scholars have here and there begun to treat the problems of Shakespeare in a less idealising spirit. For the most part, their work has been tentative—isolated monographs on some particular play or aspect of Shakespeare's dramas. And now, as soon as Peace is declared there appears a German book which incorporates all these beginnings, but deals with the whole Shakesperean question comprehensively and *ex cathedra*. It is in fact the first manifesto of the new movement.

Under these circumstances, it is necessary to give a full analysis of the argument, all the more as the work has not yet been translated. Prof. Schücking is thoroughly scientific and practical in his method. He is not embarking on an appreciation of Shakespeare's genius, or on an examination of his interpretation of life. He confines his attention to the unexpected difficulties which arise in studying Shakespeare's characters. For he maintains that the puzzles and enigmas ought to be unexpected. Shakespeare's work was intended to be popular. It did not rely on the support of a circle or cult, as so many modern poems and plays have done; it did not even aim at being modern. The dramatist seems to have chosen the subjects and the *mise-en-scène* which appealed to the ordinary taste and average intelligence of the time and he appears to have been content with at any rate partial anonymity. And yet his plays are far less intelligible than many other old compositions destined for more critical and sophisticated audiences. In Prof. Schücking's opinion commentators such as Löning, Dowden, Bradley and others are perplexed and confused because they are out of sympathy with Shakespeare's mind. They have assumed that the poet's intellect was dominated by quite modern speculations, while all the time his creativeness was moulded and directed by the primitive conditions of the Elizabethan theatre.

Shakespeare had in view a stage on which the actors practically mixed with the onlookers and, thanks to this intimacy, retained something of the atmosphere of story-tellers. So the characters were designed to be on familiar terms with the audience, to be conscious of their

presence, to explain their own qualities or comment on the plot and even to address the spectators personally. Thus Lady Macbeth talks of her own designs as 'fell,' Cordelia, Brutus and Henry V offend against the most elementary canon of modesty and Iago is openly convinced of his own villany. But the commentators, accustomed to the aloofness of the modern stage, and to its attention to spectacular realism, cannot understand these inconsistencies. The test example is the character of Julius Caesar. His self-glorification seems so excessive to modern theatrical ideas, that Brandes cannot explain his speeches without supposing that this colossus has become a dotard. The truth is that Caesar's greatness fills the whole piece. He is throughout an heroic character, masterful in every word and gesture and even after Death his spirit can conquer the living. To give him individuality, Shakespeare introduced a number of personal traits—apoplexy, superstition, susceptibility to flattery—and he thus becomes a man without losing the attributes of a superman. The audience, even if they had forgotten the Caesar of the medieval romances, undoubtedly expected the character to make this impression; and such impression is necessary to the dramatic situation. But how could the effect be produced? The play does not deal with the 'famous victories of Julius Caesar.' In fact he is passive throughout. He could appear great only by self-praise or by the praise of others. Shakespeare probably had less scruple in employing self-praise because there was already a dramatic tradition to represent Caesar in the spirit of Seneca's *Hercules Oetaeus*. But the dramatist had another and very likely more cogent reason in that no other personage could be suitably employed at the beginning of the play to praise Caesar, whereas the audience were quite prepared for a character to explain his own good or bad qualities much as the old figures in the moralities introduced themselves with 'I am....'

This objective treatment is the first essential difference between the modern and the Shakespearean theatres. The figures sometimes express not what would really be passing in their own minds, but what the spectators are intended to think about them or about the situation. Next to self-revelation, comes the light thrown on leading characters by their associates, such as the mob's opinion of Coriolanus or Oliver's admiration for Orlando whom he is trying to kill, or Edmund's appreciation of Edgar. Troilus is a good example. He is treated with contempt or with pity by commentators such as Kreyssig, Wolff, Tatlock. Yet his description of himself and his portrait by Ulysses make it clear that in reality he is an heroic character, sincere and passionate, who is learning his first lesson in the faithlessness of women. Similarly Macbeth is not a man of action and of iron will, as Ulrici, Kreyssig and Brandes imagine, nor in the first place an intellectual with an over-active imagination as Raleigh thinks. The key to his character is found in Lady Macbeth's portrait of her husband in act I, sc. 5, and all through the play her attitude shows that his struggle is against weakness and irresolution, not against his better nature. Thus many of Shakespeare's speeches are not illustrative of the speakers but of the characters which



they describe, or of some other topic on which the dramatist wishes to speak, as when he makes Mercutio describe dreams or Polonius give his paternal counsel, so full of wisdom and epigram.

If commentators had noticed this feature of Elizabethan technique, they would have been saved from many blunders such as Vischer, Conrad, Wolff and Löning make, when they attempt to explain some speech which Shakespeare composed without bothering to adapt it to the speaker. Commentators would have avoided even more ludicrous mistakes, if they had realised the next important difference between the primitive and modern theatre, namely that not only speeches but whole scenes are sometimes isolated from the plot and have a dénouement of their own. Rünelin goes so far as to say that scenes, such as the wooing of Anne by Richard III (I, 2), have an isolated completeness. At any rate there is a tendency to heighten scene-effects at the expense of the whole and to introduce words or statements, as Goethe pointed out, which are inconsistent with the rest of the plot, but give a greater force or completeness to particular episodes. Generally speaking, this tendency to construct 'step-by-step,' has had little effect on the unity of the principal characters, but there is a striking exception in the case of Cleopatra. In Act I Cleopatra is neither queenly nor truehearted but a coquette whose mentality centres in sensuality and passion. In the last acts she becomes essentially noble and as devoted as Juliet or Desdemona. Critics have looked for some thread of continuity in these rôles. If Shakespeare had intended the character to be consistent and to undergo some natural evolution, he would have put an explanatory speech into the mouth of Cleopatra or of her associates or, as in the case of Lady Macbeth, he would have indicated in the opening scenes the qualities which were to survive in the last act. Probably he began by vilifying Cleopatra to gratify the conventional idea of a seductress; or he may have intended the character as the copy of some model such as 'the dark lady of the sonnets.' Then towards the close of the play he changed his mind, possibly for dramatic effect, and turned his courtesan into an ideal study.

*Antony and Cleopatra* does not only exemplify the 'step-by-step' mode of composition. It will be remembered that after Antony's death, Cleopatra is fully resolved on suicide, but yet holds back some treasure and again sends messengers to Caesar. MacCallum and Boas suggest that her old selfish and covetous instincts have again temporarily got the better of her. Such an explanation may suit the allusiveness of modern art but not the methods of the Shakespearean stage. It is far more likely that the dramatist, however hasty his perusal of Plutarch, had found there certain episodes which he could not bring himself to forgo, even though they were no longer in harmony with his now idealised creation. In fact Shakespeare was so dependent on his data, that he sometimes sacrifices his dramatic sense. It almost looks as if he did not in every case stop to realise the full range of historical facts in relation to the psychology of his characters. The older school of critics has gone astray in insisting that the story was secondary and that the



starting point was the characters and dispositions of the leading figures. In reality Shakespeare's process seems to have been just the opposite. He seems to have started with a plot or situation, generally ready-made, and then, while constructing the individuality of his characters and filling them with warm life, to have persisted in fitting them into the prearranged scheme of events. Thus he frequently left discrepancies which commentators have been at their wit's end to explain away. The most conspicuous example of ill-adjustment of conduct to character will be found in *Hamlet*. The original *Hamlet* is lost, but from various sources and models, including Saxo Grammaticus, *Der bestrafte Brudermord*, Belleforest and Kyd we may conclude that Shakespeare found the main outlines of his plot ready to hand, especially the ghost, the motive, the need of secrecy, the simulation of madness and something of the trap-laying and game of life-and-death between the murderer and the avenger. Shakespeare introduced into this framework an addition of his own: the temperamental melancholic. This type, which has been analysed by Overbury and exemplified in Hieronimo (*Spanish Tragedy*), in Antonio (*Antonio's Revenge*) and in the comic Lord Dowsecer (*A Humorous Day's Mirth*) displayed in the age of Shakespeare well-recognised symptoms. The melancholic was inclined to monomania, misogynism, and misanthropy, and this state of mind was betrayed, in his outward conduct by irritability, intolerance, lack of self-control and indecision. If the melancholic still retained any healthy instincts, they led him to music and natural scenery. Such is Hamlet's fundamental character, as his own words and appearance make clear in the opening scenes. Shakespeare remains surprisingly true to this first portrait; the outward signs are sleeplessness, restlessness, absorption in stray thoughts, and the inward symptoms are moral weakness, inability to carry out a plan and irritability which finds vent in his intolerance of Polonius and in his behaviour at Ophelia's burial. All these qualities are found in Overbury's character-sketch, but Shakespeare has developed them so vividly and daringly and has so far ennobled his hero's perceptions with regard to his dead father and to Horatio, that modern commentators have mistaken this ruminating and disillusioned dilettante for an idealist. But he no more answers to the Elizabethan ideal than he does to ours. He is amazingly callous in shedding blood. He is brutal to Ophelia and to his mother, while his erotic fancies and his irresponsibility are familiar symptoms of melancholy. When he finds the king at his prayers, he does not spare him out of horror of violence but because of the Italian belief (incidentally illustrated in *The Unfortunate Traveller*) that a man must be caught and killed in sin before he can be made to taste of the full bitterness of death. He is by no means one of those gentle timid souls, absorbed in questions of world-importance. He has moments of feverish activity, for he is no coward and like all weak men is subject to excitability. But he is none the less the typical melancholic, and, while Laertes plunges into action with all the resolution of an epic figure, Hamlet, like any other vacillating character, takes refuge in irony and sarcasm. His censorious attitude has quite wrongly

directed critics such as Türk, Wolff and Kuno Fischer to the theoretical side of his self-expression. Hamlet then is a portrait of Elizabethan melancholy and though full of perplexities and inconsistencies for the nineteenth century reader, would at once be recognised and understood by the contemporaries of Shakespeare. It remains to see how far this pathological case is adapted to a story which descends from the Dark Ages. Here again the modern critic becomes almost a melancholic himself in his endeavour to reconcile what Shakespeare left irreconcilable. In the original story, the murder was perpetrated openly while Amlothe, Amleth or Hamlet was still a child and as the usurper was prepared for reprisals, the heir had to use cunning. So Shakespeare's Hamlet has to do the same, and more or less in the same manner, though his antic disposition, under the altered circumstances, increases rather than allays suspicion. In an earlier piece, a crazy girl finds traces of murder, while wandering through a wood, so apparently for this reason Ophelia was driven mad. She serves no other purpose except to facilitate the eaves-dropping scene and to occasion Hamlet's displays of irritability. The character of the usurper king is equally ill-adapted. In the first court scene he appears as an able, forbearing, tactful and generous ruler and stepfather. As the story progresses he shows the tenderest love for his wife, sympathy for Ophelia and courage and calmness in the rebellion led by Laertes. Yet both Hamlet and his murdered father describe him as an unnatural and sensual murderer, and then, in opposition to both these aspects, Hamlet's play moves him so much that he makes a full confession in his prayer. Whether Claudius is a criminal debauchee or a courteous man of action, or both, this act of conscience-stricken self-condemnation is inconsistent with his character. Commentators have endeavoured to justify this psychological discrepancy without realising that no justification was possible or necessary. Self-revelation was a canon of the primitive theatre and this scene (III, 3) is inserted out of deference to that tradition.

So far we have discussed the inconsistencies and discrepancies which arise when Shakespeare adheres too closely to his model. Other difficulties arise on the few occasions when he unexpectedly abandons it, as in *Lear*. He adopts his predecessors' starting point and represents a king making the division of his kingdom depend on his daughters' bombastic expressions of love. Critics such as Vischer and Bradley are mistaken in trying to find an explanation of Lear's amazing conduct. Shakespeare accepted the situation with all its impossibilities and then reconstructed the sequel so as to make it suit and explain so strange a beginning. If Lear's attitude to Cordelia was to be in the least convincing, he must be represented as irrational and abnormal. Now the spectacle of an old man sinking into idiocy had already become popular in the character of Titus Andronicus and Kyd's Hieronimo had supplied the model of a headstrong old man who is wounded by destiny in his tenderest susceptibilities but continues to fight against the inevitable till he goes mad. Shakespeare found that both these theatrical successes would serve as models for his purpose, so he made Lear a man of



impulsive anger and of almost insane intolerance. Thus his sudden vindictiveness against the child of his heart becomes at any rate intelligible, and throughout the play, Shakespeare sustains and develops these attributes. And yet the dramatist does not intend his character to lose the sympathy of the spectators. The whole play emphasises the three-fold outrage against age, royalty and paternity and none of the old man's faithful followers make any reproach against his passion. His very defects are the inverse of his qualities. So once again commentators are perplexed by these two apparently contradictory aspects of his character and search below the surface for some occult explanation. Dowden and Bradley go so far as to represent the play as a transition from arrogance and blindness to sympathy and fellow-feeling, through suffering. The real solution will be found in Shakespeare's desire to create the kind of man who might well have committed the acts of public and private folly represented in the opening situation. So he made him the shadow of a great king, for whom the spectators cannot entirely lose all respect, but one bordering on insanity, through age and temperament. Then the dramatist drags him through one calamity after another till his reason entirely breaks down and he becomes a doting imbecile. Had Lear's intellect been sufficiently strong to withstand all the shocks that he endures, his conduct towards Cordelia would have remained inexplicable. The play is a drama, not of spiritual rebirth, but of decay and collapse beginning with the disinheriting of his favourite daughter and ending in the heart-rending inanities which he gabbles over her corpse.

Thus in *Lear* the character and the plot correspond, but, it will be noticed, only so far as the character originates in the plot and continues to depend on it. In many cases Shakespeare seems to think more of preserving the plot than of making the characters behave convincingly. At any rate, when a discrepancy arises, as in *Much Ado*, *All's Well*, and *Measure for Measure*, the characters are more often at fault than is the story. This is particularly true when the action is derived from more than one source, as in the case of the sub-plot in *Lear*. There is nothing impossible, or even improbable in a bastard ousting the legitimate son from the affections of his father, but both Rümelin and Tolstoi have pointed out how unconvincing Edmund's accusations are and with what incredible stupidity Edgar contributes towards confirming these suspicions. Here again unnecessary attempts have been made to justify such makeshifts. The real explanation will probably be found in the discovery that these scenes, however unpsychological, are eminently 'actable.' And if they are not also consistent and true to life, it must be remembered that Shakespeare sometimes nods.

Sometimes Shakespeare makes his characters act with what looks like an insufficiency of motive, sometimes he explains and develops their motives and thereby raises more controversy. Yet he is not obscure. He is, if anything, over-explicit. But he employs the monologue to expound his character's thoughts and the commentator, accustomed to the dialogue of modern plays, will not believe that these figures are speaking the truth about themselves. For instance Kreyssig, Gervinus,



Ulrici, Brandes and Bradley all insist that Iago's alleged motives are not genuine and look for others. Yet the Ancient makes it clear that he really suspected Othello of adultery with Emilia and keenly resented the promotion of Cassio over his head. Another striking example of the primitive use of the monologue will be found in Prince Harry's speech at the beginning of *Henry IV* Pt I. All attempts by Kreyssig, Brandes and Wolff to harmonise this speech with the Prince's character are inadmissible. It is an exposition, statement or description of the situation, giving a loyal colour to the events. Similarly the rather hypocritical exhortation to prayer addressed to Falstaff by the same character at the end of Pt II is another commentary, exalting the position of a king, and not a speech in which some subtle state of mind is implied.

What is true of the monologues, is true in a greater degree of the asides; they are finger-posts to indicate in what direction the characters are moving. They are not utterances inspired by some complex mentality at which the commentator must guess. In fact all that school of criticism is mistaken, which maintains that Shakespeare was unable to present his picture objectively and which concludes that any passage needs expansion and point. In some plays, such as *Henry VIII*, it must be confessed that his work seems incomplete and disconnected, and it cannot be denied that the climax of *Antony and Cleopatra*, the flight of the Egyptian queen, is left unexplained. But in the case of nearly every other disputed point, as for instance Hamlet's madness or Lady Macbeth's swoon (II, 2), the causes or motives are not given only because they are obvious. An excellent example will be found in the *Taming of the Shrew*. Shakespeare gives no clue as to how a ruffian like Petruchio really domesticated a spiteful and malignant woman so quickly and thoroughly. The explanation is simply that there is no explanation; Shakespeare was merely telling an old tale in the newest and most surprising way. Katherine was probably copied from one of the 'roaring boys' and Petruchio from any soldier of fortune. Yet in spite of the simplicity and directness of the piece, no play has been so refined and intellectualised by commentators such as Schomburg, Sievers and Ulrici.

Are there then no other difficulties than those created by the incurable modernity of commentators? Yes, there are some, due to the dramatist's way of writing. Notwithstanding all arguments to the contrary, Shakespeare's work is stamped with the mark of impetuosity and impulse; his development as a poet is uncertain, and, despite enormous progress, he is liable to amazing lapses. We have the lack of concentration in *Antony and Cleopatra*, side by side with the studied form of *Othello*, the accurate local colour of *Romeo and Juliet* and the absence of it in other plays. He gives Iago too many motives and Macbeth too few. To explain these lapses as a device to bring certain points into relief is to confuse the method of Shakespeare with that of Lenbach and of Rodin. The most likely solution will be found in the personality of the poet himself. Shakespeare had the gift of assimilating himself to exceptional and extraordinary natures. He seems to have infused himself into all the ramifications of their complex or eccentric temperaments,

so that he did not analyse their qualities but felt them as a whole. Thus he puts into their mouths utterances which exactly correspond to the particular combination of emotions, and which give the effect of the speaker's personality but which lose their significance if they are botanised and traced back to their psychological sources; much as the different strings of a musical instrument must all sound in unison if they are to produce a chord. While composing, he probably lived so intensely in his characters, and identified himself so completely with their thoughts and feelings, that he sometimes lost the power of looking at them from outside. As he himself understood their antecedents, he forgot that the spectator did not, and so he sometimes passed over necessary information without which the situation cannot be fully appreciated. Moreover, he seems to have been endowed with an almost praeternatural rapidity of thought. We find in his style an unparalleled compression of ideas, rich in images and metaphors. And just as in this mental shorthand he now and then skips a thought, so in the construction of his plot, his mind overleaps some episode which he had imagined or found in his source-book, and hurries us on to the climax, unconscious that he had omitted some preliminary. Thus gaps and obscurities arise in his work, but as they are not intentional, the most obvious explanation is generally the best. When that is not forthcoming, the commentator must search for the lost key among the manners and ideas of the age or in the history of the theatre. Above all he must keep in view the exigencies of the Elizabethan stage and the taste of the audiences. It is a task for specialists, not for the unprofessional speculator however ingenious. Amateurs have worshipped Shakespeare as a god, but like all votaries, they have made him a god after their own image. They have read into his pages the thoughts which seemed to them the most beautiful or the most affecting, until they have made this great Elizabethan genius as highly sensitised as a twentieth-century intellectual.

Such is Prof. Schücking's solution of the mysteries of Shakespeare's psychology. The book is full of unostentatious learning and its pages are enlivened with some almost Heinesque touches of humour and sarcasm. At the same time its arrangement is a trifle confusing and its suggestive theories are propounded in that awkward scholastic style which, alas! we have come to expect from academic experts in general, and from German professors in particular. The present reviewer has in a few instances altered the sequence of ideas and has in nearly every instance abandoned the professor's phrasing, in order to allow for condensation. In spite of these precautions, the bare analysis of the book, though far from complete, has exceeded the space available for reviews. But in any case it was more desirable to expound than to discuss Prof. Schücking's views. Most scholars will probably be prepared to accept his principle and point of view. In fact some of his propositions have already been enunciated in Dr J. E. Schmidt's *Shakespeares Dramen und sein Schauspielerberuf*, while readers of J. M. Robertson's and E. E. Stoll's treatises on *Hamlet* will be struck by some surprising



similarities, though all three books appeared in 1919. At the same time, the book raises innumerable points of controversy. A scholar who propounds a theory is almost bound to over-emphasise certain aspects of his material. It is doubtful, for instance, whether the professor's estimate of Lear, Macbeth, Ophelia or Claudius will be accepted as final, while on the subject of Hamlet no two people can be expected to agree. He leaves many difficulties unsolved, such as the real significance of the jesters and of characters like Pandarus and Enobarbus. Above all, his low estimate of the theatre-going public will not meet with universal acceptance. However, the full discussion of any one of these questions would have taken up most of the allotted space, and the first duty of a reviewer is to give a fair hearing to his author. This is all the more desirable as mathematical certainty is unobtainable in literary matters, and the chief merit of a work of criticism or research is to make its readers think. As such, *Die Characterprobleme bei Shakespeare* is indispensable to any scholar and it is good to hear that an English version will shortly be forthcoming.

H. V. ROUTH.

LONDON.

*A History of Modern Colloquial English.* By HENRY CECIL WYLD.  
London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1920. 8vo. viii + 398 pp. 21s. net.

England, the birth-place of many great grammarians, has never yet taken any deep interest in her own linguistic studies. With the exception of Etymology, brought by Skeat, Bradley, Murray, and Craigie within the range of the general reader, the scientific study of our own tongue has hitherto been widely regarded as the harmless amusement of foreigners, whose learned monographs do not call for serious attention on the part of good patriots.

But what Skeat and his colleagues did for Etymology, has at last been done for Historical Grammar, which can now make its appeal to all circles of the learned, and to wider circles still.

Professor Wyld stands among the great authorities on his subject. His researches carry weight among specialists, and incidentally he is the author of the first English text-book to deal as adequately with Modern as with Medieval English.

With his *History of Modern Colloquial English* he now points out to the philologist the rightful position of the living language, and to the historian of literature the close connexion between the history of grammar and the history of thought and of manners.

The book before us is no mere text-book. It does not claim to set forth all that the student requires to know for the purpose of any examination, nor does it aim at being an encyclopaedia of its subject. On the other hand, it is a good deal more than chips from an English workshop: yet chips there are, as well as finished craftsmanship, enough to set many



a humble brother working hopefully under the inspiration of the crafts-master. Underlying the apparent looseness of the plan may be discerned a two-fold definite purpose. The author will teach in the first place that grammar is human as well as humane and humanistic, and in the second place that it is worth studying for oneself in the sources and apart from teachers and text-books.

Professor Wyld has solved the problem of presenting a difficult subject in a pleasant form. He demands only one hard task from his reader, the acquisition of a knowledge of certain elementary phonetic principles; but as he sets these forth in the space of two pages and a quarter, and in a form comprehensible to every schoolboy, it may be assumed that they will not be entirely beyond the grasp of the cultured.

To come now to some details:

Chap. 1 maps out the field. The significance of the interaction of 'received' and 'modified standard' and regional and class dialect is now made clear by Professor Wyld, and his view of class dialect and the influence of social changes upon it, must find general acceptance. This chapter contains most valuable hints to investigators of dialect.

Chap. 2, expository of the Middle English dialect types, is mainly for professed students of language. From the three or four hundred lines of well selected and carefully annotated extracts here given, the student will learn more about this period of the language than from four hundred pages of M.E. Readers. It may be hoped that p. 55 will be read by all compilers of text-books on literature, and that the invention of Modern English will cease to be credited to Chaucer.

Chap. 3 deals with fifteenth century English, and 'the passing of regional dialect in written English.' One remarks that the author, while in agreement to a great extent with Zachrisson and Dibelius, lays special stress on the evidence for class dialect. Very interesting is the cumulative evidence of 'bad spellings' set forth in the survey of literary English and London English. The author's estimate of Caxton also demands attention.

Chap. 4 shews us Standard English reaching maturity in the Tudor period, with the gradual disappearance of regional dialect from the language of persons who came under the influence of Court speech. Professor Wyld points out how the latitude of the standard speech of the Court, 'the highest type of colloquial English,' was reflected in the literary language of the day, which was far more closely related to the spoken language than it is at present. He draws attention to the intimate connexion between Court circles and the highest forms of literary activity, and he notes the birth of the idea of 'correct' pronunciation. A thirty-page survey of the linguistic forms found in the writings of typical Tudor personages, among them Lord Berners, Ascham, Lyly, the London citizen Machyn, and Queen Elizabeth, enables the reader to follow the author's reasoning step by step.

By the bye, the Queen's *i* for M.E. long tense *e* is complicated by her spelling *plisd* for *pleased*. But if her long *i* was already a diphthong (slack *i* or tense *e* + tense *i*), the confusion might be explained. I have

noted *indyde* in Anne Boleyn's letters, and *Shine* (Sheen), *Quines*, and *kiping* in the correspondence of John Fowler.

Since the publication of Van Dam and Stoffel's *Chapters on English Printing*, scholars have fought somewhat shy of the evidence of printed literature; but Professor Wyld's accurate weighing of the matter establishes his opinion 'that we are justified in regarding the outstanding linguistic features in printed literature of this period as really reflecting the individualities of the authors, and not of the printers.'

Chap. 5, from Spenser to Swift, besides developing the preceding line of argument, is a valuable contribution to the history of prose style. Proofs are adduced from private documents, which now first reveal their linguistic secrets. Very interesting is the ascription to the middle classes of the reaction against slipshod style and pronunciation.

Professor Wyld is perhaps a little severe on the grammarian Butler. The latter surely means: where all decent folk use the new sound, reform the spelling; where some decent folk pronounce according to the traditional spelling, let the rest do the same. It is no concern of Butler's whether the reformed pronunciations are 'natural developments' or 'spelling-pronunciations.' Professor Wyld's own view of two seventeenth century types from M.E. long slack *e* would seem to justify Butler's reformed pronunciation of *ear*; and Horn's theory of a two-fold development of M.E. long tense *e* before *r* justifies Butler's *hear* and *dear*.

Chap. 6 is a masterly discussion of the stressed vowels in New English. The chronology of changes is now known to be less simple than the pioneers Ellis and Sweet supposed. Professor Wyld, while warning us of the uncertainty of definite dates, by his relative chronology has thrown strong light on a dark corner; and his notes on shortenings are lamps to guide the philologist. Clear exposition and sound reasoning are everywhere united with open-mindedness. A little thing like the note on *Foynes* exemplifies the breadth of his knowledge.

In the next edition may we hope to have further information on short *u*, the two long *o*'s before *r*, and the development of M.E. *-aught* and *-ought*? In support of the diphthongal nature of O.F. *u* on English soil one would like to refer to the frequency of M.E. rhymes such as *aventure*—*bour* etc. Can there not have been a centuries-old interaction of Continental and Anglo-French pronunciation? In defence of Bellot, I have noted *up(p)en* fairly frequently through M.E., from the *Twelfth Century Homilies* down to the *Norfolk Guilds*, and would venture the suggestion that the stress was still variable in his day.

Chap. 7, on unstressed vowels, and Chap. 8 on consonant changes, are pioneer work. Professor Wyld has gleaned material from the careless spellings of the 'best' people. He shews how social changes brought about the ultimate triumph of the pedagogue over the aristocrat. I am not yet convinced that *morning*, with admittedly lost *r*, has a vowel-sound identical with that in *dawning*.

Chap. 9 presents inflexions, not as dull paradigms, but in the form of six centuries of living speech. The author never loses sight of his main theme, the development of *modern* English.



Chap. 10, on Colloquial Idiom, indicates new lines of research, and at the same time will prove of special interest to the student of literature.

It is not unfair to sum up the *History of Modern Colloquial English* with the word 'epoch-making.'

J. H. G. GRATTAN.

LONDON.

ÉDOUARD BONNAFFÉ. *L'Anglicisme et l'anglo-américanisme dans la langue française. Dictionnaire étymologique et historique des anglicismes.* Paris, Delagrave. 1920. 8vo. xxiii + 193 pp. 13 fr.

M. Bonnaffé's book contains (i) a short preface by Professor Brunot, pp. v-vi, (ii) an introduction in which M. Bonnaffé attempts an historical account and a succinct appreciation of anglicism in French, pp. vii-xxiii, then immediately after (iii) the dictionary pp. 1-186, (iv) a valuable bibliographical index, pp. 187-193, which includes, in addition to numerous works of all kinds, a list of as many as 155 journals and periodicals.

The Dictionary is a record of English loan-words in modern French by a scholar who is clearly well-acquainted with both French and English and who has been, as we are told by Professor Brunot, gathering together materials for this work for the last thirty years. It contains some 1100 words and their derivatives, say 1400 words in all. The articles are admirably drawn up: the grammatical nature and meaning of each word is briefly indicated; a note is added on the English etymology, and, where possible, the earliest English date is given (e.g. *punch*, 1632). M. Bonnaffé has added very much to the value of his book by giving, for each word, a set of well-chosen examples of their French use, comprising the oldest example known to him, and then others at intervals taken from illustrious authors or from technical works. When the word appears in French at an earlier period but in a different form, he has inserted a historical paragraph containing dated instances of the use of such earlier forms.

M. Bonnaffé says that he has found it a difficult and delicate task to trace the proper limits within which it is possible to admit that a particular English word is a loan-word in French. He has, in any case, rejected all words the English origin of which he considers doubtful: he quotes as examples *choc* (opératoire), *fibustier*, *pneumatique* (bandage), *sensationnel* and *vaseline*. He has also rejected such anglicisms as appear to him obsolete and he gives as instances: *carrick* (light carriage), *chair* (in railway terminology), *ram* (ship), *rouque*, *stage-coach*, *storm-glass*, *usquebac*, *watchman*, *wiski* (light carriage). For various reasons, I regret the omission of the latter group, but in any case it should be understood that M. Bonnaffé's dictionary is an attempt to catalogue the anglicisms most in use in French of the present day. Before admitting a word into his list, he insists on three conditions being fulfilled: it must be used not only in speech, but in writing; it must be used by well-known writers or at least in works of real authority on the subject to which it refers; it must be used continuously if only by a certain set of persons, technical



specialists, sportsmen and so forth. It is clear that these restrictions are of a conventional character, but they are admittedly of practical value. It appears to me that, if we press the matter to its logical conclusion, an English word used in a French setting, is a loan-word. The moment we say or write *le boy* or *la girl* we are introducing a loan-word from English into French. It may not be destined *to live*, as we say; it may not come into anything like common use; it is none the less a loan-word. And surely any number of words accepted by M. Bonnaffé: *bag-pipe* or *bread-pudding*, *fox-terrier* or *stuffing-box*, *tough cake* or *water-jacket* have come into French in that way? And there can be little doubt that the same thing is true of loan-words in all languages. Such words may not retain their English form; they may be variously modified: *rosbif*, *ramberge*; or be translated: *armée du salut*, *bas-bleu*. And it should be kept in mind that, as French and English have a large common vocabulary of Latin and Greek origin, a word already existing in French at a given moment may, as we say, acquire a new meaning derived from English sources; as a matter of fact, we then have two words of similar form (e.g. *impérialiste*, *lecture*, *plate-forme*) but which differ by their date of introduction into the language, by their etymology historically considered and by their meaning; and the, as a general rule, later word is a loan-word from English.

The first crucial date in the history of anglicism in French is that of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, 1685. When we consider the geographical position of France and England, the number of the loan-words before 1685 is curiously small. If we consider the very conservative list of 231 modern French words of English source given by the *Dictionnaire Général* we shall find it includes some 24 which go back to medieval times. The *Dict. Gén.* itself marks five of them as doubtful: *flet*, *flétan*, *flette*, *hocher*, *tille*. M. Bonnaffé not only rejects these five words, but also, and I think rightly, *étambrai*, *gabet*, *gibelet*, *lai*, *lingot*, *lingue* and *paquet*. Of the sixteen M. Bonnaffé still considers as certainly borrowed from English, there are seven which are, to say the least, doubtful: *accore*, *écorer*, *falot*, *hadot*, *hanebane*, *héler*, *mauve*. There remain five: *ale*, *aubin*, *carisel* (*créseau*), *dogue*, *esterlin*.

The sixteenth century is a particularly barren period. M. Bonnaffé says: 'Au xvi<sup>e</sup> siècle la vogue est à l'italianisme, aussi ne prenons-nous à l'Angleterre que quelques rares expressions: *dogue*, *écure* "étais", *falot* "cocasse", *héler*, *mauve*, *ramberge*, *shilling*.' But nearly all these words are older. Of *dogue* M. Bonnaffé himself quotes instances of 1480 and 1406 and it occurs in the fourteenth century in Froissart as *France dogue* 'French dog'. He quotes both *écure* and *écorer* from 1382 and *écure* by its phonetic form is as old as the twelfth century. He gives *falot* in 1466 from Henri Baude and its English origin is in any case uncertain: cf. L. Sainéan, *Revue des études rabelaisiennes*, vi, 292. He gives *héler* in 1391 and the word is no doubt much older like many sea-words for which we have few early texts. *Mauve* he quotes from 1555 like the *Dict. Gén.*; but it is already before 1135 in Philippe de Thaon's *Bestiaire*, l. 2146, where Professor Walberg's reading *mave* should be corrected to

*maue*. There remains *ramberge* which he quotes from 1550; the form *roberge* is already in 1549 in a letter of Henry II: 'La construction et equipage d'une vingtaine de roberges,' cf. Kemna, *Der Begriff 'Schiff' im Französischen*, Marburg, 1902, p. 168.

It is in texts on England that the earliest loan-words occur. M. Bonnaffé has found *fardin*, *peni*, *chelin*, *lord* in Estienne Perlin's *Description des royaumes d'Angleterre et d'Escoce* (1558). So *gaélique*, *greyhound*, *mastiff*, *master* are in André Duchesne's *Hist. générale d'Angleterre, d'Irlande et d'Escoce* (1614). Of the seventeenth century M. Bonnaffé says: 'Il faut arriver au xvii<sup>e</sup> siècle, où s'établit la puissance navale du royaume de Grande Bretagne, définitivement constituée, pour constater un apport sensible d'anglicismes dont une forte proportion, d'ailleurs, se réfère aux choses de la marine.' And thereupon he gives us a list of 41 words which I should classify in three groups.

I. A certain number of miscellaneous words: *contredanse* (from 1626); *mohair*, *moire* (from 1639), on the history of which M. Bonnaffé has made a valuable contribution; *bigle*, *gigue* (from 1650); *flanelle*, *worsted* (from 1656): under *worsted*, M. Bonnaffé might have added a historical paragraph on the O. Fr. *ostade*, *ostadine*, which have been elucidated by Professor Antoine Thomas; *boulingrin*, quoted from 1680 but already in 1663 under the form *poulingrin* in Loret's *Muze historique* (June 30), cf. first example of E. *bowling-green* in N. E. D. from Evelyn's *Diary*, ad ann. 1646.

II. The sea-words. These are all doubtful. *Accore*, *accorer*, *écore*, *étroper* (*estroper*) are twelfth-century words. The claims of the Germanic dialects of the Netherlands have to be considered in the case of all the others and of many omitted by M. Bonnaffé probably because he suspected their Dutch or Flemish origin.

III. The political, administrative, and religious terms of which a few are found in isolated texts before 1685 but which are more and more numerous from that date.

With this last class as well as with anglicisms of all kinds which appear in French writings of the eighteenth century, I hope to deal in an article to appear later in this review. Here, I shall do no more than express surprise that M. Bonnaffé, in his historical account of anglicism in French, has omitted all reference to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. As I have already said, it is the crucial date. The starting-point for the history of anglicism in French in the eighteenth century is to be found in the work of the refugees. In my forthcoming article, I hope to show that M. Bonnaffé has omitted to note in his Dictionary a considerable number of political and parliamentary, of religious and historical terms derived from English and appearing for the first time in French texts of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries; that some commercial and colonial terms first to be noted in French at that time should be added to his list; and that the influence of English on the French scientific and philosophical vocabulary and on that of abstract ideas in general is by him underestimated. It is further my own view that in the eighteenth century and particularly in the second half of it,



many French writers took over from English, without any special acknowledgement, various words of Latin origin; and only a careful examination of the sources of French eighteenth century neologism can confirm the correctness of this opinion. It is certain that owing to the conservative attitude towards neologism that held sway among French writers of the late seventeenth century, a large number of words of Latin origin are attested in their English form before they appear in a French one. When we have a French dictionary offering the same abundance of probatory texts as in the *N. E. D.*, some more definite conclusions on this subject will be possible.

But if French borrows many words from English in the eighteenth century, in the nineteenth, as M. Bonnaffé puts it, 'c'est l'envahissement.' I imagine that, in the history of anglicism in French, the second crucial date is 1814-5. English influence in the eighteenth century comes in great waves, every time (1713, 1748, 1763) there is peace between the two countries. From 1815 it is continuous.

I incline to think that M. Bonnaffé, in spite of all the trouble he has taken, has not succeeded in giving a full presentation of English influence on the French vocabulary. No doubt he has included in his book a very fair proportion of what may be called evident anglicisms; I say evident because I have in mind those which retain a purely English form, *pedigree* and *settler*, *knock-out* and *dead-heat*. Such words are what Edmondo de Amicis used to call *européismi*; or rather they might almost be called *world-words* for they belong to a really international vocabulary. A glance at such a work as Alfredo Panzini's *Dizionario Moderno* (2nd ed., 1908) will show that a very large proportion of them occur in Italian. But it is among the words of which the English origin is less evident that I perceive the gravest lacunae. Of such words M. Bonnaffé has mentioned a few: special meanings of *attraction* and *sélection*, *payer* 'rapporter un bénéfice,' *réaliser* 'comprendre,' *suggestif*, *télescoper*. But the omissions are numerous. Even among the sporting terms, those very words which have become most French—*champion*, *condition*, *favori*, *forme* etc.—are left out. Nothing is said of such political terms as *libéral* (-isme) and *radical* (-isme), or of such words as *paupérisme* and *co-éducation*, *agnostique*, *utilitaire* and *international*.

But before closing this review I should like to call attention to a few curious instances of words, none of which are noted by M. Bonnaffé, but which either are certainly taken from English or in one way or another may show English influence:

(1) *salutiste* from *salut* in *armée du salut*, translated from the English *Salvation army*.

(2) *landau*. The *Dict. Gén.* derives this word from the town of Landau. It really comes into French from English: the *N. E. D.* quotes *lando* in the year of the battle of Dettingen (1743). It came into Fr. after 1815, cf.:

1820 [Defauconpret], *Londres en 1819*; 'Enfin, quelqu'une de ces voitures dont les noms sont inconnus en France: un tandem, un tilbury, une barouche, un landau....'



1823 Arcieu, *Diorama de Londres*, p. 137: 'On voit souvent passer dans Hyde Park un landau attelé de six superbes chevaux....'

1832 Raymond, *Dict. Gén.*: 'landaulet, s. m. petit landau.—Sorte de jolie voiture anglaise qui a la forme d'un landau.'

(3) *déboiser, déboisement*.—See the *Revue de Philologie française*, xxvi, 95–6, for the texts quoted by Professor Baldensperger which seem to prove that the words were first used by Volney in 1803 to express the English *to clear* and *clearing* in speaking of the North American forests.

(4) *brise-lames*. This word was accepted by the Académie in 1878. Mr Charles Moore in a Dissertation for the M.A. degree of Leeds University has suggested that it is a translation of the E. *break-water* with the following texts in support of his view:

1818 Charles Dupin, *Mém<sup>s</sup> sur la marine et les ponts et chaussées de Fr. et d'Angl.*, p. 241: 'Elles présentent de fortes aspérités qui forment véritablement un *brise-lame* ou break-water,' p. 250: 'Lorsque des navires arrivent auprès du *break-water*, ils fixent leurs cables sur des bouées alignées parallèlement.'

1819 J. Dutens, *Mémoires sur les travaux publics de l'Angleterre*, Introd., p. xiii: 'Une traduction de l'article de l'encyclopédie d'Edimbourg concernant l'historique du breakwater de Plymouth,' p. 195: 'des travaux qui s'exécutent pour la fondation de la jetée (breakwater) de Plymouth,' p. 208: 'le brise-lame (breakwater) de Plymouth.'

1820 J. M. F. Cachin, *Mém sur la digue de Cherbourg comparée au breakwater ou jetée de Plymouth*, Paris in 4to. (Title).

(5) *homme à femmes*. It would be interesting to know how far back this expression goes. In any case compare the following:

1836 Balzac, *La Vieille Fille*, ed. Calmann-Lévy, p. 4: 'Chez le coquet chevalier, tout révélait les mœurs de l'homme à femmes (ladies' man).'

M. Bonnaffé's book is one that must appeal to all those who have an interest in the relations between France and England. I have already said that it is excellently arranged; I may add that it is the first serious attempt to deal with the whole question of anglicism in French. The length of my review will, I hope, prove my own appreciation of M. Bonnaffé's labours.

LEEDS.

PAUL BARBIER.

LUIGI FOSCOLO BENEDETTO. *Le Origini di 'Salammbô': Studio sul realismo storico di G. Flaubert* (Pubblicazioni del R. Istituto di Studi superiori in Firenze: Sezione di Filologia, N. S., Vol. 1), Florence: R. Bemporad. 1920. 8vo. xi + 351 pp. L. 25.

*Flaubert and Maupassant: A Literary Relationship*. By AGNES RUTHERFORD RIDDELL. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press; Cambridge: Univ. Press. 1920. 8vo. x + 120 pp. 6s.

After the lean years of the war it is a pleasure to welcome Luigi Benedetto's portly volume, with its critical and leisurely survey of autho-

rities, excerpts from Greek and Latin historians, constant references to the French critics and to numerous American and German Dissertations, an imposing array of footnotes and an exhaustive Index—the whole focussed on a single book, Flaubert's *Salammbô*. And, what is more cheering still, the book comes out triumphant from the test.

The very considerable labours of the researcher, his familiarity with what is now known of the history and topography of Carthage and his minute and fruitful study of his author's other works, particularly the voluminous Correspondence, result in a reasoned vindication of Flaubert as historian and artist. Flaubert's ingenious hypotheses are proved to remain substantially correct, and his many critics, Sainte-Beuve among them, are refuted with chapter and verse. His shortcomings reduce themselves on close inspection to ignorance of materials inaccessible in 1862, to misunderstanding, or rather neglect, of the Carthaginian Constitution and to indulgence of his inveterate habit of making things seem worse than they are, or could ever have been. But it is clearly shown that many a gruesome detail in the sombre story of Carthage—the habits of the 'mangeurs de choses immondes,' for example, or the precise manner in which dogs devour carrion men—was not invented by Flaubert to 'annoy the bourgeois,' but observed in the course of his travels in the Levant and set in his note-book among other 'things seen,' which legitimately enough he considered typical of the unchanging East and therefore utilized afterwards in *Salammbô*. The material in which the artist worked was that supplied by the historian and the traveller. Nothing illustrates better the remarkable unity of Flaubert's literary life than the success with which the author of this elaborate study of sources traces the germs of *Salammbô* in the earlier, even in the juvenile, work of Flaubert and shows how ideas, half-developed in *Salammbô*, came to fruition later on. Benedetto's book, embodying the results obtained by many workers and those of his own research, set forth in an agreeable and flowing style, definitively 'places' one masterpiece of French literature in its period.

The general character of the literary relationship between Flaubert and Maupassant, his *protégé*, is already well known, but Miss Riddell's detailed and methodical Dissertation, fortified by an excellent bibliography, adds precision to our knowledge. Unfortunately her zeal sometimes outruns her evidence. Thus we are told (p. 39 and again on p. 85) that both writers often speak of the 'heavy heat' of summer. 'Une lourde chaleur' is 'sultry heat,' and surely two people can use the common phrase without suspicion of poaching on each other's preserves. But she adduces many striking similarities both in content and in form, and fully demonstrates why Maupassant came to absorb so thoroughly the essentials of Flaubert's thought and expression that he often reproduced them unconsciously. In most cases, however, the kind of influence which she traces in the pupil is suggestive rather than imitative, a whole train of likenesses in Maupassant being started sometimes by a single suggestion in Flaubert.

R. L. G. RITCHIE.

BIRMINGHAM.



*Parts of the Body in the Later Germanic Dialects* (*Linguistic Studies in Germanic*, V). By WILLIAM DENNY BASKETT. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press; Cambridge: Univ. Press. 1920. 4to. xii + 139 pp.

Criticism of this work is rendered rather difficult by the severe restrictions which its author has imposed upon himself in order not to trespass upon the ground covered by T. W. Arnoldson's *Parts of the Body in Older Germanic and Scandinavian* (no. II of the same series). The object of the investigation is, in the words of the preface, 'to show how these words came to have their present meaning, rather than to show their original meaning.' A catalogue more or less *raisonné* is supplied of the multitudinous terms employed by Modern Germanic (or rather West Germanic) dialects, the grouping being on a semantic basis. It is obvious that such a classification must have necessitated genetic investigations as well, and in certain cases, it is hard to withhold a regret that the author did not set the implied historical data clearly before us. It is regrettable too that the author felt bound to keep his material practically watertight from the North Germanic correspondences (apart from a few references to Arnoldson)—in fact, a combination of the work of Arnoldson and of the present author under one single investigation might have yielded more fruitful results, for in studies of comparative lexicology it is surely desirable to make the field of reference as wide as possible.

If the above limitations are accepted, criticism will naturally fasten upon details of method and observation lying within the set frame. The value of the work would, for instance, be much enhanced by the provision of alphabetical word lists grouped by dialect. Apart from this omission, however, the presentment of the matter is clear and business-like, and cross reference is easy. Minor inconsistencies in the classification are the omission of separate sections 11 *Snout* and 12 *Beak*, referred to in the index on p. 137, from the body of the work where section 10 is followed by 13. Moreover, search for *Eardrum*, *ear lobe*, *eartubes* referred in the index to 25 F, H and G respectively will be in vain. Only three of the fingers have sections devoted to them, the 'ring finger' being absent. In the Bibliography on p. vii it would have been well to insert [West Frisian] in the mention of Dijkstra's dictionary, and most decidedly so to quote the full title of Schmidt Petersen's dictionary, which does not deal with North Frisian as a whole, but only with the dialects of Föhr and Amrum.

The laborious task the author undertook in collecting words from such heterogeneous sources as those specified in the bibliography, has, on the whole, been well accomplished. It would be absurd to expect exhaustion of these sources to the last drop. Therefore, no special credit is claimed for the following attempt to draw yet more material from one dialect group, the North Frisian, to supplement the present collection. Some of the Föhr expressions seem to have escaped the author, and two important dictionaries, that of Siebs on the Heligoland dialect and of Boy P. Möller of Sylt words, were probably inaccessible to him. The following addenda are given in accordance with the author's sections,



Sec. 1 (Body) add Helg. *kreng* Rumpf (Föhr, Seehundkörper und Eingeweide; Sylt, abgenutztes Tier); Föhr *lell* die zum Rumpf gehörenden Glieder, Leib. Sec. 2 J 2 (Head) Helg. *pēt, pöt*. Sec. 4 (Forehead) Föhr *toop* Stirn, Scheitel. 5 A 19 (Hair) Sylt *duntji* Haarbeutel; 5 D 7 Sylt *tjost* Haarbüschel; after 5 R, Sylt *tap* Haarflechte. Sec. 6 (Face) Sylt *flees* Fratze. 7 C 1 (Mouth) Helg. *flots*; 7 J 4 Helg. *snut, snüt*. 8 C 3 (Lip) Sylt *flap, fleep* herabhängende Unterlippe (cf. Föhr *fläbi* die Unterlippe hängen lassen). 9 L 12 (Nose, etc.) Sylt *snaater*; add to 9 Sylt *trüün* Schweinsrüssel (cf. Dan. *tryn* and the French loan-word *trogne* face). 10 B 1 (Nostril) Sylt *nöösnooster*. 14 (Double Chin, etc.) Sylt *sjali* (Möller refers to M.H.G. *kelch*, O.H.G. *kelh* Kropf). 16 C 1 Sylt *gil, giljing* and add to 16 Helg. *kik* Kiemen. 17 (Jaw) Sylt *kjabi*. 18 (Gums) Helg. *resen*. 19 (Tooth) Sylt *küüsi* Backenzahn (cf. Föhr *kees, kuus*, Helg. *kēs*). 21 (Palate) Helg. *tšjap* Gaumen des Fisches, Ober- und Unterkiefer zusammen, *bēn* Gallerie; der menschliche Gaumen. 24 C 1 (Uvula) Helg. *huk en hok*. 27 (Pupil) Sylt *oogstiin* and to 27 C 2 add H. G. *Augenstern*. 31 (Temple) Föhr *tenning, ūartenning*, Sylt *tening*. 36 (Mane) Sylt *muaning*. 37 (Skull) Föhr *skrook* Sylt *haurskrook* (*haur* Haupt). 38 (Fontanelle) Sylt *di mūnek* (from association with monk's tonsure?). 43 (Windpipe) Föhr *ströd*, Sylt *strööt* (cf. 42 A 7). 44 (Gullet) Föhr *wias*. 45 A 4 (Shoulder) Föhr *skoofst*, Sylt *skoft* (cf. English Dialect Dictionary s.v. *shift*). 55 (Forefinger) Föhr *porrifängər*, Amrum *skotfängər*. 56 Helg. *di mēdala fyggər*. The Föhr and Sylt forms for 'ring finger' are *gulfängər* and *gulfinger*. 60 A 6 (Claw) Sylt *niip* Schere des Hummers. 63 (Fin) Helg. *flik*; Sylt limits *fin* to big seafish. *fliting* denotes fin of small fish. 67 (Limb) Föhr *ness* collect. 70 (Calf) Föhr *gröwst bian*. 70 B 3 connection with Föhr *lurrag* Oberschenkel? or further back with Gaelic *loirc* deformed foot quoted by Falk and Torp from Lidén in their *Wortschatz der germanischen Spracheinheit* (Göttingen, 1909), p. 571. 73 (Bend) Föhr *bächt* i.e. bight. 74 B 11 (Foot) Föhr *knúar* Schweinsfüsse. 76 (Instep) Sylt *futwrest* to distinguish from *hunwrest*. 81 (Breast, etc.) Föhr *spenn* (cf. O.H.G. *spunni*, etc.), *tetj, ūart*; there is also an English (West country) *pue*, udder of a cow or sheep, connected by the English Dialect Dictionary with Welsh *piw*. 87 (Navel) Föhr *nüwər*. 90 Helg., Low German *mōərs*; 90 A 8 Föhr *ērsbäl*, Sylt *iarsbeli*; 90 A 55 Föhr *tötj* Bürzel einer Ente. 94 (Loin) Sylt *lunk*. 101 (Crop) Sylt *krās*. 102 (Gallbladder) Föhr *gaal*—a case of synecdoche. 104 (Stomach) Föhr *womm* Panse, Rindermagen; 104 F 1 add reference to Föhr *rubbling* Fischrogen, Kaviar. 105 (Omasum) Föhr *läpelspös*. 108 (Pleura). No mention of H.G. *Rippenfell*. 113 (Intestines) Föhr *lúasəng* Eingeweide und kleine Teile eines Schlachttieres; 113 B 2 Sylt *grum*; 113 E 1 cf. Föhr *ister* Flomen, Schweinefett < Germ. \**enþstran* innermost, and Engl. *in'ards*. 115 E 1 (Viscera) cf. N.H.G. *Pflück*, Sylt *plokister, ploktyalig*. 119 C 3 cf. Sylt *lech* Gebärmutter (to Möller's citation of M.H.G. *kintlege* I would add West Fris. *lēch* Eierstöcke). 12 H 1 Westfalian *lēwən*. 123 D 1 Helg. *pūp*; D 14 Engl. *cock*; F 3 Sylt *pintj*. 126 A 13 Föhr *klöt, klötər stian*, Helg. *klētən, klītən klötən*, Sylt *kloot, klootstiin*. 129 D 2

(Afterbirth) Föhr, Sylt *fülighair*. 132 (Skin) Föhr *ell* Schwielenhaut, Sylt *ült*, also add Sylt *flii* Flügelfell, Augenfell. 132 B 2 Author is mistaken in connecting Cologne *huck* Haut with N.H.G. *hucke*, for *huck* = M.H.G. *hât* and exhibits the Ripuarian development of final dental to final velar stop cf. *zick* < *zît*, *hück* < *hiut*, etc. 134 A 2 (Scale) Föhr *skollap*; D 1 Helg. *flum*. 150 (Cartilage) Sylt *gnosp*.

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## MINOR NOTICES.

Professor Waterhouse is to be congratulated on the first volume of *The Year Book of Modern Languages* (Cambridge: Univ. Press, 1920; 15s.). He has achieved a difficult task in face of the general dislocation of our academic life, and especially that part of it which is concerned with modern European literatures. The contributions dealing with the different literatures vary considerably in character and scope, some attempting to cover the whole field, others restricting themselves to English work or to mere lists of books; but these inequalities will doubtless disappear in the Year Book for 1921, where the period surveyed will be necessarily better defined. The Editor's own contribution on the Report of the Government Committee might, in view of the very great importance of that Report, with advantage have been longer. One associates a Year Book with statistical information. It would, for instance, have been valuable had Prof. Waterhouse included a survey of the present standing of Modern Language study in schools and universities, notably of the progress that has been made in improving the position of languages like Italian, Spanish and Russian. Statistics showing the representation of Modern Languages at the universities of the British Isles, a record of new chairs and lectureships created, and—following the lead of our contemporary *History*—a list of the theses accepted at the universities for higher graduation would all have provided welcome variety to the linguistic and literary summaries which make up most of the present volume. But an excellent beginning has been made with this volume, and we look forward to its successors.

J. G. R.

We are glad to welcome the appearance of a second edition of the *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der gotischen Sprache* (Erste Lieferung: A—D. Halle: M. Niemeyer, 1920; 96 pp.; 10 M.) by Sigmund Feist, a scholar who has come into special prominence in recent years as the champion of some startling theories concerning the Germanic sound-shifts. The dictionary has grown almost beyond recognition, the letters A—D alone occupying the space formerly allotted to *aba*—*gafriþōn*. This first number shows the work to be up to date, comprehensive and critical. By

using different types the author is able to embody many references to the labours of his predecessors. New features of interest are the provision of Greek equivalents after the Gothic lemmata, the utilisation of Tocharian cognates, and the incorporation of a wealth of Celtic illustrative material, revised by no less an authority than Prof. Thurneysen. The dictionary is advertised to appear in 4 or 5 parts, and detailed criticism is best deferred until publication is complete. W. E. C.

In *Spanish Prose and Poetry, Old and New* (Oxford: Univ. Press, 1920; 10s. 6d.) Miss Ida Farnell sets out to convey to English readers in a book of a hundred and eighty pages something of the beauty and power of Spanish literature by giving them a number of translated extracts together with 'critical and biographical sketches.' The task is a formidable one and it is unfortunate that Miss Farnell has not made better use of the space at her disposal. The entire omission of Cervantes, Calderón, Santa Teresa and *Lazarillo de Tormes* is no doubt due to the existence of certain English translations. Yet sixteen pages are devoted to translations from the *Celestina* and seventeen to what is mainly a summary of *Pepita Jiménez*; and both these works are easily accessible in English. On the other hand, the introductory sketches and many of the renderings from both prose and verse are full of insight and sympathy. In particular there are unusually happy versions of certain lyrics, notably the *Noche serena* and *Morada del cielo* of Fray Luis de León and the selections from Gaspar Nuñez del Arce. The almost untranslatable *En una noche oscura* of San Juan de la Cruz is rendered with a skill which gives us much of the original music in spite of the necessary substitution in the English version of single for double end-rimes. The book as a whole is suggestive and inspiring both to the student of Spanish and the general reader. Those to whom Antonio Machado's beautiful lines to Giner de los Rios are new may like to know that a small but representative selection from Sr. Machado's poems is now available in the *Colección Universal* of the Casa Calpé.

E. A. P.



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September—November, 1920.

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 FARNHAM, W. E., *The Contending Lovers* (*Publ. M. L. A. Amer.*, xxxv, 3, Sept.).  
 GAYLEY, C. M. and B. P. KURTZ, *Methods and Materials of Literary Criticism, Lyric, Epic, and allied forms of Poetry*. Boston, Ginn and Co. 3 dol.  
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 SCHEUERMEIER, P., *Einige Bezeichnungen für den Begriff 'Höhle' in den romanischen Alpendialekten* (*Beihefte zur Zeitschr. f. rom. Phil.*, lxix). Halle, M. Niemeyer. 24 M.  
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- THOMAS, H., The Output of Spanish Books in the Sixteenth Century (*Library*, i, 2, Sept.).
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[NOTE. The Italian, French and Old and Middle English sections have been compiled with the assistance of the Modern Humanities Research Association.]

GRENDEL'S MOTIVE IN ATTACKING HEOROT<sup>1</sup>.

LITTLE attention has been paid to the motive of Grendel's attack upon Heorot in *Beowulf* 89 f. In the only detailed account of his raids (*Beow.* 739-45) Grendel appears as a man-eating monster who seeks food, 'a full meal' (wyst-fylle 734), and who devours the body ravenously (743), as if hunger were his only thought. Nothing in the earlier account of his attack is at variance with this savage satisfaction of hunger, although it is there merely said that the first time he 'seized in their sleep thirty thanes' (122-3), and with the booty went to his home. In the third account of the event (1580-84), we are more exactly told that Grendel ate on the spot fifteen of the thirty victims, carrying the other fifteen away. During his attack of the following night, as we are informed in more general terms, Grendel 'accomplished more of murderous evil' (135-6). When the monster's mother comes to avenge her son (1278), she is discovered too quickly to make clear what she might have done. She has time only to seize 'one of the nobles' (1294) and the bloody hand of Grendel, when she hastens away to save her life. Escaping to the entrance of her watery cave, however, she too takes time to devour Æschere's body, but for some reason—a fortunate circumstance for her pursuers and perhaps intended as such by the poet—she leaves his bloody head upon the cliff (1420-21).

In curious contrast with all this fondness for a cannibalistic feast—Grendel has the form of a man (1352)—we are told of the monster's making the attack because he 'bore hardly that he heard each day loud mirth in the hall' (88-9). This mirth is then described as 'sound of the harp' and 'song of the scop (minstrel),' while as an example of the latter there is repeated to us a hymn in praise of the Creator. Again, in lines 99-100, we are informed that when the attack was made 'men were living in happiness blessedly.'

This inconsistency between motive and accomplishment has not been commented upon before. Panzer, it is true, attempts to explain

<sup>1</sup> This paper was written and sent to the *Modern Language Review* before Schücking's treatment of *Beowulf* in Paul and Braune's *Beiträge* XLVII, Part 3, had reached America. The later date proposed by Schücking for the poem, if accepted, would perhaps modify the writer's attempt to explain *Beowulf* 175-8, but the special point of this paper seems not to have been touched.

Grendel's dislike of the Danish revelry on the basis of Teutonic folklore regarding elves and demons (*Studien zur germ. Sagen-geschichte*, p. 264):

Grendels Eingreifen ward dadurch veranlasst, dass er die fröhliche Lust in Heorot nicht ertragen konnte. Das ist so allgemeine Dämonenart, denn nicht bloss Glockenklang scheucht die Elben, sondern all geräuschvolle Hantierung der Menschen, die Pochwerke im Gebirge, das Roden des Waldes und Bebauen des Ackers (Grimm, Mythol. 4. 380, W. Grimm, Kl. Sch. 1. 467) und in einer schleswigischen Sage (bei Müllenhoff S. 289, Nr. 396) kommt der Elb nicht zu der Hochzeit, zu der er sich selber geladen, weil er 'die Trommelmusik nicht vertragen' kann. In unserem Epos stört Grendel die festliche Lust in Heorot augenscheinlich darum, weil sie auf seinem Grund, in seinem Reiche statthat. Wir fanden entsprechend im Märchen gerade in der Hausformel zweimal das Eingreifen des Erdmanns ebenso begründet: er zerstört die Prunkbauten, weil sie auf oder über seinem Reiche errichtet sind (oben S. 97, 98).

Such explanation, at first sight apparently so adequate, is in line with most *Beowulf* interpretation of the past. For years the poem has been considered scarcely more than a storehouse of heathen antiquities. Every time the word *wyrd* was found the antiquarian finger has come down with a 'There is genuine heathendom,' notwithstanding that references to luck or fortune are still common enough, without in the least disturbing general belief in an over-ruling Providence. Allusions to what might be thought Christian doctrine, for example lines 183-8, were explained away or regarded as interpolations. Special emphasis was laid upon the allusion to devil worship in lines 175-8, while thirty-two uses of the word *god* in passages in which it might be explained as an allusion to the God of Christianity were slightly regarded<sup>1</sup>.

But the belief in *Beowulf* as mainly a heathen poem has been largely modified in recent times. The older view, persisting still in Blackburn's 'Christian Coloring in Beowulf' (*Mod. Phil.* XII, 205), was more than answered by the far-reaching paper of Klaeber, 'Die christlichen Elemente im Beowulf' (*Anglia* XXXV-VI)<sup>2</sup>. A succinct statement of the newer view, that the poem was written by a Christian, appears in Gerould's *Saints' Legends*, p. 60. Noting more clearly than had been done before how the chronology of Old English literature would justify a Christian origin for the poem, he adds:

The Christian references in Beowulf, which have baffled all attempts at disentanglement as a whole, serve to confirm this view. They are there because the author, though he told a story of pagan times, was himself a Christian.

In this connexion let me insert a note on the devil worship in

<sup>1</sup> Twenty-six of these references are in the part of the poem dealing with Hrothgar and his people, or with Beowulf in relation to those people.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Klaeber, 'Zum Beowulf,' *Anglia* XXVIII, 441 f. My own opposition to Blackburn's view was noted in 'Legends of Cain,' *Publ. Mod. Lang. Ass.* XXI, 916, and footnote.



*Beow.* 175-8. In his *Life of St Patrick* (pp. 75-7), J. B. Bury thus accounts for the ease with which the Christian religion was accepted in Ireland:

Christianity, while it demanded that its converts should abandon heathen observances and heathen cults, did not require them to surrender their belief in the existence of the beings whom they were forbidden to worship. They were only required to regard these beings in a new light. For the Christians themselves, even the highest authorities in the Church, were as superstitious as the heathen....The fact, then, that the Christian Church, by its recognition of demons as an actual power with which it had to cope, stood in this respect on the same intellectual plane as the heathen, was an advantage in the task of diffusing the religion. The belief in demons as a foe with which the Church had to deal was expressed officially in the institution of a clerical order called exorcists, whose duty it was, by means of formulae, to exorcise devils at baptism.

Besides, not only did Christian missionaries in all parts of the world recognize the existence of heathen divinities as spirits of evil, but Augustine the missionary to the English was instructed by Pope Gregory the Great not necessarily to destroy heathen temples. The passage follows:

Cum vero vos Deus omnipotens ad reverendissimum virum fratrem nostrum Augustinum episcopum perduxerit, dicite ei quid diu mecum de causa Anglorum cogitans tractavi, videlicet quia fana idolorum destrui in eadem gente minime debeant, sed ipsa quae in eis sunt idola destruantur....Quia si fana eadem bene constructa sunt, necesse est ut a cultu daemonum in obsequium veri Dei debeant commutari, ut dum gens ipsa eadem fana non videt destrui, de corde errorem deponat, et, Deum verum cognoscens et adorans, ad loca quae consuevit familiarius concurrat<sup>1</sup>.

That this advice of Pope Gregory was known and followed in England is clear from the prominence Bede gives to it in his *Ecclesiastical History*, where it is quoted in Book I, chapter xxx. That heathen temples were preserved in England seems certain from the tradition, according to Plummer, that Æthelbert's heathen temple outside Canterbury was 'converted by Augustine into the Church of St Pancras.' Plummer also gives many references to both idols and heathen temples in England<sup>2</sup>.

Here, then, is important light on a passage which has often been misinterpreted. With heathen temples still remaining in early England, and doubtless not all converted to Christian uses, occasional lapses into heathen practices in times of special trouble may have occurred before the eyes of the *Beowulf* poet. He may therefore have introduced the

<sup>1</sup> *Sancti Gregori Magni Epistolarum* Lib. XI, Epistola lxxvi Ad Mellitum Abbatem, Dat mandata Augustino, quem adibat, exhibenda, ad faciliorem Anglorum conversionem. Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 77, col. 1176.

<sup>2</sup> Plummer's *Bede* II, 58, and the following note. Perhaps it is significant that Bede's chapter xxx of Book I is omitted in the Old English version. In the England of King Alfred's time it may have seemed too much at variance with Christian practice.

incident into the ancient tale, because his imagination was guided by realities of his own age. The incident is therefore not necessarily at variance with the generally Christian character of Hrothgar and the Danes. Indeed it may itself be regarded as another indication of the Christian character of the poet. Note especially that the god of the heathen fane is specifically called *gäst-bona* 'destroyer of souls,' that is devil, in accordance with accepted Christian belief.

To return to the attack of Grendel, only Klaeber in his article, 'Die christlichen Elemente' (*Anglia* xxxv, 257), has given the suggestion of Christian colouring to the passage. Of it he says:

Die veranlassung seines feindlichen verhaltens ist—im einklang mit der märchendarstellung, vgl. Panzer, 264—das ihm verhasste fröhliche treiben in Heorot, 86 ff.; das motiv des neides ist nur zwischen den zeilen zu lesen.

In a footnote he refers to Abbetmeyer's monograph, *Old English Poetical Motives Derived from the Doctrine of Sin*, p. 21 f., and adds the following references: *Vesp. Hym.* 12, *hostis invidi dolo* (= *fiondes ðes efestgan facne*); *Vita Quiriaci* (*Acta Sanctorum*), *omnium bonorum semper invidus diabolus*, to explain *El.* 899 ff.; *Gen. B.* 421 ff., 733 ff., 750–60.

Excellent as this comment is, it seems to me not strong enough for adequate explanation of the motive of Grendel. That we should be told this man-eating monster was inspired to assail the Danes by envy of their happiness, rather than by hunger for human flesh, seems ridiculously insufficient. But the poet, as I suggest, intends to make all clear by immediately following the passage with his characterization of Grendel as a 'hellish fiend' (*feond on helle*, 101), and reciting at length his origin in the devilish progeny of Cain (lines 104–14), an origin which he again asserts in a later passage (1258–68). In other words, this is the reason for introducing a passage which has always been a stumbling block to those who saw only a heathen story in the poem, and which occasioned what now seems the extraordinary interpolation theory. As of devilish origin, Grendel merely exhibits a devilish characteristic in being carried away by envy of the happy Hrothgar and his court, a community accepting God as Creator and benefactor—in other words, essentially Christian.

It would seem scarcely necessary to argue at length for envy as a characteristic of the devil according to medieval conception. Envy of the Creator was joined with pride in his own powers to cause the fall of Lucifer. Indeed, St Augustine gave envy as the prime motive: '*Qui invidet, non amat. Peccatum diaboli est in illo; quia et diabolus in-*

vidiendo dejecit<sup>1</sup>. Envy stands next to pride in the list of the seven 'deadly sins,' as in St Augustine's *Tractatus de septem vitiis et septem donis Spiritus Sancti*<sup>2</sup>, in Gregory the Great's *Moralium Libri*<sup>3</sup>, and usually perhaps in medieval books. Compare for English works, *Cursor Mundi* l. 27524 f.; Dan Michael's *Ayenbite of Inwit*; *Jacob's Well*; *Lay Folks' Catechism*; Chaucer's *Parson's Tale*; Gower's *Confessio Amantis*; William of Shoreham's *Poems No. 4*.

Envy of man's happiness was also fully recognized in medieval times as a devilish characteristic. Jewish legend, on which so much of Christian demonology was based, placed the envy of Adam and its accompanying jealousy before the fall of Lucifer:

The extraordinary qualities with which Adam was blessed, physical and spiritual as well, aroused the envy of the angels. They attempted to consume him with fire, and he would have perished, had not the protecting hand of God rested upon him, and established peace between him and the heavenly host. In particular Satan was jealous of the first man, and his evil thoughts finally led to his fall<sup>4</sup>.

For the same envy of man by the devil I need cite, among Christian writers, only two of the Church Fathers, one Greek and one Roman. St Chrysostom, in his forty-eighth *Homily on John's Gospel* (chap. 7, 1), has this pertinent passage: Οὐδὲν φθόνει χεῖρον καὶ βασκανίας· οὕτως ὁ διάβολος τὸν κόσμον εἰσῆλθεν. Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ εἶδεν ὁ διάβολος τὸν ἄνθρωπον τιμώμενον, οὐκ ἐνεγνὼν τὴν εὐημερίαν, πάντα ἔπραττεν ὥστε αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖν<sup>5</sup>. For the Roman Fathers St Augustine is equally clear in his presentation of the same idea; *Enarratio in Psalmum* 139, 6 (140, 5):

*Absconderunt superbi muscipulum mihi.* Totum corpus diaboli explicavit breviter, cum ait, *superbi*....Inde veniunt omnes seductiones et supplantationes. Hoc prior ipse diabolus voluit, qui cadens stanti homini invidit: et quia ipse amisit regnum coelorum, hominem illuc pervenire noluit (*Gen. iii*), et non vult; et id agit nunc, ut homo illuc non perveniat, unde ipse dejectus est. Quia ergo superbus est ipse, et ideo invidus quia superbus, omne corpus ipsius talium corpus est<sup>6</sup>.

The same idea is found in Old English writers, although the examples I now have are later than the composition of *Beowulf*. The first is from Ælfric's *Sermo de initio creaturæ*:

pa ongeat se deofol þæt Adam and Eva wæron to ðy gesceapene þæt hi sceolon mid eadmodnysse and mid gehyrsumnysse gearnian ða wununge on heofonan rice

<sup>1</sup> In *Epistolam Joannis ad Parthos*, Tract. v, cap. iii (Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 35, col. 2017). Cf. also St Isidore, *Sententiarum Lib. iii*, cap. xxv (Migne, 83, 700): 'Invidus membrum est diaboli, ejus invidia mors introivit in orbem terrarum, sicut et superbus membrum est diaboli.'

<sup>2</sup> *Liber xxxi*, *Patr. Lat.* 40, col. 1089.

<sup>3</sup> *Liber xxxi*, cap. xlv, *Migne Patr. Lat.* 76, col. 620.

<sup>4</sup> Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews* i, 62.

<sup>5</sup> Migne, *Patr. Graec.* 59, col. 269.

<sup>6</sup> Migne, *Patr. Lat.* 37, col. 1807.



Se he of afeoll for his upahfednysse, þa nam he micelne gramum and andan to þam mannum, and smeade hu he hi fordon mihte<sup>1</sup>.

The second occurs in Wulfstan's *Homilies*:

Ac sona swa deofol ongeat þæt mann to ðam gesceapen wæs, þæt he scolde and his cynn gefyllan on heofonum þæt se deofol forworhte ðurh his ofermodignesne, þa wæs him þæt on myclan andan, ongann þa beswican and gelaeran, þæt se man abræc godes bebod<sup>2</sup>.

That Grendel's envy of the Danes did not show itself in tempting them to their spiritual fall, as commonly with the devils, was due to his belonging to the race of Cain's descendants, corporeal monsters with physical characteristics. According to medieval conception these corporeal demons, as I have shown in the article mentioned above, were blood-thirsty in the most literal sense. The passage is in the *Clementine Homilies*:

But they [those who sprang from the union of the sons of God and the daughters of men], on account of their bastard natures not being pleased with purity of food (the manna God has provided), longed after the taste of blood. Wherefore they first tasted flesh<sup>3</sup>.

So far I have not considered the Hymn of Creation (*Beow.* 90–98) sung by the Danish minstrel as a reason for Grendel's attack. It is not a reason, I take it, because it praises the Creator, toward whom envy would have been natural on the part of any demon. The song is primarily an example of the peaceful pleasures of the Danish people, and probably not intended as an indication of how they 'lived blessedly' (99–100) in any Christian sense. On the other hand, the words 'lived blessedly' might have such meaning, especially as the hymn is in quite extraordinary contrast with the other songs of the scop introduced into the poem. The latter, as the Praise of Beowulf (872 f.) and the Song of Finn (1086 f.), are strictly in keeping with the natural characteristics of a warlike race. The only approach to the ideas of the Hymn of Creation are the words of the devout Hrothgar, as in lines 928 f. and 1700 f.

It may be contended that Grendel's dislike of the Danish revelry belonged to the original story. That is not impossible, and perhaps even probable. Even in that case, however, we must consider how a Christian poet of medieval England would have looked at such a matter, and how far he would have retained it if he had regarded it as essentially heathen. It is clearly not heathen to have the revelry of the Danes include a Hymn of Creation similar to that of the Christian

<sup>1</sup> *Homilies of Ælfric*, Ælfric Soc. I, 16. Cf. also Ælfric's *Hexameron*, ch. xvii.

<sup>2</sup> *Wulfstan's Homilies*, ed. by Napier, p. 9.

<sup>3</sup> *Clementine Homilies* 8, ch. 14–18, as translated in the *Ante-Nicene Fathers* 17, 142 f.

Caedmon, whose follower the *Beowulf* poet must have been. Besides, the fact that the poet at once accounts for Grendel in exactly the manner in which the medieval Christian was wont to explain such monsters, leaves implications which cannot be accounted for on any heathen basis. The explanation of Grendel's motive as envy of man's happiness seems to account for the introduction of the Cain descent as it has not been accounted for before. With this explanation, that descent seems less than ever dragged in unnecessarily.

It was then, as our poet conceives, because Grendel was of devilish origin that he was prompted, by envy of the Danes in their happiness and innocent pleasures, to make his earliest attack, and to become their persistent enemy until the hero Beowulf comes to the rescue. Thus, at the foundation of this part of the *Beowulf* story, is a conception which can be fully accounted for only on a Christian basis. Let us add it to the Christian elements, as one of the significant evidences that only a Christian poet could have written the old English epic.

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## JOHN (HENRY) SCOGAN.

THE unnoticed fact that the 1613 edition of *Scoggins Iestes* in the Bodleian Library adds a sequel to Scogan's well-known adventures is here to be made the excuse for reopening a much argued matter. Who and what was Scogan?

Around the name of Scogan, Skogan, Scogin, or Scoggin<sup>1</sup> there is a large literary tradition and an intriguing mystery. The tradition arises from the appearance of the name and character of Scogan in the work of Chaucer, Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, and many lesser writers, as well as from the fact that in Elizabethan times the name was a by-word; the mystery from the non-appearance of any strictly satisfactory evidence as to one identity fitting the tradition. Of recent years many have agreed with Ritson<sup>2</sup> and split the tradition in two, one part for a Henry Scogan of Chaucer's time, poet of respectable reputation, and one for a John Scogan, supposedly flourishing some hundred years later as a university-educated jokester and court fool. Under this interpretation the Scogan to whom Chaucer's *Envoy* was written can have played none of the 'sporting parts' in that favourite Elizabethan chap-book *Scoggins Iestes*. Skeat<sup>3</sup> appears rather glad to accept this view. Obviously he finds it distasteful to think of Chaucer's friend as a fool, particularly such a boisterously vulgar one as the Scogan whom the Elizabethans loved.

But in spite of some very learned arguing back and forth, anyone who goes carefully over what has been written about Scogan may still find himself unconvinced of anything except that there is confusion worse confounded. In re-examining the old much vexed evidence and adding some small share of new, I hope to prove at least that the existence of two Scogans is not at all established; going even farther, I hope to show that according to our present meagre knowledge arguments for one Scogan living in Chaucer's time are on the whole better than the arguments for two famous men of that name.

<sup>1</sup> Except when quotation dictates otherwise I shall spell the name *Scogan*, though for the rôle of jester *Scogin* or *Scoggin* appears more frequently.

<sup>2</sup> *Bibliographia Poetica*, 1802, pp. 97 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Chaucer*, I, pp. 83-4.



Whoever Scogan was or whichever he was, he certainly did not write the *Jests* centring about his personality. They may be regarded as giving an apocryphal life of their hero, but they are a collection of stories whose only passport to admission in the book may frequently have been the sure-fire Elizabethan laughs that lay in them, and as evidence are distinctly to be handled with care.

A complete and correctly characterized list of the many editions through which the *Jests* ran has never been given. The following is avowedly incomplete and in places only suggestive, but it adds to what has before been found and corrects some errors:

#### I. Edition or editions earlier than 1565-6?

Says Hazlitt (*Shakespeare Jest-Books*, II, p. 38): 'It is to be remarked that Colwell, to whom the "Geystes of Skoggon" were, as we have seen, licensed in 1565-6, was Wyer's successor in the printing and book-selling business at the sign of St. John Evangelist, near Charing Cross; and there is room to suspect that the edition issued by Colwell was merely a reprint of an impression by Wyer, of which all trace is now lost.'

#### II. Edition of 1565-6?

Thomas Colwell paid fourpence to the Stationers' Company for a license to print *The Geystes of Skoggon* (Arber's *Transcript*, I, p. 134).

'Probably printed. No copy of this edition now known.

III. *Scoggins Iestes. Wherein is declared his pleasant pastimes in France; and of his meriments among the Fryers: full of delight and honest mirthe. London, Printed by Ralph Blower dwelling on Lambert hill neare old Fish street. 1613. 12°*, black letter.

On page 1: *Certaine merrie Iestes of Scoggin, translated out of French.*

Malone 388, Bodleian, apparently only copy now known.

*Jests* different in scope and plan from those of any other edition. Hazlitt cannot have examined them. He says, however (*Shakespeare Jest-Books*, II, p. 39): 'An edition, 1613, 12mo, was in the Harleian Collection.' He shows no evidence of knowing its real character.

IV. *The First and Best Part of Scoggins Jests. Full of Witty Mirth and Pleasant Shifts, done by him in France and other places: being a Preservative against Melancholy. Gathered by Andrew Boord, Doctor of Physicke. London. Printed for Francis Williams. 1626. 12°*, black letter.

Copy in British Museum. Edited and reprinted by Hazlitt, *Shakespeare Jest-Books*, II, pp. 46 ff.

V. *The first and second part of Scoggins jests, full of witty mirth and pleasant shifts, done by him in France and other places, being a preservative against melancholy. Gathered by Andrew Boord Doctor of physicke. London, printed for I. Stafford and W. Gilbertson, 1655.*

Existence of this edition hitherto unnoticed. I know of no copy. The title is copied in Douce's handwriting among notes at the front of Douce S. 212, Bodleian.

VI. *Scoggins Jestes: Full of witty Mirth, and pleasant Shifts; done by him in France and other places. Being a Preservative against Melancholy. Gathered by Andrew Board, Doctor of Physick. This may be Reprinted, R. P. London; Printed for W. Thackeray at the Angel in Duck lane, near West-Smithfield, and J. Deacon at the Angel in Giltspur-street. (About 1680.)*

Douce S. 212, Bodleian, is a copy of this edition once owned by Douce. On leaves inserted at the front are notes in his handwriting, among them being, 'This was the copy from which Mr Caulfield reprinted his edition and which he returned to me in its present dirty condition.'

VII. Reprint of Thackeray and Deacon's edition for Caulfield, 1796. 8vo.

Esdaile includes the Bodleian copy of the 1613 edition with a query as to whether it is not 'another edition' of the jests registered and probably printed in 1565-6, and of the jests printed in 1626<sup>1</sup>. It is not 'another edition.' It is better described as a sequel to *The First and Best Part*. Hazlitt, who has so well edited the 1626 edition, works under the same misapprehension, leaving one with the decided impression that the 1613 edition is similar to the 1626, although incomplete and not so well worth reprinting<sup>2</sup>. Others have followed in this belief with the result that the 1613 edition has never been carefully examined, so far as is apparent<sup>3</sup>.

As a matter of fact, this edition of 1613 extends Scogan's apocryphal life in an interesting fashion and is so far from being a duplication of the well-known jests that out of the sixty-seven tales which make the

<sup>1</sup> *A List of English Tales and Prose Romances Printed before 1740*, London, 1912, p. 123.

<sup>2</sup> *Shakespeare Jest-Books*, II, p. 39. 'All the earlier editions of Scoggin's *Jests*, however, seem to have perished; and although an edition, 1613, 12mo, was in the Harleian Collection, the only edition now known, having any pretension to completeness, is that of 1626 described above.'

<sup>3</sup> See *Dictionary of National Biography*, 1897, LI, p. 2. 'The work was repeatedly reissued; an edition dated 1613 was in the Harleian Collection. The earliest now known is dated 1626....'

book only four appear also in the edition of 1626<sup>1</sup>. Seemingly no one has remarked that the edition of 1626 is expressly entitled *The First and Best Part*, and that there should logically be a second part.

The general outlines of the apocryphal life given by the 1626 edition are well enough known, even to those who have found Scogan's merriments too idle to read. Scogan is an Oxford M.A. and later a favoured fool at court. He is banished to France for an offence to royalty, continues his jests at court there, and is banished again, this time from France to England. After more jesting in England he dies and is buried under one of the water-spouts of Westminster Abbey by his express wish; his reason is, 'I have ever loved good drinke all the dayes of my life.' Further details are too accessible to need relation.

As has been said, another and hitherto unnoticed part of the apocryphal life appears in the edition of 1613, and because the Bodleian copy is now the only one accessible, this deserves a more extensive summary:

Scoggin<sup>2</sup> is banished from England for seducing the daughter of a London goldsmith. He goes from Dover to Calais, and from there adventures over a great part of Europe. In *Pikardie* he is made 'chiefe warrener' of all the Parks and Forests of a wealthy and gay young knight. Put out of this service for indiscretion, he is hired to a horse courser's servant, but soon loses this place also. He performs some knavish tricks on the people in order to get money and finally goes to Paris, where he deceives a vintner and an innkeeper, thereby gaining free wine and board. From Paris he journeys to Orleans, and at an inn on the road plays practical jokes on the innkeeper and on certain Hollanders who are guests there. After this Scoggin comes 'unto the citie of *Cane* in *Normandie*, where William the Conqueror King of England was buried.' Presently he leaves France for Rome, where he sets even the Pope by the ears and bedevils the friars most outrageously. His encounters with the friars are many and various. He is next found in Venice, where he makes a fool of a doctor. He returns to Rome. 'After this Scoggin grew in hate among the Friers, because he many times made Jestes upon them.' Applying to the Pope himself, he is made a priest, and has a merry time of it in his church, between whiles travelling to cities about Rome and adventuring by the way. One day the Pope drops in upon Scoggin to hear him say service and is so angry with what he hears that he turns the jester out of his benefice. Scoggin then hires himself as travelling companion to a country squire and plays a trick which comes near to losing him this place too. At the last we leave him cozening the squire's wife and thereby keeping the position.

If his wanderings are more extensive and his hand is here even more

<sup>1</sup> These are:

(1) *How Scoggin taught a French-man Latin to carry him to the Pope.* Cf. Hazlitt, II, p. 65: *How Scoggin's scholler tooke orders.*

(2) *How Scoggin ouer-tooke a Priest and kept company with him, and how hee and the priest prayed for money.* Cf. Hazlitt, II, p. 149: *How Scoggin and the priest prayed for money.*

(3) *How Scoggin and three or foure more deceived a Tapster.* Cf. Hazlitt, II, p. 133: *How Scoggin and three or foure more deceived a Tapster.*

(4) *How Scoggin got away the abbot's horse fram (sic) him.* Cf. Hazlitt, II, p. 95: *How Scoggin got the abbot's horse.*

In the edition of 1613 the jests are not numbered, and there is no pagination.

<sup>2</sup> In the edition of 1613, the name is always so spelled.



set against the Church than in the better-known jests, the hero is consistently the same Scogan. He is a Master of Arts of Oxford, turned to low buffoonery and living by chicanery, but not forgetful of his Latin. In a rough way the stories of 1613 seem meant to fit into the scheme of 1626, amplifying that period of his life between his banishment from England and his return.

Who then was this Scogan the fool; what was his Christian name; when did he live? So far as actual records go, he may be only a fiction, for not a single contemporary reference to him, dependable or otherwise, has ever been turned up by the many interested persons who have searched.

The evidence as to Scogan's period in the *Jests* themselves would be untrustworthy anyway, and moreover an examination shows it to be contradictory. The only date mentioned is 1490, when Scogan is said to have given a bond to a friar<sup>1</sup>. We also hear that 'there was a Jesuite that would always speake mightily against Protestants thinking Scoggin to be one<sup>2</sup>.' The word 'Protestant' did not come into use until after the Diet of Spires in 1529, and the Order of Jesus was not founded until 1539. Certainly Scogan was not in his heyday both in 1490 and in 1539. To add to the confusion there are references to a man who is very probably an historical character of a yet earlier period, a member of the influential family of Neville. This evidence is worth as much as, if not more than, the actual dates elsewhere implied, because Neville is closely bound up with an essential feature of Scogan's apocryphal life. A certain Sir William Neuil or Nevill acts as an appreciative and helpful patron to Scogan when he decides to go to court and be a fool<sup>3</sup>. Sir William is one of the 'gentlemen of the King's privy chamber' to whom 'Scogin was more beholding than the others.'

No one has hitherto pointed out that the only Sir William Neville who was historically a gentleman of the King's chamber, in position to patronize Scogan exactly as the *Jests* describe, was a friend of Chaucer's<sup>4</sup>. Sir William de Neville, son of Ralph de Neville, was a knight of Richard II's chamber in the eighth year of that King's reign<sup>5</sup> and

<sup>1</sup> Ed. of 1613, *How Scoggin cousined a Frier of twenty duckets.*

<sup>2</sup> Ed. of 1613, *Of a Iesuite that spake against Scoggin.*

<sup>3</sup> Ed. of 1626. See Hazlitt, II, p. 100, *How Scogin came to the courte like a foole and wonne twenty pounds by standing under a spout in the raine.*

<sup>4</sup> Hazlitt rejects another Sir William Neville, d. 1462, on the score of his having lived too early. (Work cited, II, p. 101, note.)

<sup>5</sup> See Dugdale, *Baronage of England*, London, 1675, I, p. 295, who there refers to *Rotuli Scotiae*, 8 Richard II, membr. 3, Westm. 18 Feb., A.D. 1384-5. See also Edmondson's ed. of Segar, *Baronagium Genealogicum*.

probably died in 1389<sup>1</sup>. Willelmus de Nevylle is one of the witnesses appearing for Chaucer in that mysterious action brought by Cecily Chaumpaigne against the poet<sup>2</sup>, and he is almost certainly the man in question.

Other things in the *Jests* themselves make it not at all impossible to say that a date as early as the latter part of the fourteenth century may have been intended by the first compiler, and that Jesuits and Protestants may be later accretions. Scogan engineers a characteristic bit of horseplay at a medieval Easter play in France<sup>3</sup>, and the detailed description of the play as well as the teller's introduction makes an early date wholly possible, perhaps more probable than a later. The following remark, introducing the tale and placing it in a time so ancient as to need explanation for its customs, is frequently duplicated in the *Jests*: 'And as in that age the whole earth was almost planted with superstition and idolatry, so such like prophane pastimes was greatly delighted in, especially playes made of the Scripture at an Easter.'

Furthermore, although so many writers have agreed that the fool Scogan must have flourished about 1480, there is outside the *Jests* at least one good indication that he probably lived earlier. The only thing approaching a contemporary reference to the man is a Latin epitaph preserved as one verse in Harleian MS. 1587<sup>4</sup>, and expanded into two verses in Lansdowne MS. 762<sup>5</sup>. Its character makes reference to the jester Scogan undoubted. The date of Harleian 1587 can be approximately determined. It is an ordinary schoolboy's exercise book concocted by a monk named William Ingram, apparently not all at once. One specimen legal instrument bears the date XIII March XIII Edward IV<sup>6</sup>, another, in the same hand as Scogan's epitaph, 1474<sup>7</sup>. The latest date appearing in the whole manuscript is 1480 in another section:

'Explicit anno domini m<sup>o</sup> cccc l xxx<sup>8</sup>,'

which is certainly the date when Ingram finished part of his work, perhaps the date for all. If, then, we date the manuscript c. 1480, we must conclude that Scogan was dead by 1480 instead of in his prime. Moreover, the epitaph does not tell us exactly when Scogan flourished, and to give time for his epitaph to become a copybook classic Scogan may well have been dead many years before 1480.

<sup>1</sup> See *Dictionary of National Biography* for life.

<sup>2</sup> *Chaucer Life Records*, p. 225.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. 1613, *How Scoggin set a whole towne together by the eares.*

<sup>4</sup> fol. 193 a.

<sup>5</sup> fol. 20 a.

<sup>6</sup> fol. 207 b.

<sup>7</sup> fol. 204 a.

<sup>8</sup> fol. 120 b.



The epitaph in its first line calls Scogan John :

‘Hic iacet in tumulo corpus Scogan ecce Johannis.’

It makes him a man of mirth, but leaves the way open for his having been a poet. Caxton, in a short collection of Chaucerian pieces pretty certainly printed before February 2, 1479<sup>1</sup>, flatly assigns the *Moral Balade*, which modern critics give to the historical Henry Scogan, to a John Skogan. This attribution at once makes more dubious the existence of any John Scogan in Caxton’s own time, namely during the reign of Edward IV, to whom Scogan has been said to have been jester, and decidedly raises the question whether the fool and the poet were not the same. It seems hardly probable that a man of Caxton’s mental parts could stupidly confuse a Scogan of his own day with a contemporary of Chaucer.

Authoritative ascriptions of the *Moral Balade* are as follows :

Ashmole 59 : to Henry Scogan. (Shirley’s notation.)

Harleian 2251 : No ascription. Heading simply *Querela senis*.

Cambridge University MS. FF iv 9 : No heading. No ascription<sup>2</sup>.

Caxton : to John Skogan.

Thynne : to Scogan.

*Flee fro the Presse* is headed simply *Proverbium Scogani* in MS. 203, Corpus Christi College, Oxford<sup>3</sup>.

To name the poet we are left with Shirley’s word for Henry against Caxton’s for John. Shirley was not contemporary with his author and noted the ascription according to his own belief, probably just as did Caxton. Caxton came not so very long after the copyist and perhaps has as good a right to be heard.

The duality of Scogan simply cannot be argued from the duality of names, for there is no consistency in the use of the two which can make John anything but inextricably the poet whom Shirley calls Henry. Earlier biographers—Bale<sup>4</sup> and Tanner<sup>5</sup> the chief—call Scogan John when they call him anything at all, and while they bristle with anachronisms and errors such as making him contemporary with Chaucer

<sup>1</sup> See William Blades, *The Life and Typography of William Caxton*, London, 1861, II, pp. 63 and 70. A fragmentary copy of the Caxton edition is in the British Museum.

<sup>2</sup> This manuscript has not been noticed by Chaucer editors. I owe knowledge of its existence to Professor Carleton Brown, who called my attention to it. The poem is here incomplete. See Professor Brown’s *Register of Middle English Religious Verse*.

<sup>3</sup> Warton, *History of English Poetry*, 1824, II, p. 447, note e, gives the manuscript erroneously as CCC., Oxon., 208, and says that the poem is headed *Proverbium Joannis Scogan*. I can find no hint in the manuscript that Scogan was named John.

<sup>4</sup> *Scriptorum illustrium maioris Britanniae* 1557–9. Centuria undecima, LXX.

<sup>5</sup> *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica*, London, 1748, p. 677.



and at the same time jester to Edward IV, show clearly that the literary and unlearned world believed in only one Scogan, poet and jester too. Holinshed is evidently only following Bale, whom he refers to in other places<sup>1</sup>, when he places 'Skogan a learned gentleman and student' at the court of Edward IV<sup>2</sup>. If the name of Scogan and its traditions had not been so well known and frequently used, it would not be so curious that until Ritson<sup>3</sup> tried to prove their existence no one sought two separate men under the name.

There is always to be considered the Scogan tradition, independent of scholars and their researches, which has given us fairly consistently and in many places the character of one Scogan, both poet and gentleman clown. References in Elizabethan times are so numerous that no one has ever collected them all<sup>4</sup>. Shakespeare in what he makes Shallow say of Scogan<sup>5</sup>, which precipitated such a tidy passage-at-arms between Ritson and the editors of the *Malone-Boswell Variorum*<sup>6</sup>, obviously had in mind Scogan the fool, whether poet or no, and by placing him under Henry IV adds something to the evidence that Scogan the ancient poet and Scogan the ancient fool were identical. He undoubtedly gives the conception of Scogan generally held at that time. Ben Jonson<sup>7</sup> and Gabriel Harvey<sup>8</sup> significantly couple Scogan with Skelton, who was also traditionally poet and gentleman clown at the same time and inspired a collection of jests very similar to *Scoggins Jestes*.

Lastly, in spite of a strong desire evinced by Skeat and others to make Chaucer's Scogan solidly respectable, *Envoy de Chaucer a Scogan* certainly admits the possibility that Scogan played 'sporting parts,' though probably, as Holinshed charitably remarks<sup>9</sup>, 'not in such uncivil manner as hath beene of him reported.' Chaucer's *Envoy* is replete with affectionate banter, but the fact that this banter is never bitter or sarcastic and does not tear up Scogan's character is no reason for saying that it makes him out all that is sedate and proper. Lines 20 and 21 :

Allas, Scogan! of olde folk ne yonge  
Was never erst Scogan blamed for his tonge!

by which Skeat says Chaucer 'gives him an excellent character for

<sup>1</sup> *Chronicles*, 1577, II, pp. 1003 and 1117, for example.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, II, p. 1355.

<sup>3</sup> *Bibliographia Poetica*, 1802, pp. 97 ff.

<sup>4</sup> For a few see article on Scogan, *Dictionary of National Biography*, and Hazlitt, work cited, introduction.

<sup>5</sup> 'The same Sir John, the very same. I see him break Skogan's head at the court-gate, when 'a was a crack, not thus high.' 2 *Hy. IV*, III, 2.

<sup>6</sup> Ed. 1821, XVII, pp. 117 ff., notes.

<sup>7</sup> In the *Masque of the Fortunate Isles* (1624).

<sup>8</sup> *Works*, ed. Grosart, 1884, I, p. 165, II, pp. 109, 132, 215.

<sup>9</sup> *Chronicles*, 1577, II, p. 1355.

wisdom of speech<sup>1</sup>, have a most suspicious air of playful irony. Admittedly what one sees in the *Envoy* is a matter of individual reaction. Personally I think the poem rings truest as amicable raillery sent from one poet who knew fun when he saw it to another who did not always hold fast to wisdom of speech and who had that rarest gift of being able to find himself funny. The very spontaneity of Chaucer's banter seems to imply a subject who would repay the effort with an appreciative laugh.

To accept one Scogan instead of two and feel any satisfaction in our belief we shall have to find some passable explanation for the mixing of the names John and Henry. This is a matter on which there cannot be much argument with information as limited as it is. About the existence of a Henry Scogan contemporary with Chaucer, who may well have been a poet, there is no doubt<sup>2</sup>. It is perhaps simplest merely to say that Henry Scogan would seem to be the man we are searching for, and that after his death the name John was sometimes given him in confusion. The thing is wholly possible. John and Henry are both extremely common names, and records show that Henry Scogan's own brother, from whom he inherited the manor of Haviles, was named John<sup>3</sup>. It is even possible that a mixing of common Christian names explains Scogan's being placed under Edward IV by some writers. The writing of Edward IV in error for Henry IV just once could have started the train. Of course, the mistake is stupid, but Tanner called Scogan 'regi Edwardi VI joculator<sup>4</sup>' when he certainly meant to make him jester to Edward IV, and in general there are enough errors and self-contradictions in what has been written about Scogan to furnish analogy for almost any kind of mistake.

We have one Scogan definitely established by historical record, and when we look as closely as we can, we find nothing definite to hinder our making him the fool of the *Jests*, probably rather scandalously vulgarized, the poet, and the friendly butt of Chaucer's *Envoy*. More than that, there is a great deal to favour the supposition.

WILLARD EDWARD FARNHAM.

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<sup>1</sup> Chaucer, I, p. 83.

<sup>2</sup> For the most important facts about him see *Dictionary of National Biography* and convenient summary by Kittredge, (*Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, 1892, I, pp. 114 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Parkins, *Essay towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk* (Blomefield's *Norfolk*), 1807, VII, pp. 141-2, quoted by Kittredge, (*Harvard Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature*, 1892, I, p. 114.

<sup>4</sup> *Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica*, 1748, p. 677.

## ‘THE BIRTH OF MERLIN.’

STRANGE that among the many Shakespearean critics who must (or should) have read this play, and the few who have edited it, not one has seen that it contains much that reveals the hands of Beaumont and Fletcher! Yet, although the *Birth of Merlin*, at first sight, does not seem to resemble the dramatic work of these two worthies, a closer survey of the play will disclose a very clear connexion with *Cupid's Revenge*.

Like *The Mayor of Queenborough*, *Merlin* is a British play, some characters—Vortiger, Uther Pendragon, Constantius, and Aurelius—figuring in both. But, although *The Mayor* is, in great part, founded on quasi-historical sources, the whole of the main plot of *Merlin* and some minor incidents are derived from Sidney's *Arcadia*, which book also furnished the material for *Cupid's Revenge*. The two plays use identical stories, but the characterisation in both presents some curious divergencies from the originals. *Cupid's Revenge* is built upon the episode of Plangus (a story that reads so much like a synopsis of a play that it is difficult to see how any dramatist could have ignored its obvious appeal). But, of the three characters whose emotions and conflicting passions provide the main theme of the tragedy, the Duke is drawn from Basilius. The British queen with the Arcadian name of Artesia, the principal female personage in *Merlin*, is transformed from an ordinary coquette into a Saxon Bacha—a woman of lustful and murderous impulse. Again, in *Cupid's Revenge*, the Duke has one daughter—chaste and virtuous—whereas, in *Merlin*, Donobert, the British lord, has two. In the *Arcadia*, Basilius had two daughters, and, strangely enough, in *Merlin* there are speeches of Donobert that ring with a quite perceptible kingly tone, suggesting that the reviser of the play has cut the character of Aurelius in half, robbing him of his daughters and leaving him an almost colourless monarch. On the other hand, Edol, in *Merlin*, not only plays the part of Ismenus in *Cupid's Revenge*, but also takes some speeches out of the mouth of Leucippus, which were probably first uttered by the Prince in the play afterwards converted into *Merlin*. When the parallels come to be noted, it will be seen that each play contains speeches that



would have been more natural to characters in the other. This also points to the one-time existence of a play—'X'—which formed the basis of both *Merlin* and *Cupid's Revenge*, and which, in form, more nearly resembled the British drama.

The important constructive links between the two plays will now be traced, following which will come the general parallels. The first acts of both *The Birth of Merlin* and *Cupid's Revenge* chiefly deal with the episode of the two daughters of Basilius, but the main plot is touched upon in each case before the act closes by the mention of the absence of the Prince (in *Merlin*, Uter; in *Cupid's Revenge*, Leucippus). The opening of the first act of *Merlin* is probably by Fletcher, to whom the following speech belongs:

Would he could tell me any news of the lost prince, there's twenty talents offered to him that finds him.

From the use of the word 'talents,' one may infer that the original play was cast for the classic regions of Arcadia and not Britain.

In the second scene, which contains a fair amount of Beaumont's work, the absent Prince is again alluded to:

*Aur.* No tidings of our brother yet?

In the fourth scene of Act I of *Cupid's Revenge*, Leontius asks:

No news yet of my son?

and again:

Where is the Prince?

In each case the return of the Prince is so timed as to make it impossible for him to prevent the marriage (in the case of Leucippus, of his father to Bacha; in the case of Uter, of his brother to Artesia).

Each royal bridegroom, upon his wedding day, dispenses healths to some one. The proffer to Leucippus in *Cupid's Revenge* is:

<i>Leon.</i>	I have now
Some near affairs, but I will drink a health	
To thee anon.	III ii.

But the Bacchic invitation given to the Hermit in *Merlin* is conveyed in a lengthier passage, and is noteworthy because it shows that its author could not have borrowed from *Cupid's Revenge*:

<i>Aur.</i>	We'll do thee honour first to pledge my queen.
<i>Herm.</i>	I drink no healths, great king, and if I did,
	I would be loath to part with health to those
	Who have no power to give it back again.

It will be seen that the last two lines are remarkably characteristic of Beaumont's style. They form, so far as I am aware, no close parallel

with any others in his acknowledged work, the nearest approach to them being, perhaps, in Philaster's speech :

I would do much to save that noble life:  
Yet would be loath to have posterity, etc.

In *Merlin*, the Prince is introduced to his brother's wife as to a stranger. He had, however, previously seen her, as is to be gathered from some rather hazy passages wherein we are darkly told that, her identity unknown, she had appeared to the young man, a beautiful and entrancing vision. (In this way, the plot of *Merlin* still preserves a similarity to that of *Cupid's Revenge*.) The lengthy dialogue that follows the introduction is mainly Beaumont's, the most significant passage being :

  thou art too near akin,  
And such an act above all name 's a sin  
Not to be blotted out, Heaven pardon me!

This might very well have found a place in *A King and No King*.

There is the same suggestion of incest in this play as in *Cupid's Revenge*, in which, after her marriage with Leontius, Bacha endeavours to renew her intimacy with the son. He refuses, whereupon she resolves to betray him to his father, by means of a *suggestio falsi*. The situation in *Merlin* is not quite so clear. Artesia, too, immediately after her marriage with Aurelius, makes overtures to the Prince, but, in the one scene where the two are alone, they seem to be playing at cross purposes. Each appears to be merely pretending to be in love with the other. However, the same result is achieved by Artesia as Bacha accomplishes, though the methods are somewhat different. As Leucippus was betrayed by Leontius, so Uter was to Aurelius. Leucippus was accused of promoting plots against the Duke, but no evidence is forthcoming in the play that he did so, though dark hints are given that he was an unwitting chief of the group of good men opposed to the evil rule of Bacha. Uter, however, certainly appears to have conspired against his brother, and, when the rupture came, all the worthy British lords supported the younger man against the King. In *Cupid's Revenge* the hero is imprisoned and afterwards rescued. In *Merlin* Aurelius allies himself with the Saxons to make war on the Prince's party.

The faction of Artesia, like Bacha's, is defeated, and both these wicked consorts are denounced by their opponents, Artesia by Edol, in the following passage (Fletcher):

Art. You know me, sir?  
Edol. Yes, deadly sin, we know you,  
And shall discover all your villany.      *Birth of Merlin*, III vi.

In *Cupid's Revenge* (again the poet is Fletcher):

*Bacha.* Do you not know me, lords?  
*Nisus.* Yes, deadly sin, we know you. v ii.

Artesia captured, Fletcher, through the mouth of Edol, gives her sentence:

Take her hence,  
 And stake her carcase in the burning sun,  
 Till it be parch'd and dry, and then flay off  
 Her wicked skin and stuff the pelt with straw,  
 To be shewn up and down at fairs and markets,  
 Two pence apiece. *The Birth of Merlin*, v ii.

The judgment of Ismenus (again by Fletcher upon) Bacha is as follows:

I would have thee, in vengeance of this man, whose peace is made in Heaven by this time, tied to a post, and dried i' the sun, and after carried about and shewn at fairs for money. *Cupid's Revenge*, v ii.

But the closing speeches of *Cupid's Revenge* were by Beaumont, and he left the ultimate disposal of Bacha's carcase to the audience, after she herself had bereft her body of life. In each case, it should be noted, the death of the monarch is due, directly or indirectly, to his wife. There are, however, notable differences in the climaxes of the two plays, and the improved close of *Cupid's Revenge* is alone sufficient to indicate which was the later drama.

The similarity of the two main plots having been shown, attention will now be given to the remainder of the remarkable series of parallels that connects the two plays:

He's a jewel worth a kingdom.	<i>Birth of Merlin</i> , II ii.
Be not ashamed, sir; you are worth a kingdom.	<i>Cupid's Revenge</i> , I iv.
O the gods!	
It is a thought that takes away my sleep.	<i>Birth of Merlin</i> , II ii.
'T is a truth	
That takes my sleep away.	<i>Cupid's Revenge</i> , III ii.

At the opening of scene iv of the first act of *Cupid's Revenge*, we have the following piece of dialogue by Fletcher:

*Tim.* Is your lordship for the wars this summer?  
*Ism.* Timantus, wilt thou go with me?  
*Tim.* If I had a company, my lord.  
*Ism.* Of fiddlers? Thou a company!  
 No, no; keep thy company at home and cause cuckolds.  
 The wars will hurt thy face . . . .  
 If thou wilt needs go, and go thus, get a case  
 For thy captainship, a shower will spoil thee else.

In *The Birth of Merlin*, Act II, scene ii:

*Capt.* What shall we do with our companies, my lord?  
*Edol.* Keep them at home to increase cuckolds,  
 And get some cases for your captainships.  
 Smooth up your brows, the wars has spoilt your faces.



This is one of those rare instances where a parallel speech is more natural to the character in *The Birth of Merlin* than it is to the one in *Cupid's Revenge*, for Timantus was a cowardly courtier, and was never likely to have had charge of a company in the war. The alliterative rendering of the rare proverb ('Company makes cuckolds') is again used by Fletcher in *Valentinian*, Act II, scene ii :

*Claud.* Sirrah, what ails my lady, that of late  
She never cares for company ?

*Marc.* I know not,  
Unless it be that company causes cuckolds.

More close parallels are found in the following extracts :

*Edol.* Your gross mistake would make  
Wisdom herself run madding through the streets,  
And quarrel with her shadow. *Birth of Merlin*, II ii.

*Leuc.* The usage I have had, I know, would make  
Wisdom herself run frantic through the streets,  
And Patience quarrel with her shadow. *Cupid's Revenge*, IV i.

It must be admitted that Beaumont's thought is much more appropriately spoken by Leucippus than by Edol, who had not experienced those intense personal wrongs that wrung from the Prince the beautiful figures of distraction. Edol continues :

Death.

Why killed you not that woman ?

*Dono., Glos.* O, my lord.

*Edol.* The great devil take me quick, had I been by,  
And all the women of the world were barren,  
She should have died, ere he had married her  
On these conditions.

*Cador.* It is not reason that directs you thus.

*Edol.* Then have I none, for all I have directs me.

*Birth of Merlin*, II ii.

Beaumont repeats this in *Cupid's Revenge*, IV i :

*Leuc.* Thus she has used me: Is't not a good mother ?

*Ism.* Why killed you her not ?

*Leuc.* The gods forbid it.

*Ism.* 'Slight, if all the women in the world were barren, she had died.

*Leuc.* But 'tis not reason directs thee thus.

*Ism.* Then have I none at all, for all I have directs me.

At the end of the scene (II ii) in *Merlin*, the line

Veiled with a deeper reach in villany

recalls

You have a deeper reach in evil than I. *Cupid's Revenge*, II ii.

The first scene in Act III shows the reviser's presence very clearly, but it contains at least one Fletcher jest :

I am even pined away with fretting, there's nothing but flesh and bones about me.

This is repeated in *Wit Without Money*, v i:

This morning-prayer has brought me into a consumption; I have nothing left but flesh and bones about me.

The opening of scene iv is clearly by the writer of Act IV, scene iii of *Philaster*, and the first part of scene vi contains marks of Beaumont, while the second portion has such pieces of Fletcher's stuff (the word is justified) as 'swarms of lousy knaves,' 'You fleering antics,' and

Ratsbane, do not urge me.

Ratsbane, get you gone, or—

*Cupid's Revenge*, iv i.

Wildfire and brimstone eat thee.

Wildfire and brimstone take thee.

*Cupid's Revenge*, v ii.

It will be seen that these parallel passages do not always follow the same order in both plays. When reconstructing from 'X' the more finished *Cupid's Revenge*, the authors evidently ransacked the discarded play in a very free and wholesale fashion. For example, the following lines from an early scene (II i) in *The Birth of Merlin*:

*Prince.* Ha! what art thou, that thus rude and boldly

Darest take notice of a wretch

So much allied to misery as I am?

are twice employed, with but slight alteration, in the final scene of *Cupid's Revenge*:

*Leuc.* What art thou, that into this dismal place,

Which nothing could find out but misery,

Thus boldly step'st?

*Leuc.* What worse than mad are you

That seek out sorrow?

Again, the couplet that closes scene ii of Act III of *Cupid's Revenge*:

Nor shall it be withstood:

They that begin in lust, must end in blood

is an alteration of:

If it be fate, it cannot be withstood:

We got our crown so, be it lost in blood. *Birth of Merlin*, iv i.

There is, however, a much closer copy of this in the final lines of *Philaster*:

Let princes learn

By this to rule the passions of their blood,

For what Heaven wills can never be withstood.

This play furnishes another parallel with the work under notice in the lines:

*Are.* Leave us, Philaster.

*Phil.* I have done.

*Phar.* You are gone. By Heaven, I'll fetch you back.

*Philaster*, I ii.

*Glos.* No more, son Edwin.

*Edw.* I have done, sir: I take my leave.

*Edol.* But thou shalt not; you shall take no leave of me, sir.

*Birth of Merlin*, II ii.

It may be thought that, although there undoubtedly are pieces of Beaumont and Fletcher's work in *The Birth of Merlin*, their presence is due to unscrupulous and thinly-disguised theft by some playwright-hack from *Cupid's Revenge*. But, as has been shown, all the parallels are not derived from that tragedy, and there are passages in *Merlin* which, though obviously by Beaumont, have no direct correspondence with his known work elsewhere. No less important are the slight touches here and there that 'give him away.' There is the frequent occurrence of 'trust me,' a phrase of which Beaumont was fond. There is also the strange exclamation, 'Cover me with night,' repeated later in the form, 'O darkness, cover me.' A version of this, 'Darkness, be thou my cover,' occurs in *The Coxcomb*, which also contains, 'The will of Heaven be done!' a characteristic utterance of Beaumont, repeated in *Merlin*. The marks of Fletcher are quite as distinct.

Assuming, then, that the passages denoting the presence of Beaumont and Fletcher are valid and not foisted into the play by an imitator, and recognising the vital links connecting the two plays, it does not require a very active imagination to enable one to see what has happened. There must have been in existence, before both *Cupid's Revenge* and *The Birth of Merlin*, a play—'X'—which was the first draft of *Cupid's Revenge*. 'X,' probably, did not contain the history of Merlin, though the play must have included something akin to it. There are so many points of contact between Modestia and Hydaspes, that there can be little doubt that 'X' contained the story of Donobert (probably, originally the King) and his two daughters. The character of Leontius, afterwards shattered by Fletcher (who transforms him into a passion-crazed and not very intelligent courtier), corresponds, in the opening act of *Cupid's Revenge*, in thought and language, to that of Donobert in *The Birth of Merlin*. 'X' may not have contained those parts of *Merlin* dealing with Vortiger. They are not very closely connected with the main theme, and the length of the cast alone in *The Birth of Merlin* is sufficient to warrant the belief that the original list has been added to. The use of the word 'talents' has already been noticed. One may assume, at least, that the scene of 'X' was laid in Arcadia and not Britain.

But 'X' must have contained the triangular story (Leontius—Bacha—Leucippus and Aurelius—Artesia—Uter). Indeed, this story must have bulked far more largely there than in *Merlin*, where it has every appearance of having been lessened. There are unmistakable gaps that cannot be satisfactorily explained unless one believes that the tampering finger of the adapter has been busy with it. At the end of the second



act of *Merlin*, the Prince is invited to a meeting with Artesia. Less than a fourth, but more than a fifth, of the play in bulk is thrust between the invitation and the interview. Part of the intervening matter, perhaps, displaced a scene between the two lovers preparatory to the fateful interview, and this displaced scene may have put the status of the lovers in a clearer light than is evident in *The Birth of Merlin*. 'X' must also have contained something that suggested both Zoilus in *Cupid's Revenge* and the juvenile Merlin. There are passages in *The Birth of Merlin*, referring to the infant prodigy, that might be more suitably applied to Zoilus.

In attempting to find a reason for the differences in treatment between *The Birth of Merlin* and *Cupid's Revenge*, the writer of this paper had assumed that the latter was a skilful adaptation of 'X,' and that this earlier play had not been destroyed but had merely been laid aside, eventually to be farther altered by another dramatist. But reference to a contemporary play throws an entirely different light upon the problem, and makes it appear likely—nay, almost certain—that the alteration of 'X' into *The Birth of Merlin* was made by Beaumont and Fletcher themselves, and this before the appearance of *Cupid's Revenge*. In or before 1605, Day brought upon the stage *The Isle of Gulls*. This is a dramatic rendering of the tale of Basilius in the *Arcadia*, which tale also served as the direct basis of 'X,' and partly of *Cupid's Revenge*. Unknown to one another, it would seem that Beaumont and Fletcher and Day were engaged at the same time upon plays with identical stories. Day's was the first to see the light, probably early in 1605—it was published in 1606. Beaumont and Fletcher's was then completed or almost completed. Obviously it would have been inopportune to launch it under its existing form. Either the work must have been abandoned or so changed as not to bear a close resemblance to *The Isle of Gulls*. This was done by turning the Greek play into a British one; by giving the daughters of Basilius to Donobert; and by introducing the fabulous history of Merlin. For the latter, the dramatists were probably indebted to an earlier play, very likely by Greene; but it is certain that no historical sources at their command could have supplied them with the characterless effigy of Aurelius.

A perusal of the two plays—*The Isle of Gulls* and *The Birth of Merlin*—will bring to light some half-a-dozen parallel speeches, from which it would appear that, for some way at least, Day and Beaumont and Fletcher were travelling along the same road. And a jest of the clown in *Merlin* not only dates the play, but gives additional support to

the theory accounting for its reconstruction. To the question, 'What are you?' the Clown replies (in Act III, sc. i):

'A couple of great Britons.'

There is no point in this remark unless it refers to the Act of October, 1604, by which the two kingdoms were styled 'Great Britain,' and it is obvious that the jest must have been made when the Act was fresh in memory.

I am aware that *The Birth of Merlin* is not a convincing specimen of Beaumont and Fletcher's work. It is probably the earliest drama of theirs that has come down to us, and were it not for the parallels that exist between this play and *Cupid's Revenge*, it is doubtful whether their authorship of it would have been detected. However, this does not comprise the whole of the evidence. The play is clearly the work of two poets, and in Act II, sc. ii, there is already the promise of that graver verse that was to distinguish Beaumont from Fletcher. For farther proof of parentage, there is the unmistakable figure of Edol, that characteristic specimen of the military humourist who almost invariably supplies the comic relief in the serious plays of Beaumont and Fletcher. As Rowley's name was connected with the work by the publisher, he may have revised it for a revival.

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## LOAN-WORDS FROM ENGLISH IN EIGHTEENTH CENTURY FRENCH.

### I.

THE present article was suggested by M. Bonnaffé's *Dictionnaire des Anglicismes* which I reviewed for this journal<sup>1</sup>. In my review I said that it did not appear to me that the author had quite realized the number of English loan-words which crept into French in the eighteenth century, and I have put together the following notes to justify my statement.

I expressed surprise that M. Bonnaffé, in his historical account of anglicism in French, has omitted all reference to the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685). The French protestant refugees were destined to be the most valuable connecting link between England and France. In the history of ideas, or rather of the transmission of ideas, their place is high. I imagine that, as interpreters in French of English thought and English life, as translators into French of English books, they must have found Miège's *Great French Dictionary* a most valuable work of reference. M. Bonnaffé, who quotes among his numerous sources Miège's *New Dictionary, French and English* (1677), his *Short Dictionary, English and French*, 2nd ed. (1685), and his *Estat présent de l'Angleterre*, 2 vols (1701-2), does not mention his *Great French Dictionary*, though a glance at his article on *falot* shows that he has used the French part which appeared in 1688. It is, however, the English part, dated 1687, which it is particularly important to consult.

Let us examine the English political and administrative vocabulary of the period, a portion of which, in its French dress, was destined to play such an important part during the Revolution of 1789. I find in M. Bonnaffé's list the following words of which, in each case, I give the earliest date he has found of the use in French and, wherever I can do so, a still earlier date; *adresse* (1688, already in Miège 1687), *alderman* (1688)<sup>2</sup>, *allégeance* (1688), *baronnet* (1669), *bill* (1669), *comité* (1656),

<sup>1</sup> *Modern Language Review*, xvi, pp. 90 ff.

<sup>2</sup> M. Bonnaffé quotes an instance of the use of this word in 1363 in Anglo-Norman: 'Face ent assavoir lez Maire et aldermans à la dite citee' (*Liber Albus*, p. 400). Of course, in Anglo-Norman, *alderman* is found quite early, in a different sense, e.g., c. 1135-47, G. Gaimar, *l'Estorie des Engles*, v, 2457: 'Cheor l'alderman les rechaçat.'



*consort* (1669), *constable* (1777, but in the form *connétable* already in Miège 1687), *coroner* (1688), *corporation* (1672), *excise* (1688, but already in Miège 1687), *jury* (1688), *lady* (1669), *nobleman* (1698), *païresse* (1698), *pondage* (1656), *queen* (1688), *quorum* (1688), *recorder* (1687), *shérif* (1688, but *shérif* and *sous-shérif* are in Miège 1687), *sir* (1779, already in Miège 1687), *solicitor* (1872, already in Miège 1687 *solliciteur*, and *solliciteur général* repeatedly in the translation of Clarendon, *Hist. des guerres civiles d'Angl.*, e.g., i (1704), 182, ii (1704), 62 etc.), *speaker* (1649), *steward* (1669), *test* (1688, already in Miège 1687), *tonnage* (1656), *tory* (1704, already in Miège 1687), *verdict* (1669), *vote*, *voter* (1727, but already in 1704 in Clarendon, *Hist. d. guerres civ. d'Angl.*, ii, 138, 197, 385, 495 etc.), *warrant* (1671), *whig* (1715, already in Miège 1687), *writ* (1702). All these words are really of approximately the same date; where an earlier date than 1685 has been given to any word, it is as a general rule because M. Bonnaffé has found it in Laurens, *Un subside accordé au roi d'Angleterre*, Paris, 1656; or in Chamberlayne, *l'Estat present d'Angleterre*, 2 vols in 12mo, Amsterdam, 1669.

The way in which Miège translates various words of this class is in many ways illuminating. He devoted to them special care and in the case of many of them he has added in English long explanations of their use. I imagine that few men of his time had such a competent knowledge of the French and English languages; and it stands out clearly that he was at pains to discover purely French equivalents of English political and administrative terms. He translates *act* (of parliament) by *arrêt* and *bill* by *projet*; now we know that *bill* as a French word has been found in 1685 by the *Dictionnaire Général* and M. Bonnaffé has been able to quote it from the Chamberlayne of 1669; *acte* is also in Chamberlayne, i, 106: 'Sans lequel consentement le bill ou l'acte du parlement n'est qu'un corps sans âme'; it must have been an everyday word among the French refugees and Miège himself repeatedly uses it in other articles of his Dictionary, e.g.: '*Auncel-weight*, sorte de poids autrefois en usage, mais qui est aboli par acte de parlement.' *Acte* and *bill*, in speaking of Parliament, are both English loan-words; one wonders why M. Bonnaffé accepts *bill* but rejects *acte*.

Take again the two words *address* and *petition*. The Fr. *adresse* offers no difficulty; M. Bonnaffé admits it as a loan-word, quoting from the *Gazette de Londres* of August 6, 1688: 'adresse très humble des grands jurés de la province de Hereford.' In 1687 Miège says: 'On appelle aussi *adresse* (en terme anglois) les requêtes par écrit que le parlement lorsqu'il est assemblé présente de tems en tems au roi; et en

general toutes ces soumissions formelles qu'une société fait au roi par des deputez, en des occasions extraordinaires. Du tems des derniers parlemens, on appelloit *addresses* les instructions que les electeurs donnoient par écrit aux membres qu'ils avoient eleus.' M. Bonnaffé admits *adresse* but not *pétition*. But surely *pétition* in sense 3° of the *Dictionnaire Général*, 'Requête écrite aux représentants de l'autorité, aux grands corps politiques,' is an anglicism, used particularly in the historical *pétition des droits* and the still commoner *droit de pétition*; it is in that sense that the word is most vigorous and to which belong the derived words *pétitionnaire*, *pétitionnement* and *pétitionner* (the last considered new by Necker in 1792). In its English sense, *pétition* had at first a rival in *requeste* which is used by Miège to translate *petition*; and so *requeste* is used to render *petition* in the translation of Clarendon's History, i (1704), 157, but both *requeste* and *pétition* are found in vi (1709), 419. And so too with many other words: *speaker* (of the House of Commons) is *orateur*, *président* in Miège, and *orateur* has the same sense in the translation of Clarendon. In dealing with the history of these English loan-words, it is important to note the various ways in which the English idea was rendered; *constable* was officially admitted to the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie* in 1835 and has not been found by M. Bonnaffé before 1777; but in 1687 Miège says: '*Constable*, connétable. Je rends le mot de *constable* par celui de connetable en françois, parce que c'est le plus court. Je sai bien qu'il y a beaucoup de difference dans la charge des connetables anglois et celle des connetables de France. Mais aussi quand je dis connetable, j'enten un connetable a l'angloise et c'est ce qu'il faut maintenant expliquer...' In writing a history of the word *constable* in French, it is right to quote Miège and such texts as the following which show that *connétable* was used for a long time in the sense of the later *constable*:

1704. Clarendon, *Hist. d. guerres civ. d'Angl.*, ii, 75: 'Les juges de paix, en execution de cet ordre, enjoignirent aux connetables de mettre des corps de garde sur le bord de la rivière...'

1745. [Abbé Le Blanc], *Lettres d'un François*, i, 112, n.: 'Ces gardes que les Anglois appellent connetables et qui font la patrouille de Londres...'

1789. Dutens, *L'Ami des étrangers qui voyagent en Angleterre*, p. 41: 'Les connetables...veillent aussi au bon ordre; ils ont le pouvoir d'arrêter les individus.'

Other important loan-words of the class we are considering have been omitted by M. Bonnaffé.

The French magistrates known as *juges de paix* were established by a law of August 24, 1790, and they have become such an integral part of French life that the English origins of the name tend to be forgotten. But the following texts will, I think, show them clearly:



1687. Miège, *The Great Fr. Dict.*, 2nd part: '*A justice of the peace*, juge ou justicier de paix. C'est une sorte de magistrature établie dans les grandes villes et autres communautés pour maintenir la paix et pour conoître des desordres...'

1704. Clarendon, *Hist. des guerres civ. d'Angl.*, ii, 74: 'Ils firent dresser un acte par le garde du grand sceau portant ordre aux chérifs et juges de paix, de faire garder les lieux...'

1729. Boyer, *Dict. angl. fr.*: '*justice of the peace*: juge ou justicier de paix, un commissaire de quartier.'

1745. [L'abbé Le Blanc], *Lettres d'un François*, ii, 152: 'L'homme d'église, l'homme de loi, ce qu'on appelle ici le juge de paix, le simple paysan, riche ou pauvre, en un mot tout Anglois de quelque état qu'il soit, quitte tout pour la chasse.'

1750. [P. T. N. Hurtault], *Coup d'œil anglois sur les cérémonies du mariage*, xxxix: 'En Angleterre, pendant quelque tems, les juges de paix furent chargés de cette administration...'

1759. L'abbé Expilly, *Descr. historique géographique des isles Britanniques*, 217: 'Tous les aldermanns qui ont été maires, et les trois plus anciens de ceux qui ne sont pas parvenus à cette dignité, ont droit d'exercer l'office de juge de paix.'

Another interesting loan-word from English is *agitateur*, the early history of which is indicated by the following texts:

1687. Miège, *The Great Fr. Dict.*, 2nd part: '*agitator*, agent solliciteur. Du tems des dernières guerres civiles, particulièrement l'an 1647, on appelloit *agitators* deux soldats tirez de chaque régiment de l'armée qui étoit pour lors independants, pour solliciter les affaires de leurs régiments, et pour s'assembler en conseil là-dessus.'

1709. Clarendon, *Hist. des guerr. civ. d'Angl.*, v, 83: 'On reconnut que les officiers et ceux qu'on appelloit les *agitateurs* étoient ses créatures et qu'ils ne faisoient et ne feroient rien que par son ordre.'

1729. Boyer, *Dict. fr. angl.*: '*agitateur* s.m. C'est ainsi que durant les guerres civiles d'Angleterre, on nommoit ceux qui gouvernoient l'armée parlementaire.'

1756. Voltaire, *Mœurs*, 180: 'Le conseil des *agitateurs* (en Angleterre).' [This is the *Dict. Gén.*'s earliest instance.]

The origins of *agitateur* are seen to be clearly English. Later, in the Revolutionary period, it became a hackneyed word and constantly recurs in the debates of the National Convention; I quote from Bossange's edition of 1828 (iii, 235) the following statement made on February 26, 1793, by the spokesman of a deputation: 'La loi a été violée: des *agitateurs*, payés par les ennemis de la république, ont cherché à exciter le peuple.' L. S. Mercier introduces the word in his *Néologie* (1801), i, 17. In an unofficial edition of the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française* published by Montardier and Leclerc in 1802, *agitateur* is explained as 'celui qui excite de l'agitation, du trouble, de la fermentation dans une assemblée politique ou parmi le peuple.' By this time *agiter* and *agitation* had acquired their political value; it is interesting to notice that in their special political sense, both *agiter* and *agitation* are, so to speak, derived from *agitateur*.

At the time of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, the English parliament could be either adjourned or prorogued or dissolved, and the action corresponding was called adjournment, prorogation, dissolution. Now, if we consider the French words *ajourner*, *ajournement*, we find



that the *Dictionnaire Général* classifies their modern meanings as follows: *ajourner*, (1) to summon (to appear on a fixed day), (2) to put off (to a fixed day); *ajournement*, (1) summons, (2) adjournment (in the English sense). Of these meanings, no. 1 of *ajourner*, *ajournement* are the only ones known to Richelet in 1680 and to Miège in 1688, the only ones noted by the Richelet of 1732. But in 1771 the *Dictionnaire de Trévoux*, while still giving *ajourner*, *ajournement* their law sense, adds: '*ajournement* se dit en Angleterre d'une espèce de prorogation par laquelle on remet la séance du parlement à un autre temps, toutes choses demeurant en état.' And this use of the words is older, for *s'ajourner* occurs repeatedly in 1704 in the translation of Clarendon's *History of the Civil War*, e.g., ii, 108: 'Ainsi ils resolurent avec plus de raison que la chambre s'ajourneroit pour deux ou trois jours...'

With regard to *prorogation*, it had existed as a law-term in French from the Middle Ages, and eighteenth-century dictionaries quote such expressions as *prorogation de grâce*, *prorogation d'enquête*, *prorogation de compromis*, *prorogation de juridiction*. *Proroger* was also a law-term. But Miège in 1687 already gives the new meaning: '*to prorogue the parliament*, proroger le parlement, le renvoyer à une autre fin; *prorogation*, prorogation, renvoi, *as the prorogation of Parliament*, la prorogation du parlement...' Better still, in 1688, he inserts in the French-English part of his dictionary the Fr. *prorogation* and *proroger* and quotes as instances of their use: *la prorogation du parlement d'Angleterre*, *proroger le parlement d'Angleterre*. We read in the index to the fifth volume of the translation of Clarendon, published in 1709: 'Leur parlement est prorogé jusqu'au mois d'Octobre.' Under the heading *prorogation*, the *Dictionnaire de Trévoux* (1771) says: 'En parlant des affaires d'Angleterre on appelle prorogation du parlement, l'ordre que le roi donne d'interrompre les séances du parlement pour ne recommencer qu'à un certain jour'; and at *proroger*: 'On dit aussi en Angleterre que le roi a prorogé son parlement pour dire qu'il a remis les séances à une autre saison' (*Dict. de l'Acad.*, 4th ed., 1762).

Miège in 1687 translates *the parliament is dissolved* by *le parlement est cassé* and *the dissolution of parliament* by *la cassation du parlement*. In the translation of Clarendon, i (1704), 5, *casser* is used and in the index we find *cassation du troisième parlement*. But in the index to volume vi (1709) we have *le parlement est dissipé* and *il est dissous en*

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Linguet, *Annales politiques, civiles et littéraires*, 15 vols, 1777-83, vi, 177, note: '*Proroger* en ce sens (jour de la prorogation de cette compagnie) est un mot anglais que nous avons adopté; parmi nous, la prorogation d'un commandement, d'une assemblée en indique la continuation; et chez nos voisins la fin, la clôture.'

*février 1655*, and again *une amnistie pour tout ce qui s'étoit passé dans la dissolution de ce parlement*. Other words used at various times are *séparer* and *rompre*. In 1729 Boyer translates *to dissolve the parliament* by *casser ou dissoudre le parlement*. But the dictionaries published in France in the eighteenth century in no case insert *dissoudre* and *dissolution* in their parliamentary sense. And in the parliamentary sense *ajourner* and *ajournement*, *dissoudre* and *dissolution*, *proroger* and *prorogation* are anglicisms; their Latin or French origin, their French form, their adaptation to the expression of French parliamentary life, account for the fact that the English origin tends to be obscured. It is curious to see how they straggled into French official dictionaries at quite different times, and it is important to note that although they were originally parliamentary terms, these words have subsequently gained further ground; *ajourner* has now got the general sense of *put off*: *ajourner une discussion, une affaire, une entreprise*.

And many other words crept in during the course of the eighteenth century. M. Bonnaffé has very properly included the word *session*. Prof. Brunot in his preface expresses surprise: 'Malgré le *Dictionnaire Général* et les autres, il est possible que *session*, malgré sa physionomie latine, nous soit venu d'Angleterre.' And yet nothing is more certain than that *session* in the sense of 'sitting of parliament' is an anglicism. The O.F. *session* need not trouble us here. The first sense in which *session* was inserted in a French dictionary was that of 'sitting of an ecclesiastical council'; it will be found in the second volume of Richelet's dictionary published in 1679 at Geneva, and Richelet had found it in the works of Patru (1604—1681). M. Bonnaffé has discovered an isolated instance of *session* as an anglicism in 1657 in Du Gard, *Nouvelles ordinaires de Londres*, p. 1410: 'Les assises ou sessions ordinaires s'étant tenues à Old Baily.' But he has not found *session* in the sense of 'sitting of parliament' until 1765 when it was used in the *Encyclopédie*. The reason is that Miège and the rest used *séance*; but even in the parliamentary sense *session* is found in Clarendon, *Hist. des guerres civiles d'Angleterre*, vi (1709), 433: 'Cromwell...les remercia de leur bonne correspondance pendant la dernière session...' And in the 1798 edition of the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie* we read: 'Le parlement d'Angleterre a une session tous les ans.'

The words *convention*, *conventionnel* gained notoriety during the French Revolution. Now the name of the *Convention Nationale* was undoubtedly due to the influence of the Convention parliament of 1688 reinforced by that of the American Constitutional Convention of 1787. In 1709 we



already find in Clarendon, *Hist. des guerres civiles d'Angl.*, v, 437: 'Un memoire qu'elle leur avoit présenté comme le modèle d'un nouveau gouvernement qui estoit appelé la convention du peuple'; cf. also vi, 739: *la Convention* as the name of the parliament of 1660; and in 1729 Boyer in his dictionary has: '*Convention* s. (or publick meeting). Assemblée des etats; en parlant des affaires d'Angleterre on peut se servir du mot de convention,' and again: '*Conventionner* s. Membre d'une assemblée des estats.'

The *Dictionnaire Général* recognized that *majorité*, *minorité* in the sense of 'the greater number,' 'the smaller number,' were anglicisms, but wrongly wrote down *minorité* as a nineteenth-century neologism. M. Bonnaffé does not include either of these remarks in his book. Their new meanings became usual during the Revolution, instances of 1793 will be found in Bossange's 1828 edition of the *Debates of the National Convention*, iii, 11 etc. (*majorité*), 57 etc. (*minorité*). The earliest instance of *majorité* I know is still the one found in a letter of Voltaire to D'Alembert of July 21, 1760, and given in Littré. The word is probably older. The first instance of the English *majority* in the sense required is given in the *N.E.D.* as 1691; but earlier instances are in Locke's *Of Civil Government*, in *Works*, ed. 1824, iv, 395: 'by the will and determination of the majority' and *passim*. It would not surprise me that Locke himself furnished the source from which the new sense of the Fr. *majorité* was ultimately derived.

And while we are speaking of Locke, whose influence in eighteenth-century France was so marked, we may turn our attention to chapter xii of the tract *Of Civil Government*, entitled: 'Of the legislative, executive and federative power of the commonwealth.' The French adjectives corresponding to those of this title have been accepted officially by the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie* in the following order: *législatif* in 1718, *fédératif* in 1798, *exécutif* in 1835. The reasons for this curious order of admission are not far to seek. The *Dictionnaire Général* has found the Fr. *législatif* in the fourteenth century in the works of Oresme, it would be more to the point for our purpose, but also more difficult, to quote an instance of the sixteenth and particularly of the seventeenth century. It is certainly unknown to such lexicographers as Cotgrave and Miège. But the following texts show its use between the first (1694) and the second (1718) editions of the *Dict. de l'Académie*:

1700. *Nouv. de la Républ. des Lettres*, Sept., p. 262: 'Que le pouvoir législatif rapporteroit l'exécution des lois au magistrat...'

1706. Barbeyrac, *Le Droit de la Nature et des Gens* (translated from Pufendorf) ii, 231: 'La souveraineté, en tant qu'elle prescrit des règles générales pour la conduite de la vie civile s'appelle pouvoir législatif...'



On the other hand, Miège in 1687 translates *legislative power* by 'pouvoir de faire des loix.' Turning now to *fédératif*, we find that it was used by Montesquieu in the *Esprit des Loix* (1748) in *république fédérative*, *constitution fédérative*. Lastly the idea of *executive power* is expressed by Barbeyrac in 1706 by *pouvoir coactif*, *pouvoir exécutif*, *puissance exécutrice*, and the last expression is invariably used by Montesquieu in 1748. It was Rousseau who, in the *Contrat Social* of 1761, criticized Montesquieu's use of *puissance exécutrice* (see *Political Works*, ed. Vaughan, i, 499, note) and adopted for himself *pouvoir exécutif*, *puissance exécutive*.

The English word *legislature* is quoted by the *N.E.D.* from 1676. I had suggested in the *Revue de philologie française*, xxvii (1913), 255, that the Fr. *législature* is borrowed from it. I then gave two instances of its use, one, of 1787, from Delolme's *Constitution de l'Angleterre* and one, of 1789, from Mirabeau's *Commerce des états américains* (a translation from Lord Sheffield). I can now quote two of 1745 from the *Lettres d'un François* of l'abbé Le Blanc, said to have been written in England between 1737 and 1744: 'Un gouvernement mixte, composé du monarchique, de l'aristocratique et du démocratique de façon que chaque partie de la législature se réponde et se contrebalance mutuellement' (i, 131). 'Parce qu'ils (les non-conformistes) voyent à regret les évêques partager avec les grands du royaume une partie de la législature' (ii, 279).

Here also must be added the political use of *constitution* (Miège in 1687 translates 'the constitution of the government' by *la disposition du gouvernement*), *constitutionnel* (1775 Beaumarchais, *Œuvres*, ed. 1809, iv, 455: 'formes constitutionnelles'), *constitutionnellement*, *inconstitutionnel* (1778 Linguet, *Ann. etc.* iii, 500: 'demande illégale, et selon l'idiome breton, inconstitutionnelle'), *inconstitutionnellement* (1783 Linguet, *Ann. etc.* xv, 22).

It is not possible here to examine the whole of the French vocabulary of this class. Let it suffice to say that not only *jury*, but *juré*, 'juryman' (from 1687 Miège), the technical sense of *message*, such parliamentary words as *commission*, *débat*, *motion*, *opposition*, the adj. *représentatif* in *gouvernement représentatif* (the subst. *représentatif* in the sense of *représentant* also occurs in the eighteenth century), the political sense of *influence*:

1780. Linguet, *Ann. polit., civ. et litt.*, ix, 38: 'Une majorité invincible et la triomphante influence qui sera toujours le vrai ressort de ce qui s'appelle république.'

and *influencer*:

1787. Delolme, *Constitution de l'Angl.*, ii, 16 n.: 'Appelé à l'ordre comme voulant influencer le débat.'

1792. Necker, *Pouvoir exécutif*, ii, 205 : 'On introduit chaque jour de nouveaux verbes : *influencer, utiliser*.'

1793. *Débats de la Conv. Nat.*, ed. Bossange, 1828, iv, 322 : 'Influencer l'assemblée.'

1798. Accepted by the Academy—

the word *ordre* in *à l'ordre, rappeler à l'ordre, ordre du jour* (see above the extract from Delolme) and many others are to be traced back to English use. Whole phrases like *rappeler à l'ordre* or *prendre en considération* were definitely naturalized in the assemblies of the Revolution; such expressions as *droits de l'homme*:

1748. Burlamaqui, *Princ. du droit naturel*, i, 104 : 'Fondement général des droits de l'homme.'

and *majesté du peuple* became common. Of the latter the following instances will be found interesting:

1745. [Abbé Le Blanc], *Lettres d'un François*, ii, 352 : 'Lorsque Cromwell relevoit la majesté du peuple anglois, il le tenoit dans les fers.'

1774. Grosley, *Londres*, i, 92 : 'Il fut traité en homme qui auroit attenté à la majesté du peuple anglois.'

1783. Raynal, *Hist. philosophique et politique...des Européens dans les Indes*, x, 263 : 'Ce sont les Anglois qui ont dit les premiers, la majesté du peuple, et ce seul mot consacre une langue.'

Nor should it be forgotten that the refugees were interested in English history: that Miège's *Estat présent de l'Angleterre* (1702) and still more Rapin de Thoyras' *Histoire d'Angleterre* (1724) were among the books which contributed most to make England known and understood on the Continent in the first half of the eighteenth century. In the works of the refugee pamphleteers, journalists and translators we find *chancelier de l'échiquier, statut de premunire, huissier à la verge noire, juge d'assise, commission d'oyer et de terminer, ship-money* and a host of other expressions which came from England. And it seems to me that M. Bonnaffé, who has taken to his bosom *whig* and *tory* and even *cromwellien, cromwelliste* and *cromwellisme*, might have made room for historical words like *heptarchie, cavalier, tête ronde, parlement croupion, chambre étoilée, covenant* and *covenantaire, protecteur, lord protecteur* and *protectorat, habeas corpus, jacobite, prétendant* and many others. These words are no more obsolete in French than they are in English.

By the nature of the case, the refugees of 1685 interested themselves in English religious life; and by the enormous polemical and journalistic literature they were responsible for, they helped to introduce new religious terms into the French vocabulary. The words *papiste* and *papisme* had been used to a limited extent by the Huguenots in the sixteenth century but neither of them is noted by Cotgrave (1611); on the other hand, I find *papiste* in J. de la Montaigne, *La Voye*

*Seure* (transl. in 1645 from the English of Humfrey Linde), p. 157 and *passim*, and *romaniste* in his *Voye Asseurée* (transl. likewise from Linde in 1645), p. 297. Certain it is that *papiste* and *papisme* had a great recrudescence of favour after 1685 and were useful to the eighteenth-century *philosophes*; the use of *papistique* is to be noted:

1704. Clarendon, *Hist. des guerres civ. d'Angl.*, ii, 70: 'Bannir des églises d'Angleterre, les évêques, et le livre des communes prières, comme impies et papistiques...'

1708. *Nouvelles de la Républ. des Lettres*, Janvier, p. 21: 'Est-il fort étonnant que dans l'espace de près de deux siècles, trois ou quatre docteurs se soient un peu ecartez, et aient inséré dans leurs livres quelques dogmes papistiques, généralement condamnez par tous les autres?'

1771. *Dict. de Trévoux* quotes *formulaire papistique* from Bayle.

1780. Linguet, *Ann. polit., civ. et littéraires*, ix, 88: 'L'invasion papistique pour me servir de leur terme' (des Anglais).

1801. Mercier, *Néologie*, ii, 166: 'idolâtrie papistique.'

One cannot help suspecting even the word *catholicisme*. The *Dictionnaire Général* found it for the first time in Voltaire's *Lettres sur les Anglais* (1734): 'Toutes les sectes d'Angleterre...sont réunies contre le catholicisme, leur ennemi commun.' The word occurs, however, in the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres* of February 1687, p. 129: 'C'est aller contre la règle commune du catholicisme...' in a review of a catholic work on transubstantiation published in London in 1686 for Jean Cailloué<sup>1</sup>. Certainly Miège (1687) and Boyer (1729) translate the Engl. *catholicism* by the Fr. *catholicité* which had been in use from the end of the sixteenth century. As the Engl. *catholicism* was relatively recent, it is difficult to be sure of one's ground and it is better to await for further text evidence which may help to decide<sup>2</sup>.

Of religious words, M. Bonnaffé includes:

(1) *quaker* of which he gives an early instance of 1657 from Du Gard, *Nouv. ord. de Londres*, ii, 1453; special articles might be devoted to the equivalent *trembleur* and the later *ami*; (2) *quakérisme*, quoted from 1755, but already in 1701 in the *Nouv. de la Rép. des Lettres*, Mai, p. 584: 'abjurer le quakérisme'; (3) *non-conformiste*, quoted from 1688, but already in Miège (1687); (4) *dissenter*, quoted from 1702, but also in Miège (1687).

But the following are omitted:

(1) *conformiste*, *conformité*, *non-conformité* (all in Miège, 1687); (2) *puritain* (Miège, 1687); *puritanisme* (*Dict. Gén.*, 1691); (3) *presbytérien*, *indépendant*, *brouniste*, *barrouiste*, *séparatiste* (all in [Nicole], *Les*

<sup>1</sup> Two isolated instances of *catholicisme* are to be found in Marnix de Ste Oldegonde, *Des différents de la religion*, ed. Quinet, e.g., i, p. 232: 'La conversion du roy au catholicisme.'

<sup>2</sup> Cf. in a letter of Congreve dated Jan. 16, 1715, translated in *Œuvres de Pope*, ed. 1754, iv, 349: 'Avec mon catholicisme et ma poésie...'



*pretenduz reformez convaincus de schisme* (1684), p. 613); (4) *presbytérianisme, indépendantisme* (1708 *Nouv. de la Républ. des Lettres*, Janv., p. 613); (5) *robinsonien, latitudinaire, leveller, ranter*, etc. Nor is it true to say that these words are obsolete or that their use in French is not continuous. The fact that, with the limited means at my disposal, I can quote the following instances of one of the rarest of them will convince M. Bonnaffé who very properly relies on written texts for his proofs:

1687. Miège: 'ranter, a sect so-called. C'est le nom d'une secte, proche parente de celle qu'on nomme *the family of love*.'

1708. *Nouv. de la Républ. des Lettres*, Janvier, p. 13: 'Il parle entr'autres d'une certaine secte, sortie du sein des Indépendants et appelee la secte des ranters.'

1797. Barclay, *Apologie de la vraie religion chrétienne*, transl. by E. P. Bridel, p. 270: 'Certainement cela approche de très près le blasphème horrible des ranteurs ou libertins qui assurent qu'il n'y a point de différence entre le bien et le mal...'

1830-1. W. Scott, *Œuvres*, trad. par Defauconpret, ed. 1839, xx (*Woodstock*), p. 57: 'Que sont les mugglemans, les ranters, les brounistes? Des sectaires.'

1860. E. D. Forgues, *Originaux et beaux-esprits de l'Angleterre contemporaine*, ii, 221: 'Bulwer a décoché plus d'une épigramme acérée contre les ranters, les canters de la vieille Angleterre.'

Not only are such expressions as *livre des communes prières* and *conventicule de non-conformistes* common with the refugees, but there occur in Miège (1687) and in the literature of religious controversy of the time words like *ubiquitaire* (already used in the sixteenth century), *ubiquité* (1st ex. of 1812 in the *Dict. Gén.*); *millénaire, chiliaste, homme de la cinquième monarchie; préexister* and *préexistence; consubstantiation* (not found by the *Dict. Gén.* before 1754); *non-résistance* (1701 *Nouv. de la Républ. des Lettres*, p. 464) and many others.

M. Bonnaffé includes as anglicisms *panthéisme* and *panthéiste*, and rightly. But what of *théisme* and *théiste*? The Engl. *theist* is quoted by the *N.E.D.* from 1662 and *theism* from 1678. The following passage is interesting from various points of view:

1705. *Nouv. de la Républ. des Lettres*, Oct., p. 398: 'M. Leclerc vient de se servir du mot de theistes dans son septième tome de la *Bibliothèque choisie*, pour signifier ceux qui croient l'existence d'un Dieu et pour les opposer aux athées. Je me suis servi dans quelque endroit de ces *Nouvelles* du mot de *déiste* dans le même sens. Ce dernier est françois depuis longtemps; mais il a un sens différent de celui que je lui ai donné, ce qui est incommode, et qui peut faire une équivoque. Celui de theiste est tout nouveau et d'autant plus propre qu'il n'a encore aucune autre signification. Les Anglois sont beaucoup plus hardis que nous. Ils ne font point de difficulté de forger des mots nouveaux toutes les fois qu'ils en ont besoin.'

Quite among the most important words which have an English source, I should place *libre-penseur, libre-pensée, liberté de pensée*. To include *pudding* and *pie* and omit *libre-pensée* appears to me to falsify the right notion of what English influence on French has been. It is interesting to observe that the word *penseur* itself only becomes usual

in the second half of the eighteenth century; Gohin, in his *Transformations de la langue française durant la seconde moitié du xviii<sup>e</sup> siècle* (1903), quotes Dorat for its use as a substantive and Jean Jacques Rousseau's *Confessions* for the adjectival use; it was accepted by the Academy in 1798; one wonders whether it is a reflex of the Engl. *thinker* which Boyer in 1729 translates by 'un homme qui pense beaucoup.' However that may be, the translation or adaptation into French of *freethinker* and *freethinking* evidently caused difficulty. Boyer's article in 1729 is worth reading and shows how easily the word could take a favourable or unfavourable meaning:

*Freethinker* s. (one that thinks freely and judges for himself, in matters of religion). Celui ou celle qui pense librement, en matière de religion. Il se prend d'ordinaire en mauvaise part et alors il signifie un esprit fort, un libertin.

*Freethinking* s. Libertinage d'esprit, esprit fort; le contraire de la bigoterie, du fanatisme et de la superstition. M. Toland prétends that freethinking was the grand principle of the Reformation. M. Toland pretend que l'esprit fort étoit le grand principe de la reformation.

In 1860 E. D. Forgues, in his *Originaux et beaux esprits de l'Angl. contemp.*, tells us that 'Voltaire s'illustrait en rapportant d'Angleterre les idées des *freethinkers*.' Voltaire himself says *franc-pensans* (cf. *franc-maçon* < Engl. *freemason*, *franc-tenancier* < Engl. *freeholder*) and his use of this word is noted by Mercier, *Néologie* (1801), 282. The equivalent *franc-penseur* was used right into the nineteenth century. In his *Lettres d'un François* (1745), l'abbé Le Blanc says *esprit libre* (i, 52) and *penser librement* (ii, 280). Chambaud and Robinet's *Dictionary* (1776), ii, 220, translates *freethinker* by 'Celui ou celle qui pense librement, penseur libre, esprit fort' and *freethinking* by 'liberté de penser.' A periodical which only had three numbers, called *Le Libre-penseur*, was published about 1796 by J. G. Locré. The following passage from Bérard de Muret's *Lettres sur les Anglois et les François* (1725), ed. 1726, i, 4: 'C'est aussi ce qui leur donne (i.e. aux Anglois) une certaine liberté de pensées et de sentimens qui ne contribue pas peu au bon sens qu'on trouve chez eux...' is all the more arresting that the work was probably written in 1694 or 1695. One may also quote the following: '*La friponnerie laïque des prétendus esprits forts d'Angleterre ou Remarques de Phileleuthère de Leipzig* (i.e. Richard Bentley) *sur le Discours de la liberté de penser traduit de l'anglois par N.N.* (i.e. Armand de La Chapelle). Amsterdam, Wetstein, 1738, in 12.' Bentley's *Remarks on the Late discourse of Freethinking* (by A. Collins) appeared in English in 1713.

(To be continued.)



# COURT MASQUERADES IN SWEDEN IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

## II.

I PASS on to a somewhat fuller treatment of the texts themselves. The following list contains particulars of all the more important ballets performed in Sweden that attained the distinction of print. Only three are omitted: a fragment of a ballet performed on Carl XI's birthday (November 24) 1662; a ballet in four entries introduced into the dramatisation of Stiernhielm's poem of *Hercules*, performed in 1669; and a fragmentary *Ballet meslé de chants héroïques*, of which a Swedish version also exists, performed on February 6, 1701, as part of the festivities celebrating the victory of Narva. The title of this last piece is interesting as showing that by this time an attempt was being made to separate the dances altogether from the spoken parts of the ballet. Here too we find the first mention of pantomime<sup>1</sup>. In Ekeblad, Juul, and other sources we find notices of several pieces which have not come down to us, and a search through the various collections of the archives and libraries of Stockholm and Uppsala would almost certainly result in the discovery of several unprinted MSS. of ballets: the matter has not yet been deemed worthy of attention by any Swedish writer. One unprinted piece, entitled *Le Ballet de la Diversité de la Fortune*, will be found among the MSS. and early printed editions in the Palmskiöld collection of the University Library of Uppsala<sup>2</sup>.

### LIST OF BALLETS PERFORMED IN SWEDEN<sup>3</sup>.

Title	Author	Date and occasion of performance	Particulars of publication
Le Ballet des Plaisirs de la Vie des Enfants sans Soucy	?	Jan. 28, 1638. In honour of Maria Eleonora, but really to amuse Christina.	Small 4to, 8 pp. Stockholm, H. Keyser, 1638.
Le Balet du Cours du Monde	?	Nov. 30, 1642. Wedding of Frederick of Baden and Princess Christina of the Palatinate.	Small 4to, 12 pp. [Stockholm, Keyser, 1642.]
Ballet vom Lauff der Welt	?		Small 4to, 12 pp. Stockholm, Keyser, 1642.

<sup>1</sup> Ljunggren, p. 452.

<sup>2</sup> *Handskr. Palmsk.* 14, pp. 255-6.

<sup>3</sup> All the ballets were danced at Stockholm, either in the ballet-hall or in the Rikssal.



Title	Author	Date and occasion of performance	Particulars of publication
Balet des Phantaisies de ce Temps	?	Dec. 8, 1643. Queen Christina's birthday.	4to, 8 pp. [Stockholm, Keyser, 1643.]
Balet, Om thenna tidszens fantasier	? Stiernhielm		4to, 8 pp. [Stockholm, Keyser, 1643.]
Le Monde reiovi	?	Jan. 1, 1645. Christina's assumption of the reins of government.	4to, 28 pp. [Stockholm, Keyser, 1645.]
Balet, Om Heela Wårdenes Frögd	? Stiernhielm		4to, 24 pp. [Stockholm, Keyser, 1645.]
Boutade ('Les Effects de l'Amour')	'Le Sr de Mont-huchet'	June 28, 1646. No special occasion.	Large 4to, 10 pp. [Stockholm, Keyser, 1646.]
L'Amour Constant	?	Sept. 6, 1646. Wedding of Frederick of Hessen and Princess Eleonora of the Palatinate.	4to, 20 pp. [Stockholm, Keyser, 1646.]
Les Passions Victorieuses et Vaincues	?	April 4, 1649. Before Christina and the Queen-Mother. In honour of Maria Eleonora's recent return from Germany. New ballet-hall inaugurated.	Folio, 22 pp. Stockholm, J. Janssonius, 1649.
Le Vaincu de Diane	Hélie Poirier	Nov. 1 and 11, 1649. In honour of Maria Eleonora, lately returned from abroad.	Folio, 22 pp. Stockholm, Janssonius, 1649 (twice).
Die Überwundene Liebe	?		Folio, 22 pp. Stockholm, Janssonius, 1649.
Then fångne Cupido	G. Stiernhielm		Folio, 22 pp. Stockholm, Keyser, 1649 (and in editions of S.'s works from 1668 on).
La Naissance de la Paix	Hélie Poirier	Dec. 8, 1649. Celebrates the Peace of Westphalia. Christina's birthday.	Folio, 16 pp. Stockholm, Janssonius, 1649.
Des Friedens Geburtstag	J. Freinshemius		Folio, 14 pp. [Stockholm, Keyser, 1649.]
Freds-Aft	G. Stiernhielm		Folio, 16 pp. Stockholm, Keyser, 1649 (and in editions of S.'s works).
Les Boutades ou Proverbes	?	March 3, 1650. Before the two queens.	Folio, 14 pp. Stockholm, Janssonius, [1650].

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Title	Author	Date and occasion of performance	Particulars of publication
Le Parnasse Triumphant	?	Jan. 9, 1651, and repeated soon afterwards. Originally intended for Christina's coronation (Oct. 1650). Postponed to her birthday (Dec. 8), then to New Year.	Folio, 24 pp. Stockholm, Janssonius, 1651.
Der Triumfierende Parnass	?		Folio, 16 pp. [Stockholm, Janssonius, 1651.]
Parnassus Triumphans	G. Stiernhielm		Folio, 16 pp. Stockholm, Janssonius, 1651 (and in editions of S.'s works).
Les Liberalitez des Dieux	Urbain Chevreau	Dec. 8, 1652. Christina's birthday.	Small 4to, 24 pp. Stockholm, Janssonius, 1652. Reprinted in part in Chevreau's <i>Poésies</i> (Paris, 1656).
La Masquarade des Vaudeuilles	?	? 1653. No title, place, or year.	Small 4to, 8 pp. [Stockholm, Janssonius.]
Ballet beginning 'Mars introduisant les Chevaliers du Combat de Barriere'	?	Dec. 8, 1653. Christina's birthday.	Small 4to, 8 pp. [Stockholm, Janssonius, 1653.]
Le Balet de la Felicité	Urbain Chevreau	Oct. 28 and Nov. 7, 1654. Part of the ceremonies associated with the wedding of Carl X and the coronation of Queen Hedvig.	Small 4to, 24 pp. Stockholm, Janssonius, 1654. Also in Chevreau's <i>Poésies</i> (Paris, 1656), pp. 120 ff.
Den Stoora Genius	Erik Lindschöld	Nov. 24, 1669. Carl XI's fifteenth birthday.	Small 4to, 42 pp. Stockholm, N. Wankijff, 1669. Reprinted in Hanselli's edition of the collected works of E. Lindschöld, Uppsala, 1864.

The first two pieces in the list need not detain us long. They belong to a period when the ballet had not yet become fully acclimatized at the Swedish court, and are of the commonest French pattern, consisting simply of a series of disconnected entries. *Le Ballet des Plaisirs de la Vie des Enfans sans Soucy* is said to have been performed 'avec grand contentement de tout le monde qui le regardoit (*sic!*).' Among these spectators was Christina, then twelve years old. The piece consists of thirteen short entries in verse, and there is no *grand ballet*. The characters of the entries are: (1) *Les Volontaires aux Dames*. (2) *Les Mores preneurs de Tabak*. (3) *Le Joueur*. (4) *La courtizane double*.

(5) *Le Capitaine Suedois*. (6) *L'Espagnon*. (7) *Le Joueur* (each time represented by Antoine de Beaulieu). (8) *Les Bergers*. (9) *Les Chasseurs* (Prince Carl and Magnus de la Gardie). (10) *Les Satires*. (11) *Le Mercure*. (12) *Les Nymphes*. (13) *Les protecteurs des Nymphes*. The *Ballet du Cours du Monde* seems to be intended as a kind of general panorama of life. The persons include: The Genius of the fountain, Amazons, old men in love, witches, the old men rejuvenated, an Italian guitar-player, Jason carrying off the Golden Fleece, representatives of various nations (a very favourite form of entry), the gods giving life to the five dead nations, etc., etc., eighteen entries in all, with a *grand ballet* at the end addressed to the queen, to the newly-married pair, and to the ladies in general. This ballet was danced in the Rikssal, in which special galleries were built for the occasion. They were not constructed solidly enough, however, and the one containing the musicians came down during the performance. The State had to pay one Anders Kirchhof, a musician, the sum of thirty daler wherewith to replace a fiddle broken in the fall. The musicians were dressed in taffeta, half lemon-yellow and half blue (the Swedish colours)<sup>1</sup>.

The *Balet des Phantaisies de ce Temps* marks no advance in construction, but some of the entries are interesting. There are fourteen of these, and a *grand ballet*. The ballet is opened by *Le Postillon* (the name of the character is omitted in S.<sup>2</sup>), who flies everywhere to carry the news that the Queen of the North will become the greatest of sovereigns. Next come *Le Cabarettier avec sa femme, sa servante, et son valet* (cp. Shirley, *Triumph of Peace*). The inn-keeper remarks that Rhenish wine is dear now, but on the day when some young prince wins the love of their queen he will let a fountain of it flow (and treat everybody—S.). Entries 3–6 are of the *Cook* (Jonson, *Neptune's Triumph*), the *Beggars* (Shirley), the *Merchant*, and the *Inconstant Lover with four Nymphs*. The seventh entry is of *Les Sauvages* (Willmänne—S.). They are driven out of their woods by love, and come to see if the ladies are also subject to his attacks (and can help them—S.). It is interesting to note this reappearance of the 'wodewose' of the earlier masquerades. The famous *Ballet des Ardents* (1392) was really a dance of 'wild men',<sup>3</sup> and they frequently occur in the English disguisings<sup>4</sup>. Entries 8–10 and

<sup>1</sup> *Slottsbok och Rüntekammarebok* for 1642, quoted by Jacobsson and Grönstedt.

<sup>2</sup> Where more than one text exists, S.=the Swedish, F.=the French, and G.=the German version.

<sup>3</sup> Lacroix, I, Intro., p. xi.

<sup>4</sup> Reyher, pp. 2 f.; Brotanek, p. 3; E. K. Chambers, *The Medieval Stage*, I, p. 185 (footnote).



12-14 are not remarkable, but the eleventh is rather curious. The French title is *Les Espiegles*, and the whole entry runs

Quand nous voulons nous diuertir,  
Nous faisons des tours de souplesse  
Dont Mercure avec sa finesse  
Ne scauroit pas se garantir.

The Swedish has four lines to much the same effect, but the entry is headed *Uhr Speglarna*, which Ljunggren takes to be a distortion or mistranslation of the German *Eulenspiegel* (cp. the 'Howleglass' of Jonson's *Fortunate Isles*). The *grand ballet* of this piece celebrates the fair day when Lucina presided at Christina's birth, and promises that it shall always be commemorated, sometimes with dances, sometimes with tourneys—a promise which was very faithfully kept.

In *Le Monde reiovi* there is more unity and the whole piece is much more elaborate. The ballet represents 'the joy of the whole world' at the happy beginning of Christina's reign.

There are three parts (twenty-four entries + *grand ballet*), with a prose description of the contents of each. Part I describes 'la resjouissance du ciel,' part II 'la resjouissance de la mer,' and part III 'la resjouissance de la terre.' The characters of I and II are mythological: III has more variety and interest. The scene changes back to earth, and two *Newsmongers* proclaim that Her Majesty has assumed the government. A *Frenchman*, an *Englishman*, and a *Dutchman* as allies of Sweden rejoice at the news. The Englishman comes out of a sweetmeat-shop, and says that he is more glad to receive this news than he would be at a present of 'un pot de confitures.' The Swedish text here adds four lines to the effect that though Elizabeth ruled England well and prospered in all she undertook, she will now be eclipsed by Christina. *Pan* incites the inhabitants of woods and fields to rejoice. *Shepherds* and *shepherdesses* and *Diana* come and do so. This is a somewhat lengthy entry, and a rather pretty scene is conjured up. Diana's nymphs relate how one day, when they had been hunting and had been outstripped by their mistress, they sounded their horns for her and a figure approached which at first they took for Diana, but which on a closer examination proved to be more like Bellona. (Needless to say, it was actually Christina.) *Four slaves*, representing princes oppressed by Germany, rejoice at the prospect of regaining their liberty and former glory. *Two Spaniards*, representing Christina's enemies, are driven off by *two brave soldiers* (a Frenchman and a Swede). A *lame soldier* exhorts his comrades to shed their blood for the queen. *Flattery* tries to insinuate herself into the court, but *Time* brings in *Truth* and prevents her. Finally *Union* comes to strengthen and sustain the power of the queen, and this is signified by the entrance of *quatre Mipartis*, French and Swedish, professing inviolable friendship. The *grand ballet* flatters the queen, and concludes with the remark that in order to give future kings to Sweden:

Avec nostre Amazone il faut un Alexandre.

For this piece Jacobsson suggests an Italian original, *Il Giubelo del cielo e della terra*, danced at Turin in 1624. The political references are worthy of note, but otherwise the speeches are often prosy and dull, especially in the Swedish version. Both this ballet and the *Balet om thenna tïdzens fantasier* have been assigned to Stiernhielm, but—

although a foreigner must necessarily pronounce with hesitation on such matters—the general style and treatment hardly seem to be worthy of the author of *Den fängne Cupido*.

*Les Effects de l'Amour* is a commonplace piece of no special interest. It has ten entries, all representing the various effects of love, and a *grand ballet aux Dames*. *L'Amour Constant*, on the other hand, has considerable dramatic unity and not a few felicities of expression. It is a wedding ballet, and tells the tale of Ulysses and Penelope in dance and recitative. An introductory speech of Love is succeeded by the following entries:—(2) *Mars et Bellone, incitans Ulysse à la guerre*. (3) *Minerve promettant sa faveur à Ulysse*. (4) *Ulysse naviguant*. (5) *Aeole commandant aux vents de favoriser Ulysse*. (6) *Ulysse en naufrage, se sauvant à la nage*. (7) *La Renommée commandant à trois Muses de publier la mort d'Ulysse*. The scene now changes to Ithaca:—(8) *Penelope, ou l'Amant fidèle, avec ses compagnes en deuil, croyant qu'Ulysse soit mort*. (9) *Les Rivaux ou Poursuivans, faisant la cour à Penelope*. (10) *L'Envie faisant tout son possible de divertir Penelope de l'affection d'Ulysse*. (11) *L'Amant yvrogne*. (12) *Les serviteurs fidèles attendans et desirans la venue d'Ulysse, leur Maître*. (13) *Ulysse se vengeant de ses Rivaux, qu'il passe tous au fil de l'épée*. (14) *La Constance, ou Penelope, persistant en l'amour d'Ulysse*. (15) *La Victoire, ou Ulysse triomphant de tous ses travaux*. In the *grand ballet* Ulysses tells the cavaliers how the crown of love is attained. Let them dare much and fear nothing,

Et si le destin vous envie  
Le bien que justement il vous devoit donner,  
Sachez qu'on doit abandonner  
Pour une illustre mort, une commune vie.

A concluding speech of *La Renommée aux Dames* contains an exhortation to Christina to marry. The same wish is expressed in the conclusion of the *grand ballet* of *Les Passions Victorieuses et Vaincues*, which has fifteen entries, including some stanzas for music, representing the disastrous effects of unbridled passion (love, ambition, vanity, etc.) upon various famous characters of mythology, history, and romance. One of the entries is represented by *Les chevaliers de la triste figure et des miroirs, avec Pança et Nasutus leurs Escuyers*, with which may be compared the elaborate *Entrée en France de Don Quichot de la Manche*<sup>1</sup>, and the entry of the Windmill, fantastic Knight, and Squire in Shirley's *Triumph of Peace*. *Les Boutades ou Proverbes* has ten entries in prose, which are simply collections of proverbs and proverbial sayings. The

<sup>1</sup> Lacroix, III, pp. 59 ff. The date is given as 'between 1616 and 1625.'



*grand ballet* in this case elaborates that comparison of the sovereign with the sun which we so often find in the Jacobean masque<sup>1</sup>.

We come now to Stiernhielm's three ballets, all composed during the period 1649–51, when he was *Antiquarius Regni* and *Custos Archivi* in Stockholm. Stiernhielm seems to have had few relations with the foreigners at the court, and probably he felt a little out of place there. Born in 1598, and educated chiefly in Germany, he early distinguished himself by his marked intellectual ability. From 1630–49, with some intervals, he was living in Livonia, where he filled the post of assessor to the *hofrätt* (Court of Appeal) of Dorpat under the Swedish Governor-General of the Baltic Provinces. He returned to Dorpat in 1651, but had to flee soon after the outbreak of the Polish war (1655). In 1667 he was made Director of the College of Antiquities in Stockholm, with a special commission to continue his linguistic researches. In September, 1669, he applied for membership of the Royal Society of London, and was elected in December. He died in April, 1672. His works include treatises on politics and public law, philosophy, matters of linguistic and antiquarian research, mechanics, mathematics, and astronomy, besides his poetry (Latin and Swedish). As a poet Stiernhielm's greatest service to Swedish literature lay in his purification of the language from foreign (especially German) words, and in his introduction and skilful manipulation of classical metres. In the opinion of some good judges Stiernhielm's hexameters are still among the finest examples of that species of verse in Swedish. His best poem, *Hercules*, first printed in 1658, is composed entirely in this metre.

As will be seen, there are three versions of the ballet known in Swedish as *Den fångne Cupido* (lit. 'The Captured Cupid'). Of the three the Swedish is undoubtedly the best, though to Poirier, the author of the original French version, must be given the credit for the plan and invention of the whole. The piece is entirely mythological and is constructed with very considerable unity. The different entries show, especially in the Swedish version, an astonishing variety of metre and facility of versification, which can unfortunately not be represented at all in translation. The substance of the ballet is as follows:

Entry (1) *Cupid* boasts of his power over land, earth, and sea, and threatens those rebellious hearts that will not acknowledge it. (2) *Diana* enters with her *Nymphs*, congratulates herself on having a heart that is not subject to Cupid's wiles, and advises the nymphs to flee him, which they promise to do:

<sup>1</sup> Jonson: *Blackness, Beauty, Oberon, News from the New World, Love Freed, Love Restored, Irish, Vision of Delight*. So also the *Masque of Flowers*, *Campion (Hayes)*, and *Chapman's masque*.



Bäste råd kan thet vara, then som troo vil,  
 At vij jungfrur ryma Cupido platzen,  
 Han är illa och arg som een höök ibland the  
 Meenlöse dufvor<sup>1</sup>.

This last poetic touch is Stiernhielm's addition. (3) *Venus* urges her son not to spare Diana. *Cupid* promises that Diana shall soon feel the torments of love. There are considerable additions here in S. *Venus* relates how Cupid's power is felt by all the gods save Diana. The gods are merely enumerated in F. and G., but in S. there are descriptions (especially of Neptune's power) in majestic and vivid hexameters, with a happy use of the Homeric epithet. Both F. and G. also are without the spirited address to Diana in the second person that closes S. (4) *All the World* complains of the tyranny of Cupid. (5) A long entry, with dialogue and action. *Apollo* comes to visit *Diana*, and she asks him to explain the meaning of the laurel wreath he has around his brows. He tells the story of his unhappy love for *Daphne*, prophesies that the laurel will for all time to come be a symbol of wisdom and victory, and utters compliments about the sovereign who is one day to plant it by 'lovely Mälar's shores.' Meanwhile *Cupid*, who has been watching his opportunity, fixes an arrow to his bow and is just about to shoot at Diana when she catches sight of him, and with the help of *Apollo* clips his wings and takes from him his bow, arrows, and quiver. At his request, however, she gives him a silver shield as a protection against his many foes<sup>2</sup>. (6) *Fame* publishes the news. (7) *All the World* rejoices at Diana's victory. (8) *Cupid* is now proud to be Diana's captive, sets her image in his shield, and lovingly addresses it in three very charming Sapphic stanzas. He is interrupted by two satyrs, who take from him his shield. (9) *Bacchus* tells how he has punished the satyrs and recovered the shield. (10) *Venus* complains that her son has betrayed her and gone over to her enemy, and sends her nymph *Doris* to steal the shield. (11) *Cupid*, missing his shield, comes in distracted.—This entry has become famous, and is in S. a very successful representation of madness. F. and G. make Cupid talk mere gibberish, but Stiernhielm, with a deeper psychological as well as a truer artistic instinct, makes him first rave at the satyrs and then confuse the sound of the music with the barking of Cerberus, whom he imagines to be pursuing him. (12) *Venus* applies to *Aesculapius*, who gives her a drug to restore Cupid. (13) *Pallas* comes to *Diana* on Cupid's behalf, and Diana promises to grant him her grace and favour if he will always remain submissive. The *grand ballet* has two sets of verses in honour of the Queen-Mother.

Considerable ingenuity of construction is shown throughout the piece, and not least in the combined flattery of Christina and Maria Eleonora. Compared with the other two versions, Stiernhielm's is decidedly the

<sup>1</sup> 'The best plan would be, if one would think it, that we virgins should leave the field to Cupid. He is cruel and spiteful as a hawk among the innocent doves.'

<sup>2</sup> Cupid's verses here are of much grace and beauty:

Jag är tin fånge,  
 Tin öfvervundne,  
 Tin underlagde  
 Träl och tieniste-svän.  
 Tins ögons strålar,  
 Tins skönheets klarheet,  
 Tin höge anda  
 Och tin himmelske glantz  
 Ha kränckt min frijheet,  
 Mit hierta sargat,  
 Och bánt mit sinne  
 Under tjänstbarheets ook.

.....  
 'I am thy captive, thy vanquished foe, thy subject, thrall, and servant. The beams of thine eyes, thy beauty's brightness, thy proud spirit and divine glory have broken my freedom, torn my heart, and bent my mind 'neath the yoke of obedience.' .....

most imaginative and poetical, and his versification and vocabulary are by far the most rich and varied. He manages with equal facility hexameters, elegiacs, and sapphics, anacreontic, trochaic, dactylic, iambic, and other measures.

*Freds-Aft* is much more loosely constructed. The ballet celebrates the conclusion of the peace, and Christina is honoured in the person of Pallas, through whose influence the power of Mars is checked. There are nineteen entries and a *grand ballet*, the characters of the entries being mythological figures or soldiers and peasants from actual life, who either rejoice at or bewail the war. Among the figures may be noted Panic Terror, crippled soldiers, the four elements (cp. *Campion, Squires' Masque*), the three Graces, and Janus. The treatment on the whole is lighter in the original French version than in the Swedish. The speeches are shorter than in *Den fånjne Cupido*, and though some, notably the verses of Mars in the first entry and of Panic Terror in the third, are vivid and forceful enough, the ballet on the whole is not so poetical as its predecessor. The basis of historical events is noteworthy. There is nothing veiled or allegorical in the topical references, as is sometimes the case in the English masque: the allusions are immediately patent.

*Parnassus Triumphans* seems to have been the most elaborate and costly of all the ballets. It is divided into three 'openings' of ten entries each (including the *grand ballet*). The French version contains, in addition to a detailed programme and a list of the dancers, verses by Apollo and by Fame and a concluding sonnet, all in honour of the queen. These features are absent in G. and S., so that the ballet was almost certainly performed and originally written in French. The first part shows the flourishing empire of the Muses, the second their defeat and destruction in a time of war and unrest, the third their restoration by means of the victories, the peace treaty, and the happy coronation of the majesty of Sweden. The most interesting features of the piece are the mechanical devices, the characters of some of the entries, and the manner in which Stiernhielm adapts his French original. Most of the entries are short—some consist of only four lines—and there are several grotesque entries of the common French type. Among the characters are an Indian and a Persian (cp. Davenant, *Temple of Love*); a watchmaker, a painter, a musician, a Druid and four wood-nymphs (Shirley and Davenant in general); a Castilian poet afraid of his own shadow; the Muses and the Graces; Homer, Pindar, Virgil, and Horace (the idea is similar to that in Jonson's *Golden Age Restored*);

the Seven Sages of Greece; the four quarters of the world (Campion, *Squires' Masque*). The scenery represents the Mount of Parnassus with the well of Hippocrene and the nine Muses. When, at the close of the tenth entry in part I, Apollo had sung in honour of the queen, the rock on which he stood burst open, and six shepherds with lutes ran out and sang. At the end of the piece Aurora and the Muses stepped down from the sky and took up Virtue from among the crowd of her adorers (cp. the end of many masques), and all Parnassus was lit up. The seventh entry of part I and the sixth of part III are typical of the difference between Stiernhielm's treatment and that of the author of the French text. In the French the watchmaker, painter, and musician of the earlier entry and the printer, herbalist, and mathematician of the later (printer, star-gazer, and doctor in S.) address themselves to the ladies in the usual gallant style of the French ballet, whereas Stiernhielm makes them utter general moral precepts suggested by their various callings and showing how nothing can be done in any art without the patronage of the Muses.

Stiernhielm's ballets therefore show an independent treatment as well as gifts of poetic imagination and a skilful command of verse, and lead us to regret that the only poet of undoubted genius who wrote for the court entertainments in Sweden did not stay to develop the ballet upon the lines of his first and most successful effort.

The next piece on the list, Chevreau's *Les Liberalitez des Dieux*, was also very elaborate and costly. The accounts preserved of the preparations for the ballet and of its performance are more interesting than the piece itself. It consists of fifteen entries and a *grand ballet*, all in verse. The verses throughout are neat, but there is no originality in design or treatment. Most of the characters of the entries are mythological deities who come to offer Christina gifts or to praise or bless her in various ways. In the eighth entry, however, we have an example of national grotesques. These are 'trois demons craints en Suede,' which Ekeblad describes in a letter of December 15, 1652. 'A week ago,' he writes, 'the ballet was danced, and such a concourse of all kinds of people was present that there was nothing like such a crowd even at the Coronation. Her Majesty and the Queen-Mother had the greatest difficulty in getting in. In the ballet were represented the bounties of the gods, and all who danced were in the habits of the gods; the three spectres (*spöken*) here mentioned, namely the Ghost, the Neckan, and the Brownie (*tomtegubben*), were also handsomely presented, and complained that they had been driven by Her Majesty into Lap-



land, where they were obliged to live in great distress. The Ghost was represented by an atrociously tall, dark fellow, quite twice as tall as the Polyphemus was in Count Magnus' *upptåg* at the Coronation. The Neckan was shaped<sup>1</sup> like a dog or a cat, with a long tail, and the Brownie was a tiny little fellow, so small that one could hardly see anything more of him than his hat and his feet; it was quite comical to see<sup>2</sup>.

The two ballets for 1653 may be passed over. The introductory *récit* to *La Masquarade des Vaudeuilles*, however, is of interest as supporting the statement made above that the Frenchmen at Christina's court probably brought some of their ballets with them ready-made. It consists of three stanzas, of which the first two are:

Que personne  
Ne s'étonne  
De nous voir quitter Paris.  
C'est pour divertir Christine,  
Côte Princesse divine,  
Que nous l'avons entrepris.

Nostre bande  
Est assez grande;  
Nous amenons avec nous  
Les plus fameux Vaudeuilles,  
Qui dispos et bien agilles  
S'en vont danser devant Vous.

Some details of Chevreau's second ballet, *Le Balet de la Felicité*, have been given above. As already mentioned, there were three parts, the first comprising 'tous les sens,' the second 'les premiers biens de la Nature,' the third 'les principaux biens de l'âme et de la fortune.' An Italian original for this ballet has been found, viz. *La nave della felicità*, performed at Turin in 1628<sup>3</sup>. In some particulars it also bears close resemblance to three French pieces, G. Colletet's *Effects de la Nature*, with its continuation the *Ballet des Cinq Sens de Nature*, 1632<sup>4</sup>, and the *Ballet de la Felicité sur le sujet de l'heureuse naissance de Monseigneur le Dauphin*, 1634<sup>5</sup>. From the last piece some hints for *La Naissance de la Paix* (Stiernhielm's *Freds-Aft*) seem also to have been taken. The characters of Chevreau's piece (seventeen entries + *grand ballet*) are again mythological and allegorical; he does not favour grotesques.

The stormy times of Carl X left little opportunity for any elaborate court ballets, and after the *Balet de la Felicité* we find only tilts during

<sup>1</sup> Or 'disguised.' The reading is either *formerad* or *förmummad*.

<sup>2</sup> *Letters*, I, p. 205.

<sup>4</sup> Lacroix, iv, pp. 191 ff.

<sup>3</sup> Jacobsson, p. 82.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, v, pp. 229 ff.

his reign. But during the Regency and under Carl XI the ballet and other dramatic performances flourished once more. The last piece on our list, Lindschöld's *Den Stoora Genius* (*Le grand Génie*), is a long and elaborate affair, and is the only Swedish ballet of any length for which there is no French original. Erik Lindschöld (1634–90) was one of the ablest statesmen of Carl XI. After his education at Uppsala and travels on the Continent he occupied various State posts under Carl X and was a favourite of the queen, Hedvig Eleonora. For her he wrote his ballet, as well as numerous *pièces d'occasion*, and he was the soul of all the festivities and amusements of the court. His political career began when Carl XI took the government into his own hands in 1672. Though filling the post of secretary to the Cabinet, only, he was in reality the first minister of the king, his great ability and wonderful powers of oratory giving him an overwhelming influence. Lindschöld was a statesman with ideals and aims that looked far beyond his time, and as a patron of scholars and writers he did even more for literature than by his own not inconsiderable productions.

*Den Stoora Genius* is a somewhat heavy allegorical and moral piece, designed to instruct the youthful king and flatter his mother Hedvig Eleonora. It is divided into four parts corresponding to the four divisions of human life—childhood, youth, manhood, old age—and has five entries in each part<sup>1</sup>. Though the ballet is far from being as graceful and poetic as *Den fångne Cupido*, and the construction becomes extremely loose towards the end, the speeches are often good and are usually much more to the point than is the case in the French ballets.

The four parts are called 'openings.' The entries of I, *L'enfance*, point to the hopes that may be based upon the young king's childhood. (1) *Mercury* comes as the messenger of the gods to open the performance and proclaim His Majesty's birthday. (2) *Flora* and *four Zephyrs* enter to bring in the spring. (3) The king's good *Genius* brings with him *l'Ame Noble* and *l'Adresse*, and delivers a speech of twenty-eight lines about a good king's qualities and duties. (4) *Hope* with *four Gipsies*. The gipsies vaunt their trade. Hope replies that a king's fame rests not on idle prophecies but on his virtues and noble deeds. (5) *Momus*, *Scaramouche*, and *Trivelin* mock the gipsies. In II, *La jeunesse*, the king's education is allegorically represented. (1) *Hebe*, with the *three Hours*, sings verses in honour of the king's 'true Hebe and guide of youth' (Queen Hedvig). (2) *A hunter and two wild men* praise hunting as a training for youth, but the wild men serve as a warning against the abuse of it. (3) *Six Basques*, the descendants of the ancient Goths, reproach the French dandies for their effeminacy. These lines have a good deal of satiric force. (4) In the choice between *Pallas*, *Juno*, and *Venus* the king decides for Pallas. (5) *A blind man and two cripples* show that the mind can become blind and deformed as well as the body. III, *L'age viril*. (1) *Mars*, with a *troop of ancient Goths* (i.e. Swedes), whom he exhorts to show courage in war. (2) *The choice of Hercules*. (3) *Two sailors*. (4) *Fame*, proclaiming Carl's praises. (5) *Diana and four nymphs*,

<sup>1</sup> Swedish throughout, but the titles of the four parts and the names of some characters are given in French also.



with the usual praises of life in the woods. The connection here is not easy to follow, but the idea of the third and fifth entries seems to be to exhort the king, when he grows up, to protect and favour all trades and professions, such as navigation, agriculture, etc. IV, *La vieillesse*. (1) *Janus* relates his history, and reproaches those who have neglected his counsel. (2) *La félicité* praises the king, and two soldiers and two miners introduce a little comic relief by describing how they are going to enjoy themselves at court. (3) A very long entry. The god *Consus* (*Neptunus Terrestris*) brings in *Reason* and *Judgement*. Reason has been held to be opposed to Love, but Consus has reconciled them and has won over Judgement, Reason's brother. A long monologue by Reason follows, giving and answering (sometimes with considerable wit and point) the various arguments of those who say that Love is opposed to Reason. (4) *Bacchus* and four peasants. (5) Two satyrs. The grand ballet is of Mars, Apollo, and Hercules, with four Virtues and their corresponding Vices. It will be observed that in the last division all attempt at a logical connexion is abandoned. If this piece was performed as it is printed, the dances must have been considerably over-weighted—perhaps not to the satisfaction of everyone—by the excellent moral counsels given.

### III.

The ballets were not by any means the only diversions of Christina's court. Not to mention the numerous tilts, tourneys, hunts, bear-baitings, displays of fireworks, and banquets that took place, there were three other types of entertainment bordering on the dramatic—the *bergerie*, the *vårdskap*, and the *upptåg*—about which a few words may be said in conclusion.

The *bergerie* or *Schäfferei*, which originated in Germany after the Thirty Years' War, is found in Denmark under Fredrik III (1648–70), and in Sweden under Christina. It was a kind of pastoral play performed in the open air, often by royal and aristocratic personages, with dances of shepherds and shepherdesses and elaborate costumes. A masquerade of this kind performed by the city of Uppsala in 1679 at a visit of Queen Ulrica Eleonora, the Queen-Dowager Hedvig, and little Prince Carl (afterwards Carl XII) and his sister bears much resemblance to the Elizabethan 'Entertainment.' The royal guests were welcomed by shepherds, shepherdesses, and four nymphs (students, professors' daughters, and ladies of the city), and after a song of welcome they were conducted to a banquet, while the shepherds and shepherdesses drove their flocks and herds over the lawns. Finally all assembled in the garden round a wooden stage, where eight dancers in Roman costume gave a performance before their Majesties<sup>1</sup>.

The *vårdskap* corresponds to the German *Wirtschaft* and the French *hôtellerie*. It was a kind of masquerade in which one or more couples represented the host and hostess and the others were their guests. The earliest known example in Sweden was performed on Twelfth Night,

<sup>1</sup> Ljunggren, pp. 414 ff.



1653, and represented 'how all the gods were entertained by shepherds and shepherdesses'.<sup>1</sup> The queen and Prince Adolphus and all the people of the court were dressed in shepherds' costumes. The dance lasted till seven o'clock next morning, and towards the end the masquerading disguises were taken off, and the queen had the jewels cut out of her dress and distributed among those present as a memento of the occasion<sup>2</sup>. The masquerade of April 8, 1654, described by Whitelocke, to which reference has already been made, was a *värdskap*. Whitelocke calls it a 'masque.' 'There were no speeches nor songs,' he says, 'men acting men's parts, and women the women's, with variety of representations and dances. The whole design was to show the vanity and folly of all professions and worldly things, lively represented by the exact properties and mute actions, genteelly, without the least offence or scandal.' The queen herself danced in two entries, first as a Moorish lady, and then as a citizen's wife<sup>3</sup>.

The *upptåg* were more elaborate and more popular. They were a kind of pageant resembling the processions of masquers in such masques as Shirley's *Triumph of Peace* or Chapman's *Masque of the Middle Temple and Lincoln's Inn*, but were always followed in Sweden by a tilt, at the close of which the procession returned by torchlight to the palace or other starting-point, and there supped and danced. The procession was composed of trumpeters, marshals, etc., followed by the tilters dressed to represent mythological and allegorical characters, and often included uncommon animals, such as camels and elephants, as well as numbers of led horses. A 'cartel' issued the day before, or earlier, explained the device, to which everything in the procession bore some more or less close relation. This 'cartel' was read aloud when the procession reached the lists, and verses were often recited to the queen and her ladies. Afterwards the opponents came in, and the tilt began.

The *upptåg* therefore bears some resemblance to the English 'Barriers'.<sup>4</sup> Accounts of several are preserved, but the most famous were the four performed on different days in connexion with Christina's coronation in October, 1650. For two of these there is a Swedish text ('cartel' and rough programme), in each case by Stiernhielm. A brief account of the first of the two, held on October 24, 1650, may be given as typical of this species of masquerade.

<sup>1</sup> Ekeblad, I, p. 216.

<sup>2</sup> The same thing was done in England. See Reyher, pp. 421 f.

<sup>3</sup> Whitelocke, II, pp. 110 ff.

<sup>4</sup> Several French ballets include a tilt, e.g. the *Ballet de la Foire Saint-Germain*, and the *Ballet du Courtisan*, 1612, the subject of which is exactly that of Jonson's *Challenge at Tilt*. See Lacroix, *passim*.

There is a French text as well as the Swedish, the former alone containing verses for the characters. The 'cartel' however is the same in both versions. The piece is entitled *Lycksalighetens Åkrepracht* (*La Pompe de la Félicité*), and the idea of the 'cartel' is that true happiness is not to be found either in war or in love, but in virtue, amity, and concord. On the side of Happiness are Eudemon and his two friends Philander and Dorisel, Apollo and the Muses, and a train of knights with led horses, who had previously followed war, but now confess that all human happiness consists in honouring Virtue, Concord, and Peace. Opposed to them are Mars and his followers, including Philopater, Democrates, and Theander (defending war for one's country, for liberty, and for religion, respectively), and also Love and Venus, who try to turn these servants of Mars to their own ranks, saying that pain, tyranny, and opportunities for courage exist in their army too, but without bloodshed. The printed texts are divided into five parts, called *intråde* ('entries') in the Swedish, *appareils* in the French. According to these, Mars and his knights appeared first. Then followed Love and Venus, drawn in a triumphal car moving of its own accord and guided by Fortune, who stood on a large blue globe at the back of the car. Three nymphs accompanying them made 'a concert of instruments.' Happiness appeared in the third part of the procession, introduced by her three knights Eudemon, Philander, and Dorisel. She was borne in a sumptuous car driven by Peace, and was surrounded by Concord and other virtues, including four children representing Charity. The fourth part represented *l'Applaudissement*, in which Apollo and the Muses came to praise Christina. The procession ended with a row of led horses magnificently caparisoned. Silfverstolpe describes it in detail from a large contemporary painting preserved in the Royal Library, Stockholm.

The court ballets performed in Sweden therefore afford another illustration of the great vogue of this type of amusement in the seventeenth century. Though the ballet undoubtedly originated in Italy, it was the French rather than the Italian model that was adopted all over Europe. Ballets of the French type were performed in Spain, in Germany, and in Denmark, as well as in Sweden, and the French influence on the Caroline masque in England is obvious, although only one case of direct borrowing can be discovered<sup>1</sup>. Under Charles I and his French queen the English court was for a time completely gallicised, and many French plays were performed there<sup>2</sup>. The disconnected entries of the masques of Shirley and Davenant, as well as their grotesque characters, and even some characters in earlier pieces, e.g. the tooth-drawer and other figures in Jonson's *Pan's Anniversary*, point unmistakably to the French ballet.

Yet granting the French origin and authorship of the ballets danced at the Swedish court, it seems to me fairly probable that the English masques, those of Jonson, Shirley, and Davenant more particularly, were not without having some influence upon them. Attention has been called above to the similarity between many of the characters appearing in the masque and in the Swedish ballet, and other instances could be added. Too much stress, however, should not be laid upon this point,

<sup>1</sup> Nos. 1—8 and 10 of the receipts of Vandergoose in Davenant's *Salmacida Spolia* are translated, with a few small alterations, from those of the 'opérateurs' of the *Ballet de la Foire Saint-Germain*, 1607.

<sup>2</sup> Brotanek, p. 285.



as the characters in question are usually more or less stock figures of the ballet, and may easily have been derived from France independently in each case. But the greater unity of the ballets performed in Sweden, and especially the greater prominence given to a dramatic or semi-dramatic element, seem to suggest that Beaulieu had profited by his stay in England to see some of the court masques then in vogue, and took hints from them for the productions for which he was responsible. Certainly the later Caroline masques are not remarkable for their unity of construction, but even in the most loosely constructed of them there is considerably more unity than in most of the French ballets. It is also quite likely that some at least of the Frenchmen who had been attached to the court of Henrietta Maria and had fled from the tyranny of the Commonwealth, were afterwards attracted by the reports they heard of the brilliant court of Sweden, and came over to seek their fortunes there. An examination of material not accessible to me would probably throw light upon this question of cross-influences.

There are signs that in our day the long-lost art of dancing is in a fair way to being recovered. In that case, it is perhaps not too much to hope that some revival of the masque may one day be attempted in England, for it is a form well worth reviving and could be adapted to modern tastes. Any comparison of the French ballet or its derivatives with the English masque cannot fail to bring out the superiority of the latter as an artistic form, and Jonson's masterpieces have still not received the attention they deserve. Apart from their grace, their wit and polish, and their finished art, the masques are interesting because in structure they are in a direct line of descent from the earlier English drama. The mythological characters in them are often only virtues or vices in disguise, and Jonson's creation of the antimasque—a most important development in form—gave the whole piece an antithetical and allegorical structure which goes back to the morality plays. And in whatever country court masquerades are found, the student of them can hardly help feeling a certain interest—even though a somewhat melancholy one—in the pageant of youth and wealth and beauty that passed so brilliantly and is gone. The courtiers of a by-gone age seem to us so young, so childish almost, in their whole-hearted abandonment to their pleasures. Yet we, in our more sophisticated age, cannot afford to despise them, for

We are all masquers sometimes<sup>1</sup>.

F. J. FIELDEN

LUND, 1920.

<sup>1</sup> Jonson, *Love Restored*.



## MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

### NOTES ON 'THE SEVEN SAGES.'

In Campbell's edition of *The Seven Sages of Rome* (1907), we find a score of  $\bar{a}$ -words in rimes which belong to the Northern dialect and exclude the use of Midland forms with open  $\bar{o}$ . Campbell discusses the Northern forms, and says that the derivatives of  $\bar{a}$  rime 41 times with an *a* having some other origin. His list omits several words with Northern *a* assured by the rimes: *hale* 37, *lardes* 143, *slas* 26, *slane* 53, *throw* 31, *wate* 76<sup>1</sup>. It contains many rimes that might have been transposed from Midland forms with *o*. Thus for *lare·ware*, the first rime-pair in Campbell's list (p. lxxiii), we can write Midland *lore·wore*; such rimes prove no more than *two·go* (1) and *twa·ga* (12). One of the rimes in Campbell's list, *smate·bat* (44), seems to involve a scribal mistake. It occurs in the dialogue that introduces the *fift tale*:

'...it was sene for sertayne  
of him *bat* with his son was slayn:  
*þe son þe fader hevid of smate.*  
'Dame,' he said, 'what was he *bat*?'

As Campbell remarks in his note, *bat* apparently lacks sense and syntax; but the puzzle is hardly solved by his weak conclusion: *bat* might have been put in to make out a rime. In the dialogue preceding the *sext tale* we find a similar question:

*þe Emperoure* said: 'What was he?  
*bat tale, maister, þou most tel me.*'

This question may have replaced an older *wha was he?*; but in any case it justifies changing *was...bat* to *was...hat*, equivalent to Midland *was yhoten*<sup>2</sup>. The text commonly keeps *-en* in participles; but the shorter forms occur in rime:

...paire bolt es ful sone shot,  
titter to ill *þan til gude note.* (26)  
...bad *þam bete him in pat tide*  
til blode brast out on ilka side.  
He bad, when he was sogat bet,  
*þai sold him hang on a gebet.* (36)

<sup>1</sup> Numbers refer to pages. I leave out the silent *e* sometimes written after inflectional *s*, and distinguish *u* and *v* in accordance with modern usage.

<sup>2</sup> Emerson, *M.E. Reader* (1916), p. 73.

A similar scribal change of *hat* (< *hātan*) to *bat* may be assumed in the couplet

And þou will mak him þat þine aȳre  
bat es about ay pe to payre. (80)

Here Campbell would leave out *bat*—thereby putting stresses on the weak words *and*, *will*, *him*.

EDWIN H. TUTTLE.

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#### THE STONYHURST PAGEANTS.

It is not surprising that Dr Greg, in his review<sup>1</sup> of the *Stonyhurst Pageants*, should feel some misgivings about peculiar forms which appear in the printed text of these plays. With regard to the six cases which he queries, however, I would say that only two are typographical errors, and these were duly noted in the Corrigenda. The other four represent the actual readings of the MS. In publishing the text of these plays my first care was to record the exact reading of the MS. even when it was obviously wrong. Errors were in some cases corrected, though never silently. In many other cases—perhaps not altogether consistently—obvious errors were left uncorrected, for my primary aim was to present, not a critical text, but a faithful reproduction of the Stonyhurst MS. The typographical errors recorded in the Corrigenda (p. 6) are fewer than might have been expected, considering the fact that the text was set up by printers who did not understand the English language, and at a time when the sending of proof sheets was in the highest degree difficult and uncertain.

The Stonyhurst text presents many curiosities which it was impossible to discuss within the limits prescribed for the Introduction. When one notes, for example, the frequent omission of final *t* from such words as *eight* (x, 26), *light* (viii, 677), *sight* (x, 110), *brought* (xiv, 622, 1435; xv, 86), and *sought* (ix, 74), one is moved to inquire whether these forms may not have a phonetic basis, though the extraordinary carelessness of the scribe in omitting letters enforces caution in drawing any inference. Certainly *thath* for *hath* (xiv, 897), *thwice* for *twice* (xiv, 1298), *trough* for *through* (ix, 520), *threatneh* for *threatneth* (viii, 678), *moyseth* for *moyses* (viii, 806), *decrare* for *declare* (xviii, 114), and *dwaw* for *draw* (viii, 109), are to be regarded as scribal slips. Such forms as *pringe* for *bringe* (ix, 286), *plagon* for *flagon* (viii, 790), and *fongs* for *frogs* (viii, 421) may at first seem to afford some dialectal

<sup>1</sup> *Modern Lang. Review*, xv, 441.

clue, but the habits of the scribe give me pause against basing any conclusion on them, especially as each of these words appears elsewhere with normal spelling. On the other hand, the repeated occurrence of *the* for *they* (VIII, 1312; XVII, 589; XVIII, 581, 934) may possibly point to a slurring of the vowel in this pronoun in colloquial speech.

In Dr Greg's opinion 'the complete lack of the sense of accent' which the Stonyhurst playwright displays in handling his metre 'points to a writer having a more intimate familiarity with French.' But if the author were 'one to whom English was an acquired language' we should surely expect to find some surviving Gallicisms, but of these I can discover no traces. Nor is it easy to see how a young Frenchman—he must have been young if he wrote these plays, as Dr Greg believes, as a school exercise—could have become so well acquainted with the locutions of Lancashire—or at least of the Northern counties. It is much easier for me to suppose that they were written by a native of Lancashire who was, or had been, a student at the English College at Douay. It is interesting to note in this connexion that considerable attention was devoted at Douay to the presentation of plays, both Latin and English, as appears from numerous entries in the *Douay Diary*.

It is difficult again to accept Dr Greg's suggestion that the sudden appearance of Plautine influence in the Pageant of Naaman is due to the fact that the author in the course of his studies came upon the plays of Plautus for the first time after completing Pageant XVII. The Pageant of Naaman reveals an acquaintance with classical comedy which is too extensive and intimate to be the result of a sudden discovery. First of all, the names of the characters are drawn from a number of classical plays: Artemona and Leonidas are borrowed from Plautus' *Asinaria*; Sosia and Bromia from *Amphitryon*; Phronesium, and probably Strato, from *Truculentus*; Dorio, on the other hand, comes not from Plautus but from Terence (*Phormio*). This process of assimilation and combination appears still more notably in the characters and situations. While the Pageant of Naaman reproduces types which are thoroughly familiar in classical comedy, their originals are not to be found in any one, or even two, of the plays of Plautus or Terence. The Stonyhurst playwright has drawn suggestions from a number of separate plays and has combined them to serve his special purpose. And even when he appropriates a name from Plautus he does not always make the character correspond to that in the Plautine play: for example, Phronesium, the Meretrix in *Truculentus*, reappears in Naaman as the God-fearing Hebrew maid. In a word, the author in the Pageant of



Naaman shows himself no less conversant with the characters and situations of classical comedy than with the traditions of the medieval religious plays in the other Pageants of his cycle. It seems extremely unlikely, therefore, that his knowledge of Plautus and Terence was the result of a new course in his curriculum begun after he had finished the Pageant of Elias. For that matter, the 13,000 lines of the Stonyhurst plays—assuming that the cycle extended no further than the point where the MS. now ends—impress me as a rather large order for a ‘school exercise.’ If Dr Greg is correct in thus accounting for the composition of the Stonyhurst cycle, we are left to melancholy reflections upon the contrast between the standards of industry in the schools of three centuries ago and those which prevail at present.

In expressing these doubts, I confess that I have no theory of my own to propose in place of the conclusions reached by Dr Greg. These plays raise many questions which cannot be answered. It is difficult to understand why an author acquainted with classical comedy should have followed religiously the method of the medieval scriptural plays until he came to Naaman. But it is no less difficult to understand the complete absence from these ‘pageants’ of the influence of Elizabethan drama, especially when the author reveals, quite incidentally, an acquaintance with two of the plays of Shakespeare, by naming one of his characters ‘Brabantio’ and by imitating the phrasing of the ‘Chorus’ in *Henry V*.

And now that reference has been made to the ‘Chorus’ in the Stonyhurst plays, may I correct a misunderstanding which appears in Dr Greg’s remark that ‘the character “Nuncius,” which the editor supposes to mark classical influence, is familiar in the native religious drama’? The editor’s words were: ‘Though the use of the terms “Chorus” and “Nuncius” might suggest that the appearance of this feature in the Stonyhurst plays was due to classical dramatic tradition, the function which is assigned to these characters is not an inheritance from classical tradition but is rather a survival of the “Doctor” of the older religious drama.’

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‘YET IF HIS MAJESTY OUR SOVEREIGN LORD.’

In his introduction to *More Lyrics from the Song-Books of the Elizabethan Age* Mr A. H. Bullen justly called special attention to the poem which he had discovered in a music manuscript at Christ Church,

Oxford, beginning 'Yet if his majesty our sovereign lord.' He suggested at the same time in a footnote to his reprint that in view of their somewhat abrupt opening the verses might be fragmentary. While looking recently through a volume of manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin (F. 1. 20), containing miscellaneous matter in various seventeenth-century hands, I found on page 431 a fuller and possibly complete version of the same poem, with the heading 'In Aduentū Dom<sup>n</sup>,' though strangely enough the new lines occur after and not before those already given by Mr Bullen. The first forty-eight lines (of which Mr Bullen printed thirty) are arranged in stanzas of six lines each, the short second and third lines being set in; and these are followed by two stanzas of six and eight decasyllabic lines respectively. The following are the thirty-two additional lines:

6

Sweete Jefus, T'was for us, t'was for our sake  
That thou our flefh didft take  
T'was for our loue alone  
That thou defcendest from thy fathers throne  
Thou Com'ft and knockeft, Open my loue my deere  
Wee Crye all's full, there is no lodging here

7

Plotting Ambition and her Trecherous traine  
Take up our beating braine  
Ith' Chambers of our breft  
Malice and falce Confuming Enuy reft  
Slander lies in the tongue, And luftfull Riott  
Keepes all the liuer for her wanton Diett

8

Sinne takes up all the houle, this being true  
Speake Christian, speake Jewe  
Where is the Difference  
Twixt Jewifh fpight, and Christian Reuerence  
They cry'd away, ore us he fhall not Raige (read 'Raigne')  
We crye Alls full. We cannot Entertaine

Preat

1

Nott intertaine thee Lord. Doe not depart  
Accept a Widdowes might, A contrite heart  
And though I be not worthy thou fhoulft come  
Under my rooffe, to fanctifie the Roome  
Yet I intreat thee, geue me tyme and fpace  
Ile fitt a lodging for thy heauenly grace,

2

Repentance, was my foule, wafh it againe  
lett not a marke of any filth remayne  
Downe w<sup>th</sup> thofe Cobwebbs, and Malicious ruft  
faith, caft thou forth, Prefumptuons and diftruft  
Lowlines, aire the fheete, and make the bedd  
Meekeneffe, and Hope, lay pillowes for his head  
Charitie, blow the fire, So, Now Ile venter  
To finde my Lord, and bidd my Jefus enter,

The verbal variants from Mr Bullen's text of the first five stanzas are as follows :

Stanza 2, l. 4 there] they *Trinity College Dublin*

„ 3, l. 3 in] and *TCD*

„ 3, l. 4 candles] *Torches TCD*

„ 3, l. 6 in] on *TCD*

„ 5, l. 6 in the] in a *TCD*.

The form 'dazie' in stanza 3, l. 2, printed in Mr Bullen's text as 'dais,' occurs as 'dazy.'

In the absence of a signature the poem must remain anonymous, but in connexion with Mr Bullen's suggestion that on grounds of style the author may have been Henry Vaughan it is interesting to compare *Silex Scintillans*, 'Misery,' ll. 25—36, and particularly ll. 32—36 :

Thus wretched I, and most unkind,  
Exclude my dear God from my mind,  
Exclude him thence, who of that Cel  
Would make a Court, should he there dwell.

L. C. MARTIN.

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# BUCKINGHAM'S ADAPTATION OF 'JULIUS CAESAR' AND A NOTE IN THE 'SPECTATOR.'

One of Steele's contributions to the *Spectator* (no. 300) contains a fictitious letter in which occurs the following passage : '[it] called to my Mind the following four Lines I had read long since in a Prologue to a Play called *Julius Caesar*, which has deserved a better Fate. The Verses are addressed to the little Criticks :

Shew your small Talent, and let that suffice ye ;  
But grow not vain upon it, I advise ye.  
For every Fop can find out Faults in Plays ;  
You'll ne'er arrive at knowing when to Praise.

Many old editors of the *Spectator* have a footnote saying that the reference is to Sir William Alexander's *Julius Caesar*, and the statement has already deceived one biographer of that dramatist. Alexander's play was not written to be staged ; nor was it performed during its author's lifetime. The Prologue cited is clearly in the Restoration manner. If it were rightly to be associated with Alexander's tragedy, it would imply an attempt to revive the play for an actual performance on the Restoration stage.

Such revival is inherently improbable, but could only be disproved by identifying the cited Prologue ; that laborious task has, however, had its reward. Steele's verses are undoubtedly from the *Prologue by the*



Author prefixed to *Marcus Brutus*, i.e. to the second part of the Duke of Buckingham's *refacimento* of Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*: Steele's version is slightly different, but the identity is beyond doubt.

The discovery, however, leads to another problem, which is not removed even by a full allowance for deliberate mystification on Steele's part. Buckingham's two plays (the other part is, of course, his *Julius Caesar*) were never staged, although, apparently, considerable and possibly extended efforts were made to arrange a performance; and, as is well known, Pope contributed two odes for choruses in *Marcus Brutus*. But when? In a letter written Sept. 18, 1722, he excuses his refusal to write a prologue for a play of Broome's, by saying—as if of a recent occurrence—‘I have actually refused doing it for the Duke of Buckingham's play.’

When, then, did Buckingham make his adaptations? He died in 1721. The *Life*, often prefaced to eighteenth-century editions of his works, vaguely puts the tragedies about the time of the Queen's death (1714). Mielck (*Sh. Jahrbuch*, xxiv), but equally vaguely, puts them even later, ‘in the last years of the author's life,’ although his substantial evidence is that use is made in them of Rowe's edition of Shakespeare (1709), as well as of earlier editions. But since the *Prologue* was known to Steele in 1712, it would seem that they were completed before that date. How did Steele know the plays? Why did he mention them? How much mystification is there in his words ‘I had read *long since*, etc.’? No edition is known before 1722. Were they really the work of earlier years? Was Steele trying to arrange for a production of them? The *Biographia Dramatica* (ed. 1812, II, 352), under Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar*, informs the reader that the reason why Buckingham's adaptations were never staged will be given under his *Marcus Brutus*: but the reader looks there in vain. The reference omitted by the editors of the *Biog. Dram.* would, however, hardly have helped us. They most probably had in mind, not an attempted presentation about 1712, but the preparations seventeen years later for a performance which fell through owing to a strike of the Italians who were to sing the chorus (cf. *The British Theatre* (1750), the first book of its kind to include Buckingham, and Cibber, *Lives of the Poets* (1753)).

But at all events, the play referred to in the *Spectator* is not Sir William Alexander's; and further, it is probable that Buckingham's adaptations of *Julius Caesar* were made some years before the date usually given to them.

H. B. CHARLTON.

LA CHANÇUN DE RAINOART.

It may serve a good purpose, as a supplement to Professor Paul Studer's recent article containing material for a critical edition of this text (*M.L.R.* 1920, pp. 41 ff.), to point out an astonishing error in Dr Tyler's edition, which apparently has escaped Professor Studer's notice.

Lines 2405-9 in Miss Tyler's edition read :

Napes de lin vei desure getées,  
Ces escuiles empliées e *rasées*,  
(De) hanches, (e d')espalles, (de) niveles e (de) oblé(i)es.  
N'i mangerunt les fiz de franchises meres,  
Qui en l'Archamp vnt les testes colpées!

Dr Tyler's vocabulary says: *rasée* = meat-pie 2406. Chimène, qui l'eût dit? It would be interesting to have Miss Tyler's translation of this passage, especially in view of her punctuation and of her emendation of 2407. Of course, *rasées* is the past part. of *raser* and means: *remplies jusqu'au bord*. If the meat-pies are considered indispensable we should have to read: *de rasées*.

I propose to punctuate and to read as follows :

Napes de lin vei desure getées ;  
Ces escuèles empliées e rasées  
D'hanches, d'espalles, de niveles oblées,  
N'i mangerunt les fiz de franchises meres,  
Qui en l'Archamp unt les testes colpées.

It will be seen that I have a doubt as to *nivele* meaning 'puffed-paste,' as Dr Tyler's vocabulary has it. I should rather regard it as the feminine plural of the adjective *nivel* which might mean '*blanc ou léger comme la neige*.'

I. N. RAAMSDONK.

HOBART, TASMANIA.

PORTUGUESE AND ITALIAN SONNETS.

Many sixteenth-century poets of the Peninsula, not content with writing sonnets *fechos al italico modo*, paraphrased, imitated or translated existing Italian sonnets. Petrarca was their chief but by no means their only source. It is well known how imitative was the great genius of Luis de Camões, and recently Dr José Maria Rodrigues has dealt exhaustively with the sources of the *Lusiads*. Those who have read Pedro de Andrade Caminha's poems in Dr J. Pribsch's edition (in which Dona Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos had a share) know that many of his sonnets were imitated or paraphrased from those of Petrarca, and it is evident that a very large number of early Portuguese sonnets were suggested by older or contemporary Italian poems, although the

original is not always discovered. The originality of these first Portuguese cultivators of the *dolce stil nuovo* consciously lay in their imitation—in acclimatising the alien metre and making it fit as smoothly as possible into its new garb—and not in any originality of thought or expression. The success of Sá de Miranda, Ferreira and Andrade Caminha in the sonnet form was not very marked, whereas Diogo Bernardes and Camões attained a complete mastery over this as over other Italian forms; especially, perhaps, over the others—the eclogue and *canzone*—since the sonnet's scanty plot of ground has always proved a somewhat trying ordeal for the natural flow of Portuguese poets. Sá de Miranda's noble, rugged sonnet *O sol è grande* may have been suggested, as to the spirit not the words, by Petrarca's sonnet *Zefiro torna e 'l bel tempo rimena*. Antonio Ferreira's sonnet on the death of his wife, perhaps the best that he wrote, *Aquele claro sol que me mostrava*, is translated almost word for word from Petrarca's *Quel sol che mi mostrava il cammin destro*. The original of the beautiful sonnet written perhaps by Diogo Bernardes but assigned also to many other poets (see C. Michaëlis de Vasconcellos' *Investigações sobre sonetose sonetistas portugueses e castelhanos* (1910), pp. 45–54) and of which many Portuguese variants exist, *Horas breves de meu contentamento*, has not yet been discovered. The foreign sonnets which perhaps most resemble it are Ariosto's *Lasso, i miei giorni lieti* and Garci Lasso de la Vega's *O dulces prendas por mi mal halladas*. (Cf. the lines

Quien me dixera, quando en las pasadas  
Horas en tanto bien por vos me via  
Que me habiais de ser en algun dia  
Con tan grave dolor representadas.)

Camões' *Aquela triste e leda madrugada* begins by translating Petrarca:

Quel sempre acerbo ed onorato giorno  
Mandò sì al cor l'immagine sua viva  
Che 'ngegno o stil non fia mai che 'l descriva,  
Ma spesso a lui con la memoria torno.

who for his part had translated Virgil:

Jamque dies, ni fallor, adest quem semper acerbum  
Semper honoratum (sic dii voluistis) habebō.

(*Aen.* v, 49–50.)

Camões' famous sonnet, one of the most beautiful in literature, *Alma minha gentil que te partiste* is practically a translation, but not of a single poem. Thus we have the first lines of Petrarca's sonnet:

Quest' anima gentil che si diparte  
Anzi tempo chiamata all' altra vita,



and of his sonnet *Anima bella da quel nodo sciolta*, and the last lines of his sonnet *Donna che lieta col principio nostro* :

Dunque per ammendar la lunga guerra  
Per cui dal mondo a te sola mi volsi,  
Prega ch' i' venga tosto a star con voi.

Even closer is the resemblance between the opening of Camões' sonnet and that of Giovanni Guidiccioni (1500-41):

Spirto gentil, che del più vago manto  
Ch' altro vestisse mai, sì altero andasti  
Qui fra' mortali, e poi tu mi spogliasti  
Acerbo ancor tornando al regno santo;  
Se de gli affanni miei ti calse tanto  
Quanto ne gli atti tuoi già dimostrasti,  
Perchè così per tempo mi lasciasti  
Senza te solo in angoscioso pianto?

Then we have the beginning of the same poet's *canzone* :

Spirto gentil che ne' tuoi verdi anni  
Prendesti verso il ciel l' ultimo volo  
E me lasciasti qui misero e solo  
A lagrimar i miei più che i tuoi danni,  
Pon dal ciel mente in quanti amari affanni  
Sia la mia vita, assai peggio che morte :  
Mira qual dura sorte  
Vivo mi tien qua giù contro mia voglia  
Acciò ch' io viva eternamente in doglia.

The parallel passages between poems of Camões and those of the Italians are unending in number. Nor could it well be otherwise, for indeed his success in the new metres could not have been so splendid and immediate had he not been thoroughly steeped in Italian poetry, and on the other hand all this close acquaintance would, but for his genius, have availed him as little as it did Sá de Miranda and other early italianisers.

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## REVIEWS.

*The Influence of Christianity on the Vocabulary of Old English Poetry*, Parts I and II. By ALBERT KEISER. (University of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature, Vol. v, Nos. 1, 2, February and May 1919.) Urbana, Illinois. 1918. 8vo. 150 pp. Each 75 cts.

Albert Keiser führt einen Arbeitsplan aus, der methodisch von v. Raumer, *Die Einwirkung des Christentums auf die althochdeutsche Sprache*, sowie von B. Kahle, *Die altnordische Sprache im Dienste des Christentums* vorgezeichnet und in MacGillivray's zu breit geratenem, beinahe gleichnamigem Werk (Halle, 1902) schon ein gutes Stück gefördert war. In zwölf Kapiteln gliedert er übersichtlich das ganze christliche Wortmaterial der angelsächsischen Dichtersprache. Die einzelnen Ausdrücke werden meist auf ihren Ursprung in der lateinischen Kirchensprache zurückgeführt und, wo es not tut, gelegentlich auch auf ihre Etymologie hin betrachtet. Angestrebt wird dabei nicht die Anführung sämtlicher Stellen sondern die Aufzeigung der verschiedenen Bedeutungen. So wird eine Überlastung mit Stoff glücklich vermieden. Nur wo es sich um seltenere Ausdrücke handelt, zieht der Verfasser die gesamten Belege heran. Den Schluss machen übersichtliche Wortlisten der spezifisch poetischen Ausdrücke, die in der Prosa nicht erscheinen, der Lehnworte und der Hybriden. Ein ausführlicher Index und zahlreiche Verweise erleichtern den Gebrauch der Wortsammlung. Im einzelnen wäre zu der sauberen und gediegenen Arbeit vielleicht folgendes zu sagen: Der Satz (S. 22 ff.) dass der Kult der Jungfrau Maria in der angelsächsischen Literatur stark hervortrete, bedarf der Einschränkung. Die Beispiele aus dem *Crist* überwiegen auffällig.—(S. 32) Bei der Dehnbarkeit der Wortbedeutungen in der ags. Dichtersprache und ihrer eigenwilligen 'poetic diction' wird man schwerlich irgendwelche Schlüsse daraus ziehen dürfen, wenn Cynewulf den Papst Eusebius *bisceop* nennt. Vielleicht ist ihm *papa* kein poetisches Wort.—(S. 33) Die beste Erklärung von *prēost* hat wohl Wilhelm Horn gegeben, der es *Archiv* 138, 62 aus *praepositus*, vulgärlat. *prepostu* erklärt und das Schwinden des inlautenden *p* mit totaler Dissimilation in dem auf der ersten Silbe betonten Worte begründet. Vgl. *Engl. Stud.* 54, 71 Anm. 7.—(S. 59 ff.) Der Abschnitt über *Wyrd* wird den verwickelten Problemen, die dies Wort aufgibt, nicht ganz gerecht. Auch Alfred Wolf, *Die Bezeichnungen für Schicksal in der angelsächsischen Dichtersprache*, Breslauer Diss. 1919, S. 3—45, hat sie nicht völlig geklärt, aber doch manchen Aberglauben beseitigt. Vgl. schon Klaeber, *Anglia* 36, S. 171 ff. Jedenfalls kann man nicht mehr sagen, dass im *Beowulf* 'Wyrd is generally looked upon as the goddess of death.' Wenn sich eine gemeinangelsächsische

Auffassung formulieren lässt, so ist es die, dass Gott die Geschieke bestimmt. In dem Satze z. B. *gæð ā wyrd swā hīo scel* steckt durchaus kein heidnischer Schicksalsglaube. Es heisst: 'Das Schicksal geht immer wie es soll,' d.h. 'es kommt doch stets, wie es kommen soll,' d.h. aber: 'wie es Gott bestimmt hat.' Deutlich ersieht man den Bedeutungswert von *wyrd*, wenn es mit einem Wort, das 'Gott' bedeutet, variiert wird, wie *Beow.* 2526. Dass die Bedeutung 'Schicksal' in 'übles Schicksal,' 'Missgeschick,' 'Tod' übergeht, und dies personifiziert gebraucht wird, darf noch nicht dazu verleiten, für *wyrd* eine Bedeutung 'goddess of death' anzusetzen. Vgl. für die ganze Frage Wolf a. a. O.— (S. 69) Es würde zweckmässig *Genesis A und B* unterschieden sein.— Durchaus irreführend ist die Feststellung der Schlussbetrachtung (S. 137 f.), dass von den 343 *nur* in den poetischen Texten vorkommenden Worten allein 74 nur Cynewulf angehören, der dadurch in das Licht eines besondern Sprachschöpfers gerät. Sieht man indes näher zu, so findet man, dass von den 44 ausschliesslich im *Crist* vorkommenden Ausdrücken bloss 6 in den sicher Cynewulfischen sogenannten 2. Teil des *Crist* gehören. (S. 137 f.) Es ist sehr schade, dass der Verfasser gerade diese Seite seiner Aufgabe nicht eingehender behandelt hat: nämlich den Nachweis der individuellen Sprachbildung, wo er mit einiger Sicherheit zu führen ist. Typ: *efn-ēce* = *coeternus*. Auch ist nicht recht ersichtlich, nach welchen Grundsätzen die behandelten Worte ausgewählt wurden. Wenn Worte wie *fācenstafas* als spezifisch christlich herangezogen werden, würde man dann nicht Ausdrücke wie *þeos læne gesceaft* zu finden erwarten? Müsste nicht *metodsceaft* im Sinne von 'göttliche Fügung' und 'Jenseits' erörtert werden? Warum fehlt bei dem Abschnitt 'good works' die Behandlung von *gewyrht* in Fällen wie *Dan.* 444 = 'Verdienst bei Gott'? Indes diese Ausstellungen sollen den Wert der gründlichen Arbeit nicht schmälern.

LEVIN L. SCHÜCKING.

BRESLAU.

*The Yale Shakespeare.* (1) *The First Part of King Henry the Sixth.* Edited by TUCKER BROOKE. (2) *The Tragedy of Othello the Moor of Venice.* Edited by LAURENCE MASON. New Haven: Yale University Press; London: Humphrey Milford. Oxford University Press. 1918. Each 4s. 6d.

*The Australasian Shakespeare. Shakespeare's Life of Henry the Fifth.* Edited by J. LE GAY BRERETON. Melbourne and Sydney: Lothian Book Publishing Co. Ltd. 1918. 3s. 6d.

The two volumes of the Yale Shakespeare will be found very useful editions for class use, for which purpose they are perhaps better fitted than for private study. They are provided with brief explanatory notes at the foot of the pages, and longer notes on textual and other difficulties at the end, the student's attention being called to these by references at the foot of the pages to which they belong. There is no introduction, but a series of appendices on the Source and History of



the Play, the Text of the Present Edition, and suggestions for Collateral Reading. In the case of *Henry VI* there is also an appendix on the authorship which provides a very useful summary of current opinion in a problem of peculiar difficulty.

The text of these two plays is mainly that of W. J. Craig's Oxford Shakespeare, with, however, the stage directions of the First Folio, an interesting innovation in an edition for school purposes. The notes are sufficient and the appendices include everything that will generally be required, though of course they are not exhaustive. A useful addition to *Henry VI* might have been a brief consecutive sketch of the history of the period covered. Without this the notes on historical inaccuracies and anachronisms are decidedly difficult to follow, and though it may be claimed that a student can obtain what he needs from any ordinary text-book of history, the chances are against his troubling to do it.

At the beginning of this volume of *Henry VI* is a 'modified reproduction' of an early map, faced by a descriptive paragraph which contains a darker saying than any in the play. This runs as follows: 'Parallels of latitude are reckoned eastwardly around the globe from a line in the Atlantic Ocean about 20 degrees west of Greenwich; parallels of longitude are as in modern maps.' Perhaps 'latitude' and 'longitude' should change places, but what are 'parallels of longitude' anyway?

The Australasian Shakespeare is described as 'the result of the combined efforts of the various English Authorities in the different States of the Commonwealth and New Zealand, to provide sound school texts, which will meet the requirements of the Examination Boards.' It is a pity that we have not these requirements before us, for these might enable us to form a better opinion as to the special features of this edition of *Henry V* which adapt it to Australasian use. In their absence we can only say that it seems to be a good, sensible and workmanlike edition of the play, with full notes of a rather more elementary character, especially as regards explanation of phrases, than would generally be required in this country, but otherwise containing little that is new. The notes on each scene are prefaced by a brief summary of the action, in which attention is called to the dramatic purpose of the scene. This will be very useful to private students, though possibly some teachers will object to it for class-room work on the ground that all such points are better brought out in discussion with the students.

R. B. M<sup>C</sup>KERROW.

LONDON.

*Transactions and Report of the Royal Society of Literature of the United Kingdom.* Vol. XXXVII. London: Humphrey Milford. 1919. 8vo. 7s.

This volume has a special interest as a record of the success of the Royal Society of Literature during the last few years, in its attempts to realise more fully than ever heretofore an old ideal of its founders, and to make it a means of drawing the nations together by the inter-

change of thought and mutual service. The Report of the Honorary Foreign Secretary and the Vice-President's Anniversary Address point to the increasing number of scholars and men of letters which the Society has attracted to itself from both East and West, and describe international activities, of which a pleasing example is the material assistance given to the reconstruction of the Libraries of Serbia.

The papers now printed reflect the aim which has just been indicated. Two relate to India. Mr A. Yusuf Ali, writing on 'India in the Literary Renaissance: Modern Indian Poetry,' exhorts his countrymen and the European world not to neglect the modern literature of the Indian vernaculars, which, over and above the great results of English influence, 'have their own contribution to make to the progress and development of the Empire, and to our united consciousness of that larger humanity which is the hope of a reconstructed world in the twentieth century.' A short critical estimate of the chief schools of modern Indian poetry leads to a fuller treatment of the school which neither lives in the past nor ignores it, but seeks its inspiration in the present and utters the feelings and aspirations of to-day. Quotations from Tagore and the Urdu poets Hâli and Iqbâl give picturesque expression to an enlightened patriotism.

'Effects of Despotism and Freedom on Literature and Medical Ethics,' by Sir R. H. Charles, combines the general thesis implied in the title with study of similarities in ideas probably due to contact between Greece and India in early ages, and compares the ancient oaths administered to Greek and Indian neophytes in medicine respectively with interesting results.

Mr Gosse treats of 'Some Literary Aspects of France in the War'; and France is again the theme in 'Scotland and France: The Parting of the Ways,' in which Professor R. S. Rait makes us follow with concern the fortunes and decay of the Franco-Scottish alliance in the sixteenth century. Probably, at the present time, even those most interested in the past will prefer the modern story, told as it is with sympathy and insight. It includes a sketch of Charles Péguy which must always arrest those who turn over the pages of this volume, as a moving presentment of an uncommon personality worthy of remembrance with Gautier's 'médaillons' in his *Histoire du Romantisme*.

With the foregoing, Sir Edward Brabrook's 'Literature and the State,' and Señor Don Salvador de Madariaga's 'Shelley and Calderon,' comprise six out of seven papers read before the society during the session. The former is necessarily selective in material as it covers much ground, but capriciously selective. Under 'The State as Author,' Alfred, its noblest link with literature, is to seek, and also Milton, who appears as a rebel under 'The State as Controller.' The state's extensive dealings with drama are nowhere mentioned for good or evil, and its influence 'as Corrupter' is poorly supported by citing (beside the suspicious case of Defoe) the supposed inconsistency of Dryden in welcoming Charles II, and of Johnson in accepting a pension conferred, as the writer admits, without corrupt purpose. Mallett's base employment to destroy



Byng would have been more to the point. The subject needs a wider treatment before the scales are suspended. Chaucer's state employment took him to Italy, with what results we know. Congreve's wit was not dulled by emoluments from the Pipe Office and the Customs, or Prior's lyric gift extinguished by embassies. With the delightful pleasantries of 'Alma' he enlivened his state imprisonment. A printer's error of II for I perhaps accounts for the appearance of Charles II among Royal versifiers.

In 'Shelley and Calderon,' a resemblance between the poets of more extent than McCarthy noted is traced, and the influence of Calderon upon Shelley inferred from consideration of Shelley's known studies of the Spanish poet and a comparison of certain features and particular passages. The brilliance of this essay, and the moderation with which its conclusions are stated, should disarm even those who do not accept them, and whose knowledge confers the right to judge, which I do not possess. A point such as the attribution to Calderon's influence of the symmetrical architecture of the 'Ode to the West Wind' is not disposed of by the fact that something similar exists in our earlier literature.

The Professorial Lectures given during the Sessions 1918-9 are represented by 'Poetry and Time,' delivered by Sir Henry Newbolt as Honorary Professor of Poetry. It treats of questions at once fascinating and indeterminable with lucidity and suggestiveness, and it would be hard indeed to better the selection of illustrative passages from the poets, from Raleigh and Spenser to Rupert Brooke and Masfield, by which the lecturer has expressed man's haunting sense of exile, his dreams of pre-existence, his yearning for a better world than this, for the timeless and eternal. If the relation of Time to Eternity be the relation of 'illusion to vision, of an inadequate view of reality to an adequate view,' we are encouraged to hope that the illusion tends to fade by infinitesimal degrees and the vision to become clearer, and to look for a new poetry in the future, perhaps not better than the old, 'but such as will help us not so much to lament Time as to forget it, and to think of Eternity, not as an infinitely distant and uncertain inheritance, but as a land to be gradually reclaimed from the wilderness by our own labour and virtue.' Our minds are thus attuned to find consolation for their own regrets, and helped to 'come,' like Tagore, 'to the brink of eternity from which nothing can vanish—no hope, no happiness, no vision of a face seen through tears.'

R. H. CASE.

LIVERPOOL.

COMTE MAURICE DE PANGE. *Les Lorrains et la France au Moyen-Age.*  
Paris: Édouard Champion. 1920. 8vo. xxxii + 196 pp. 15 fr. 60.

Count Maurice de Pange, who died in 1913, may be said to have passed his life in the study of his native land, the 'païs de Loherraine,' and the present publication is but the last of a series of works which he devoted to its history. But it is not merely the history of facts concerning the province which interests him. He endeavours to dive down



beneath the dry surface of the annals and public records in order to get at the deep-seated reasons and principles which underlie the attitude of his native province towards the Empire on the one side and towards France on the other, particularly during the Middle Ages. The reasons which made of Lorraine 'un pays français' and which distinguished the crown of Lorraine from that of 'la Germanie' in spite of the German elements which existed in the Northern part of the province; the religious unity which enabled Lorraine to participate in the life of France even during its period of detachment and independence; the wish of the inhabitants to remain French and their dislike of the Germans as illustrated in contemporary literature (*Eudes de Deuil, La Chanson de Hervis de Metz*, etc.); the spontaneity of their attachment to the cause of France as illustrated in the national hero Gérard la Truie—these are the subjects which occupy the first chapter and which recur continually in the course of the book.

In chapter II, M. de Pange plunges once more into the much-vexed question of the provincial origin of Joan of Arc. After many details concerning the parish to which she belonged, and an excursus in which he discusses the reasons of the friendly attitude of Champagne towards England at this epoch, he sums up and refutes the arguments opposed to the 'origine lorraine' of Joan of Arc, arguments which received an additional weight from the vanity of the descendants of her family who sought to disguise and obliterate all trace of their provincial origin.

The second part of the book, 'Les Lorrains dans l'histoire littéraire de la France,' is rather disappointing from the literary point of view. The author points out the *épique* character of the 'race lorraine': 'aux poésies élégantes, elle préférerait les chansons de geste.' Even the women were animated by the spirit of *chevalerie* which persisted longer in Lorraine than in any other region in France. But he does not throw any fresh light on the question of the 'geste lorraine,' which, in spite of its popularity, never became absorbed into one of the great epic cycles. In the chapter devoted to *Garin le Lorrain* M. de Pange gives a short account of Philippe de Vigneulle and the origin of his prose version of the *Geste lorraine*. As to the Old French 'chanson,' unshaken by recent researches on the origins of the *Chansons de geste* in general and *Garin le Lorrain* in particular, he clings tenaciously to the idea of its historical and contemporary basis, its origin, from a poetical point of view, in 'quelque donnée épique, soit orale, soit écrite, quelque Cantilène sans doute, qui célébrait la lutte féroce de Frondin de la forêt de Vicogne et de son ennemi Waning.'

A chapter on Gautier d'Épinal establishes the fact that the *chansonnier lorrain* flourished, not in the twelfth century as stated by Tarbé and Brakelmann, but in the thirteenth. M. de Pange maintains that the identification of the Count Philippe, to whom Gautier addresses one of his *chansons*, with Philippe de Flandre who died in 1191, is erroneous and that the Count in question was probably the poet's friend Philippe de Bar who flourished in the following century.

The book closes with a short third section devoted to Ferri de Bitche

and the subject of his succession to the dukedom of Lorraine. M. de Pange has consulted all the records having reference to the Dukes Simon and Ferri, and the documents which he publishes on the subject will be of value to every future historian of his native land.

JESSIE CROSLAND.

LONDON.

*French Terminologies in the Making: Studies in conscious Contributions to the Vocabulary.* By HARVEY J. SWANN. New York: Columbia University Press; London: H. Milford. 1918. 8vo. viii + 250 pp. 6s. 6d.

If in 1831 French children had been interested in railways, this is what they might have read in their primers, opposite the appropriate illustrations: 'Voici le chemin à ornières ou le chemin en fer. Regardez la suite de chariots. D'abord nous voyons la machine à vapeur locomotive; après, le chariot d'approvisionnement et puis les autres chariots. Ils roulent sur les ornières de fer ou les barres. Maintenant ils passent dans la galerie souterraine!' Why do French children to-day read something quite different?

An answer is supplied by Dr Swann. Briefly it is this. The railways largely supplanted the canals and they borrowed from the canal terminology. But while the first practical railway in this country dates from 1815, none was built in France till 1833, so that English names or their literal translations in French naturally competed with the existing vocabulary. In this creative period, term after term was tried and rejected in favour of others, till in the fulness of time 'le génie de la langue' was duly placated. Thus 'le char additionnel renfermant la provision d'eau et de houille,' reported from England in 1826, became in 1830 'le chariot d'approvisionnement.' By 1845 some people were calling it 'le tender' and by 1859 nobody called it anything else. To the eternal regret of Darmesteter (*Création actuelle*, p. 253), the good French word already existing, namely 'allège,' was strangely ignored. Similarly, 'chemin en fer' competed with 'chemin à fer' and 'chemin de fer' (and a dozen other terms), and who shall say which was grammatically right?

What precisely are the rules which the great French public—guided not by the Academy, alas, but by the technician and the reporter—unwittingly observes when suddenly it finds itself constrained to talk about a thing which yesterday had no name? Dr Swann answers as best he may—and no man can expect ever to know exactly the why and the wherefore, still less the wherefore not—by studying the trial vocabulary not only of the railway, but of the automobile, 1875–95, and of the science of aeronautics, which was supplied with many of its terms at two different periods of activity, 1783–1800 and 1865–90.

From such material things as these he passes to the nomenclature of the Republican Calendar and inquires why beautiful words like 'Brumaire' and 'Floréal' unfortunately fell from grace. He discusses the terminology of the Metric System, which has been a hardier plant,



and the words coined, or modified in sense, to express the new-born ideas, Equality, Liberty, Democracy. His answers to the strange questions raised are often convincing, generally ingenious, and always based on a thorough examination of the contemporary documents—newspapers, reviews, official reports, technical dictionaries and the like. If after completing this useful work he had only made the slight additional effort of compiling an Index of Words discussed, he would have enhanced the value of his book.

R. L. G. RITCHIE.

BIRMINGHAM.

*Dantis Alagherii Epistolae. The Letters of Dante.* Emended Text with Introduction, Translation, Notes and Indices, and Appendix on the *Cursus*. By PAGET TOYNBEE. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1920. 8vo. lvi + 305 pp. 12s. 6d.

It is a pleasant duty to congratulate Dr Toynbee on the completion of a singularly important work of which some of the preliminaries, in a more or less provisional form, have already appeared in the pages of this Review. In the present state of uncertainty concerning so much of the text of Dante, whilst awaiting the National Edition promised by the *Società Dantesca Italiana*, it is perhaps the Letters alone that could profitably be edited in this fashion, without undue anticipation on the one hand or the likelihood of being superseded on the other. The critical edition, when it appears, will presumably give us a text more nearly representing Dante's orthography (Dr Toynbee has advisedly, and, we think, on principle, made no attempt to reproduce the mediaeval Latin spelling), but it is not likely to make many conspicuous changes in the text that he has constructed or to detract from the permanent value of his researches. We shall still need his volume as an indispensable companion to its successor. With the solitary exception of the Epistle to Can Grande (which still presents problems of every kind to be solved), Dr Toynbee has been able to collate all the known manuscripts of the *Epistolae*. His edition indeed is the first conducted on these lines. A comparison with the *Oxford Dante* will show how numerous and far-reaching his emendations and restorations of the text have been, with results that in the vast majority of cases will certainly command the general assent of scholars. Noteworthy features of the volume are the Introduction, dealing in an exhaustive fashion with the whole history of the Letters, and the Appendix on Dante and the *Cursus*, indicating the lines upon which the text of the *De Monarchia* and the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* should similarly be investigated, and bringing the *Epistolae* into relation with the main body of mediaeval epistolary correspondence. The application of the *Cursus* test has led Dr Toynbee to important emendations, and has its bearing even upon the question of authenticity. It is amusing to observe that Scartazzini found arguments for rejecting the Letter to Cardinal Niccolò da Prato on the ground of those very abbreviations in the *salutatio* which Dr Toynbee shows to be strictly in accordance with mediaeval rules.



An interesting point arises in connexion with the passage in the Letter to the Princes and Peoples of Italy in which Dante exhorts the Italians to meet the Emperor as their King: 'Evigilate igitur omnes, et assurgite regi vestro, incolae Latiales, non solum sibi ad imperium, sed, ut liberi, ad regimen reservati' (*Epist.* v, 6). Dr Toynbee renders the last clause: 'as being reserved not only as subjects unto his sovereignty, but also as free peoples unto his guidance.' Several passages of the *De Monarchia* might be cited in support of this interpretation (e.g. 1, 12 and 14). Francesco Ercole has argued that the *imperium* refers to the Empire, the *regimen* to the kingdom of Italy, the *regnum italicum* to be restored on a more ample scale—which finds some confirmation in the alternative reading, *regnum for regimen*, of the San Pantaleo manuscript. More recently, E. Pistelli has suggested as a possible meaning that the Italians are reserved, not only to form part of the *imperium* as subjects, but also as free men to share in the *regimen*; that is, to be not only ruled, but likewise rulers. This would be a notable anticipation of the 'primato morale e civile' (cf. *Mon.* II, 3), and, in any case, the Letter as a whole stands as a landmark in the history of the national idea in Italy.

The commentary shows the rich and careful scholarship which we expect from Dr Toynbee. Here and there, perhaps, a further classical reference might have been acceptable. For instance, the phrase *Latiale caput* (*Epist.* VIII, 10) was clearly suggested by Lucan, *Phars.* I, 535. We notice two trivial slips which seem to have found their way into current Dante literature. In the sonnet to Cino da Pistoia, *Io sono stato con amore insieme* (p. 26), Dr Toynbee prints the ninth line: *Però nel cerchio della sua balestra*. The right reading is *palestra*; the 'balestra' being, we believe, a mere misprint of Fraticelli's, piously reproduced by the first Oxford editor of the *Canzoniere*. Again, in Appendix B (p. 223), it is stated, with a reference to Villani (IX, 121), that Ugucione della Faggiuola was killed in the defeat of Can Grande before Padua. This is certainly not borne out by the words of the chronicler: 'Al detto assedio di Padova morì Ugucione della Faggiuola dentro nella citade di Verona di suo male.'

EDMUND G. GARDNER.

MANCHESTER.

*Italian Social Customs of the Sixteenth Century and their Influence on the Literatures of Europe.* By THOMAS FREDERICK CRANE. New Haven: Yale University Press; London: H. Milford. 1920. 8vo. xv + 689 pp.

The title of this attractive volume—the fifth in the series of *Cornell Studies in English*—hardly suggests its contents. It is not a general study of Italian society during the Renaissance, but an elaborate investigation of certain forms of entertainment—more particularly the 'parlour-game,' and the 'use of Questions and Story-telling as a social

observance in Europe'—traced in literature from the time of the Provençal troubadours down to the end of the seventeenth century. The theme has never been treated before with such comprehensive detail, nor do we know of any other single book that covers the same ground. As the author rightly insists, 'the polite society of Europe is of French origin, but profoundly modified by Italy.' He accordingly guides his readers from the troubadours and their theories of love, the Provençal *tenzon* and the French *jeu-parti*, to the main subject of analogous developments in Italian literature from Boccaccio to the courtly and social treatises, the novels and dialogues of the Quattrocento and Cinquecento. Thence we pass to the influence of this aspect of Italian life upon France, England, and Germany (treated more slightly), the whole concluding with a curiously interesting chapter on the imitation of Italian social observances in Spain during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Some of the Italian works analysed—as, for example, the *Filocolo* and the *Cortegiano*—are familiar enough even to the general reader; others—like the *Discorsi* of Annibale Romei, the *Civil Conversazione* of Stefano Guazzo, the *Dialogo de' Giuochi* of Girolamo Bargagli—are probably unknown save to professed students and specialists. The last-named work is a typically Sienese contribution to the literature of the subject. The *veglie* and *trattenimenti* at Siena, with their 'giuochi di spirito,' had the same reputation of primacy in their own field towards the end of the Cinquecento as the representations of comedies had had at Ferrara at an earlier epoch. 'Nelle vigilie sue la bella Siena' gave Marino a comparison and standard for the disports of his nymphs and shepherds in the *Adone*.

A few slips and omissions are inevitable in a work on this scale. Among the useful bibliographical footnotes, we find no reference to Arnaldo della Torre's important work on the Accademia Platonica of Florence, or to Henri Hauvette's masterly monograph on Luigi Alamanni. Illustrations for society in the south of Italy might have been drawn from the dialogues and poetry of Pontano. It can hardly be said that the people of Siena called upon the Emperor Charles V to deliver them from the despotism of one of their noble families (p. 297). King Ferdinand I of Naples is confused with his son and successor, Alfonso (p. 435), and the Marchese del Vasto is described as the 'husband' of Vittoria Colonna—who was, of course, the wife of his cousin, the Marchese di Pescara (p. 177). We are mystified by a statement that the *Hecatommithi* of Giovan Battista Giralaldi 'was written about the same time' as the *Vita civile* of Matteo Palmieri (p. 373)—but this, no doubt, is a mere slip of the pen. For the rest, Professor Crane has given us a laborious and useful contribution to the knowledge of one of the minor aspects of social life in the Renaissance.

EDMUND G. GARDNER.

MANCHESTER.



*Four Plays of Gil Vicente.* Edited from the *editio princeps* (1562), with Translation and Notes. By AUBREY F. G. BELL. Cambridge: University Press. 1920. 8vo. liii + 98 pp. 20s.

The vitality of Portuguese culture, that will cause it to outlive in India and China our own contributions to the new civilizations of Africa and Asia, can be readily realized by reading Mr Bell's translations of the *Auto da Alma* of Gil Vicente. No extracts are necessary, for it was first published in the *Modern Language Review* and the present version is substantially the same, though some weak passages have been strengthened. The poem, as Mr Bell points out in his interesting introduction, is a product of the European renaissance which expressed itself in Portugal in a new spiritual emotion rather than in a new intellectual energy. It was in a word revivalist rather than rationalist as elsewhere. And in this play of Gil Vicente the fervour of religious feeling rises to a region rarely reached even among those who were once the faithful subjects of the 'most faithful' sovereign.

But this is only one side of Gil Vicente—though it is the side evidently with which Mr Bell is most in sympathy. Gil Vicente is also the great exponent of the national spirit and character of Portugal. The *Exhortation to War*, of which Mr Bell gives us a spirited translation, is an interesting illustration of the calls to a crusade for Christianity that eventually cost Portugal not only her imperial possessions but her national position. Many passages in it read curiously like the patriotic appeals of a few years ago. In the two other plays here translated, especially in the *Farce of the Carriers* and in the Pastoral of the *Estrella*, we have living pictures of the national life of this gay and gallant race in its brilliant and all too brief golden age. Our own Will, whom the Portuguese Gil so closely and curiously resembles both in career and capacity, has not given us more entertaining and convincing character sketches of his countrymen. And it is here that the task of the translator may become as Chaucer said 'a great penance' both to himself and his reader. It is impossible to translate Mistress Quickly or Brigida Vaz.

It is probably for this reason that Mr Bell has not included in these translations such a play as the *Ship of Hell*, which shows what will be to many of his modern readers the most interesting side of Gil Vicente. We should scarcely gather either from Mr Bell's careful summary of the little known about him or from the review of his works what a Bolshevik Gil Vicente was. He was not—as Mr Bell correctly points out—a Lutheran, but he was a tremendous Lollard. He is indeed as superior to Shakespeare in his philosophy of life as he is inferior to him in lyric and dramatic poetry. Though Court playwright under the bigoted absolutism of Manoel the Fortunate, he made himself through his plays the champion of the poor against the proud, of reason against reaction, of Christianity against Clericalism. No wonder his plays were put in the Index as soon as the Spanish occupation and Spanish inquisition put Portuguese national life to the *peine forte et dure*. No wonder that this most spiritual, most national and most radical of Portuguese poets was



not again disinterred after the restoration of the Braganza despotism. He was indeed only restored to Portuguese literature early in the last century by the radical-romantics headed by Almeida Garrett; and he has only recovered his pre-eminence since the republican revolution of 1908. It would perhaps be too much to expect Mr Bell to complete this rehabilitation so far as we are concerned by publishing translations of the *Barca do Inferno*, but it would be a most beneficial undertaking.

Most new comers to Portuguese literature travel thither by way of the *Lusiads* and arrive, if they survive at all, somewhat wearied with that long long voyage in the highly select company of Portuguese heroes and pagan deities. They would do better to let Gil Vicente take them to a Shakespearean country fair, to a Chaucerian domestic interior on the unexpected return of a husband from the India Voyage, or to a Shavian argument between a defunct Don Juan and a debonair devil. They will fall in love first with Gil and then with Portugal; and they will learn from both much that will throw a new light on life. For Gil Vicente is Portugal, and Portugal has the peculiarity of doing very picturesquely what we shall do rather prosaically some generations or centuries later. Thus the epitaph Gil wrote for himself, of which Mr Bell regrettably only quotes one line, might well have been written by Portugal as a warning to us.

For the day of judgement waiting  
here I lie in lodging lowly  
wearied with life's labours, slowly  
recuperating.

All must be laid on this shelf.  
Reader, ponder well this pass.  
Take me as thy looking glass  
and looking on me look to thyself.

LONDON.

GEORGE YOUNG.

*Deutsche Grammatik.* Band V. Teil IV: *Wortbildungslehre.* Von HERMANN PAUL. Halle: Max Niemeyer. 1920. 8vo. vi + 142 pp. 9 M.

In a pathetic note prefacing this volume—which forms the conclusion of the *Deutsche Grammatik*, Professor Paul asks that any deficiencies be excused on the ground of his failing eyesight. We can assure him that his right hand has not lost its cunning and are grateful to his able coadjutors (Frau Loewenfeld, Paul Gercke and Rudolf Blümel) for encouraging him to complete his labours.

The 'Wortbildungslehre' can be rightly appreciated only as a part of the whole grammar, the scope of which is indicated in the preface to vol. I. The strength of the work lies in the careful and valuable collection of linguistic data from the later periods of New High German, especially the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Whereas Kluge's handy *Abriss der deutschen Wortbildungslehre* shows a certain predilection for Middle High German and early N.H.G. forms and Wilmann's elaborate and indispensable study is particularly (though by no means

exclusively) concerned with the origins of the 'formantia' in Gothic and Old High German, Paul's work brings the story down to the modern period. Each treatise will maintain its place and there is still room for a competent grammarian to concentrate upon *contemporary* speech with a view to estimating the 'expectation of life' of the formative elements still surviving. Or it might be feasible to extend the present work in that direction in the subsequent editions which, we hope, will be necessary, for Paul himself admits that he could not rest this volume on such a broad basis as his *Syntax*. The following suggestions (mainly additional examples drawn from present-day German) may contain a few points worthy of adoption; they are offered as a tribute from one of the many foreign students of German, to whom Paul's name is a household word.

In the sections dealing with nominal composition a nook might be found for forms like *polnahe* and *landfern*, whose first constituents stand in a directional (dat. or abl.) relation to the adjectives. To § 14—compounds of substantive + adjective where the former acts as a strengthening modifier—might be added instances of adjective modifiers, e.g. *heiss hungrig*, *bitterböse* etc. (or perhaps better after § 16). To the list of adjectives at the end of § 18 ('nicht zahlreich') might be appended *schmelzflüssig* and compounds with pres. part., e.g. *glühendheiss*, *blendendweiss* etc. To § 20—compounds of *Vor*—add *Vorabend*, *Vorkriegszeit* (cf. *Nachkriegszeit*), *Vorgeschichte*. The 'Bahuvrihi' instances in § 26 might be reinforced by *Störenfried* and *Luginsland*. Among the separable prefixes we miss *zwischen*, e.g. in *zwischennehmen* and *sich zwischenklemmen* (cf. Wagner, *Grundfragen der allgemeinen Geologie*, p. 58). In connexion with the double usage of the prefixes *durch*, *über* etc. we note a growing tendency in technical writers to combine *über* and *unter* with adjectives to form 'inseparable' verbs, cf. *übertieft*, *überkaltet*, *unterkühlt* or even with substantives *durchtalt*. To the uninflected composita in § 39 add *überaus*, *immerdar*, *rundweg*.

In Section B (Derivation) it would be unreasonable to expect exhaustive word-lists to illustrate such living suffixes as *-er* and *-ung*; it is therefore better to confine the inevitable addenda to cases of special interest, in which exhaustiveness appears to have been aimed at. Under *-er* § 45 p. 58 add *Kundschafter*. Additional cases of transition to 'nomina actionis' on p. 60 are *Schnitzer* and *Spritzer*. Among the *-ner* forms on p. 61 we miss *Kirchner*, *Plattner* (both common as proper names), *Kätner* (a crofter) and *Wöchnerin*, and to *-ler* on p. 62 add *Finkler*, *Kompromissler* and the neologism *Hakenkreuzler*. The curious form *Imker* from Low German might have been subjoined. To § 48 *-ing* add Bavarian form *Fasching* and Low German *Helling*. As *-ling* is so frequently requisitioned by the purists for 'Verdeutschungen,' Paul deliberately gives but a small selection; as curiosities we might quote Sigismund's stages of babyhood, viz. *Lächling*, *Sehling*, *Greifling*, *Kriechling*, *Läufing*, *Sprechling*! On p. 67 the jocular *Wanzerich* quoted might be capped by *Bräuterich*. In the next section we rather painfully miss the abstracts *Dichte*, *Dürre*, *Öde*, *Schiefe* and the adverb-



derivative *Quere* (p. 68). The exiguous list of *-ung* derivatives from substantives (§ 55 p. 73) might be strengthened by *Wandung* and *Dünentalung*, both used by the geographer Penck, and the *Gewandung* of the sculptor. To the note following § 57 on p. 79 must now be added *Entscheid*, which occurs in *Volksentscheid* in the new German constitution. A considerable number of examples of the extended *-erei* are given on pp. 81 ff., but several important ones are omitted, viz. *Gaunerei*, *Hetzerei*, *Horcherei*, *Klatscherei*, *Liebedienerei*, *Prasserei*, *Quacksalberei*, *Quälerei*, *Schererei*, *Schleicherei*, *Schnurrpfeifereien*, *Schwätzeri*, *Schwelgerei*, *Stänkerei*, *Stümperei* among others. An additional case of *-erei* unsupported by any corresponding 'nomen agentis' is *Schurkerei*. Again *-elei* occurs also in *Bummelei*, *Deutschtümelei*, *Klügelei*, *Künstelei*, *Lobhudelei*, *Plänkelei*, *Teufelei*. The fertility of *-tum* § 61 may be gauged by three additional examples drawn from a single work—Pollitz, *Die Psychologie des Verbrechers*, 1908—viz. *Hochstaplertum*, *Landstreichertum*, *Vagabundentum*<sup>1</sup>. In § 62 the collective function of *-schaft* is further illustrated by *Geschworenenschaft*, *Turnerschaft*, *Wählerschaft* and we miss *Schwangerschaft* from the adjective-derivatives in *-schaft*, as also *Eigenheit* from those in *-heit* on p. 85. The longish list of *-heit* derivatives from participial adjectives omits *Befangenheit*, *Beschränktheit*, *Besessenheit*, *Geschicktheit*, *Gewandtheit*, *Unbeholfenheit*, *Unverdrossenheit*, and the note on p. 86 disregards *Obliegenheit*. Under § 64 it is worthy of note that *-isch* also requires *-keit*, cf. *Mürrisckheit*, and a place might be found for *Fixigkeit*.

As to the adjectives the following insertions seem worthy of recommendation:—§ 67 *-isch*, derivatives from substantives in *-er*, *haushälterisch*, *quälerisch* and to Anm. 2 on p. 92 add *einbildisch* (Schiller's *Räuber* III, 1); § 68 *-ig* p. 93, where the long list omits *blasig*, *gasig*, *markig*, *schlackig*, *tonig*, *wabig*; § 73 add *lückenhaft*, *namhaft*, *schrullenhaft*, *triebhaft* on p. 99, and *flegelhaft*, *gönnerschaft*, *hünenhaft*, *jünglinghaft*, *lämmerhaft*, *riesenhaft*, *trümmerhaft* on p. 100; *-sam*, p. 101, *anschniegsam*, *unterhaltsam*; § 75 *-lich*, p. 102 add *polizeilich*, p. 103 *gefissentlich*. The adjective doublets (and triplets) in § 77 might be supplemented by *ekel*—*eklig*—*ekelhaft*, *fördersam*—*förderlich*, *parteilich*—*parteiisch*, *riesig*—*riesenhaft*, *widerlich*—*widrig*. In § 78 not only *-voll*, but other 'full' words like *-reich*, *-artig*, *-förmig* etc. were worthy of a brief notice in their capacity as suffix equivalents. Among the verbs the only palpable omissions appear to be:—§ 84, *drängeln*, *zischeln*, § 85 *-igen* in *kündigen*, *verfestigen*. The suffix *-wärts* is missing from the 'Indeklinabilia.'

It is a little regrettable that the author did not see his way, as Wilmanns and Kluge did, to include sections dealing with such foreign suffixes as *-ik*, *-tät*, *-age* at any rate in so far as they have shown new signs of vitality in German hands. Of particular interest would be German coinages like *Germanistik* etc. and hybridizations like *Zotologie*. Nor have we seen any mention of the neat method of word-building

<sup>1</sup> The continued productivity of the corresponding English suffix is evidenced by the occurrence of *negrodom* in a recent newspaper review.



practised by the German geologist and archaeologist with their *Norfolkium*, *Magdalenium* etc. or of the specialization of the suffix *-ig* by the chemist, e.g. *schweflige Säure* (sulphurous acid, against *Schwefelsäure*, sulphuric acid). And when shall we see a comprehensive survey of the difference in function between *-al* and *-ell* (*real*, *reell*; *original* etc.)? Finally a short résumé of the results of the investigation, indicating what 'formantia' are really alive and vigorous to-day, might conceivably add further value to a work, which is already so full of interesting details.

W. E. COLLINSON.

LIVERPOOL.

*Gottfried Kellers Leben, Briefe und Tagebücher.* Von EMIL ERMATINGER. 3 Bände. Stuttgart: J. G. Cotta. 1920. 8vo. Vol. I, xii + 677 pp.; Vol. II, 531 pp.; Vol. III, 602 pp. 67 M. 50.

In recent years a large number of excellent monographs have appeared on the subject of Gottfried Keller's works. It was hence highly desirable that Bächtold's biography should be brought up to date. Instead of leaving his predecessor's work intact and adding copious notes or appendices, Prof. Ermatinger adopted the course of re-modelling the whole book, and expanding it to three times its original size. It was a method fraught with many dangers. Bächtold's work was the standard life of Keller, written by a man who knew him intimately. It presented the poet's personality to us from a definite point of view, in a style which had real literary merit. Rightly recognizing this, Prof. Ermatinger incorporated the greater part of Bächtold's text in his own work, thus preserving much masterly criticism and many a felicitous phrase. Unfortunately the added portions have altered the whole character of the book. Prof. Ermatinger's main purpose was to investigate Gottfried Keller's philosophical, religious, and political convictions, and to define his place in German literature as a novelist and lyric poet. He has devoted to this task many years of work. However, his canons of literary criticism are radically different from those of Bächtold. On several occasions he expressly draws our attention to such differences of opinion, and once even attacks Bächtold with undue severity (pp. 679 seq.). It is rather strange that the man who wrote the finest passages in the book should only be referred to in the third person ('Bächtold erzählt'; 'Bächtold berichtet'; 'nach Bächtold') and that Bächtold's biography should be included (p. 530) in the work.

Prof. Ermatinger has made a careful study of certain literary and philosophical questions. He speaks of Hegel and Feuerbach with the authority of a specialist. But he is not free from the shortcomings of a mere specialist. He is apt to lose his sense of proportion and become lost in detail. His lengthy account of Koller's defraudations (635-7) is excellent local history, but of no interest to a larger public. We do not want to know the names of every petty demagogue who strove for political power in 1867. Instead of selecting a few salient traits to characterize the chief persons with whom Keller came into contact Prof. Ermatinger

inserts a small biography, which is so evidently an interpolation, and would be more in its place in an encyclopædia. There are unnecessary repetitions (Ursula's bad housekeeping is mentioned three times: pp. 13, 429, 525; the friendship with Storm should be dealt with on p. 565, and not on p. 539).

Prof. Ermatinger's system of classification is too artificial, his analogies vague or misleading. Thus he elaborates a parallel between the spirit of the age in 1770 and that of 1840. He contends that both dates mark a change from rationalism to realism, both in philosophy and literature. The flaw in the argument is obvious. There was no movement in 1840 which corresponded to the 'Sturm und Drang'; neither 'Jungdeutschland' nor 'Heimatkunst' could be thus described. The only resemblance we can see is of quite a general character; it might be termed in Bergsonian phrase: the conflict between creative evolution and tradition or inertia. This struggle recurs every generation.

The growth of scientific accuracy in nineteenth-century historical fiction he attributes solely to development of historical science. Alexis, Hauff, and Scheffel are all characterized, but Scott's name is not even mentioned. Surely a word might have been added about the rise of philology. It was Scott and Grimm and not Ranke who made *Ekkehard* possible.

It is possible to do full justice to Keller without depreciating other writers. Prof. Ermatinger treats the 'Münchener Kreis' very patronizingly (613 seq.); he cannot forgive Mörike for being a mere lyric poet ('Die aktuellen Probleme der Zeit, vor denen Mörike sich scheu verkriecht,' p. 139); and considers it a fault in Hölderlin that he was a romanticist (p. 303). Leuthold, he says, lacks personality (p. 139).

We admire Keller for what he was, rather than for what he was not. It is a mistake to see in him a consistent philosopher. It is hard to believe that he disapproved of Lange because the latter was not sufficiently logical and because he committed the grievous error of combining Hegel and Schleiermacher (p. 308). 'Ein Leben, dem nichts Menschliches fremd war' scarcely applies to Keller. Nor could we say that *Die Leute von Seldwyla* stands 'zwischen Romantik und Realismus und über beiden.' If it be true that in Keller's eyes everything that is natural is moral, he was a very poor philosopher. It is, finally, scarcely credible that Heinrich Lee's three loves, Anna, Judith, and Dortchen Schöpfung were really inspired by Hegel's thesis, antithesis, and synthesis.

JAMES M. CLARK.

GLASGOW.

*The Position of the 'Roode en Witte Roos' in the Saga of King Richard III.* By OSCAR J. CAMPBELL (Univ. of Wisconsin Studies in Lang. and Lit., v). Madison: Univ. of Wisconsin. 8vo. 169 pp. 50 cents.

In this volume Professor Campbell has not only given us a careful edition of L. van den Bosch's 'blyeindent treurspel,' but also a prose translation of it which is entirely reliable. In his Introduction he is



only concerned with what information the play may supply as to the development of the dramatic treatment in England of King Richard's story. That Van den Bosch worked upon an English original, now lost, indeed, that he followed it very closely, we may assume both on the ground of what we know of his translating habits and of internal evidence. The great question is, what date to give to that lost English play. *De Roode en Witte Roos* was published in 1651, that is to say in any case long after the play on which it is founded, for it clearly presents the type of the chronicle play with a distinct Senecan flavour. At many points it offers a striking resemblance to Shakespeare's *Richard III*, but at other points it follows the chronicles much more closely. Also there are many striking similarities between the Dutch play and Thomas Legge's Latin *Richardus Tertius*, which was written at Cambridge probably about 1578, but published only in the nineteenth century. It is mainly in the Senecan passages that the similarities occur. Lastly Professor Campbell shows that there is 'but one resemblance of a large constructive sort' between Van den Bosch's play and the *True Tragedy of Richard the Third*, which first appeared in the *Stationer's Register* in 1594, but was written probably about 1590.

As Professor Campbell admits, it is impossible from these data to assign a date with absolute certainty to the lost play upon which Van den Bosch presumably worked. His hypothesis, however, seems very plausible. It is that the play was written by some university dramatist familiar with Thomas Legge's *Richardus Tertius* and influenced by its Senecan spirit, while seeking to adapt it to the popular stage. He probably wrote after the *True Tragedy* had been written, copying one effective scene from it. But he wrote before Shakespeare took up the subject, and the points of resemblance between Shakespeare's *Richard III* and *De Roode en Witte Roos* must be explained by Shakespeare having used the lost play. If that is so, Van den Bosch's translation would indeed supply a missing link in the development of the saga of King Richard III. It would, as Professor Campbell observes, 'help to explain the strong Senecan flavor of Shakespeare's *Richard III*, which has led numerous critics to believe that it must be the direct descendant of an earlier play.'

P. GEYL.

LONDON.

*English > German Literary Influences, Bibliography and Survey.* By L. M. PRICE. 2 vols. (*University of California Publications in Modern Philology*, IX, 1, 2.) Berkeley, Cal.: Univ. of California Press. 1920. 8vo. 616 pp. \$1.25, \$4.00.

As the title implies, this book consists of a full bibliography supplemented by a survey, in which the chief works on the list are reviewed and summarized, thus constituting a general sketch and commentary of English-German literary influences. 'Es sind also mehr Collectanea zu einem Buche, als ein Buch.' These words from the *Laokoon* occur to



the reader as he puts down these volumes—not, indeed, in any disparaging sense—for it is evident that the arrangement adopted by the author really constitutes the main value of his book. Had he in any way sought to urge his own point of view, to press theories of his own, the work from being a most valuable mine of reliable information would have become a mere handbook of literature. As it is, the worker must be eternally grateful to Mr Price for the restraint which he has placed on his literary and critical talents which, to judge from the few passages where they are allowed to appear, are of no mean order.

It was no doubt from similar motives that the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are only lightly touched upon in the Survey (they occupy barely 30 pages out of a total of 450). Workers in these centuries will still find the studies of Herford and Waterhouse indispensable. Only in one vital respect does Mr Price complete the work of Waterhouse by a chapter on the 'Englische Comedianten.' Nor does he deal with any English influences prior to the Reformation—they are, it is true, relatively unimportant<sup>1</sup>, but the reader would have welcomed some comprehensive review of the whole field.

Mr Price's book must therefore be considered mainly as a history of the influences of England on Germany in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. He was confronted with a much more difficult task than either Herford or Waterhouse—not only was the material with which he had to deal immensely superior in bulk (he lists just over 1000 titles in his Bibliography)<sup>2</sup>, but it was much more intangible in character, and, as he progressed, he was met with the highly complicated interrelations of French, English and German literatures, until by the time he reached the nineteenth century, it became almost impossible to unravel the tangled threads of mutual interdependence.

Passing from generalities to details, there is one fact which must strike the investigator of English influences during the eighteenth century, and that is the large number of English works which reached Germany through the medium of French translation, and the importance of Amsterdam as a centre of publication and distribution. This was the case with most of the *Moralische Wochenschriften* (Survey, p. 191), with Pope (p. 200), with Elizabeth Rowe (p. 245), with Fielding (p. 386), and many of the German translations were made from these French intermediaries. These facts are not emphasized sufficiently and are sometimes only ascertainable from a footnote (cp. note 7, p. 286).

Much is made by the author of a principle of division adopted by his teacher, Professor A. R. Hohlfeld of the University of Wisconsin. The latter marks three distinct stages in the development of English

<sup>1</sup> Although the recent article of W. Braune in *P. B. B.* 43, 361 seq. proves conclusively that the Anglo-Saxon penetration under St Boniface was much more thorough than is usually supposed.

<sup>2</sup> I notice some slight omissions: F. von Zobeltitz, *Eine Bibliographie der Robinsonaden* in *Zeitschrift für Bücherfreunde*, 1898, Nr. 8/9. P. Hume Brown in *Surveys of Scottish History*, Glasgow, 1919, does little more than sum up the work of German scholars in his chapter on Scottish influence during the eighteenth century.

influence in Germany: (1) Addison and Pope and Thomson, who had certain strong French affiliations. Their chief exponent was Gottsched at Leipzig during the years 1720-40. (2) Milton and Young representing the religious and emotional side of literature and advocated so strongly by Bodmer in Zürich between 1740-60. (3) We have finally the strongest wave of all, bearing Shakespeare, Ossian and Percy on its crest, and first introducing to the Germans genius, originality and spontaneity. The twenty years from 1760-80 were thus the most fertile in German literature, and Goethe was the chief exponent of these new ideas. Any sub-division which renders easier the difficult task of treating the eighteenth century must always be welcome, but like all generalizations of this kind it has the disadvantage of being inapplicable to individual cases. It is difficult, for instance, to fit so important an author as Lessing into the above scheme: presumably under one criterion he would go into the same compartment as Gottsched (imagine his disgust!) whilst he really has affinities with all three groups.

To the average English reader the greatest interest will be aroused by Part II, 'Shakespeare in Germany,' than which no subject of Anglo-German literary relations has been more closely studied or presents greater difficulty. The literature is so voluminous that the present attempt to marshal it for discussion must necessarily prove extremely valuable. One of the most fascinating problems is that of Lessing's relation towards Shakespeare. We see how much of Lessing's Shakespeare criticism from the famous seventeenth *Literaturbrief* onwards, and his preference for the English over the French drama, was really drawn from Dryden's *Essay of dramattick poesie*, which he himself had translated (1758); and how, further, this influence was already beginning to counteract that of Voltaire, and so led to the definite standpoint taken up in the *Theatralische Bibliothek* and, finally, in the *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*. And if Lessing never really attained to a true appreciation of Shakespeare, it is noteworthy that Wieland understood him still less, as is evident from his translation, for which Herder declared himself ready 'to scratch out his eyes.' Just as Dryden for Lessing, so Young's *Conjectures on original Composition* were to prove all important for the attitude to Shakespeare of Hamann, Gerstenberg, Lenz, and through the former of Herder also. 'It was Herder who first presented Shakespeare in his totality to the German people after Lessing, Gerstenberg and Wieland had presented certain sides' (*Survey*, p. 431). The indebtedness of Goethe to Herder in regard to Shakespeare has lately been called in question, but without producing any very definite results. The subject is taken up again in chapter XVI in which the relations of the German classics to Shakespeare are discussed in connexion with Böttlingk's three books on Lessing, Goethe and Schiller. The attitude of the nineteenth century towards Shakespeare can be followed from the history of the Schlegel-Tieck-Baudissin translation and is carried through Kleist, Ludwig, Hebbel and Wagner down to Nietzsche. It is well to remember that, as a basis for this discussion of the relations of German literature to Shakespeare, Mr Price had the



remarkable book of Gundolf, *Shakespeare und der deutsche Geist*, to the appreciation of which he devotes a whole chapter.

A separate Part III is given to 'The Nineteenth Century and after.' At the beginning of the nineteenth century England no longer occupied the supreme position in literature that it had held a hundred years previously, for in the meanwhile the Germans had created a classical period of their own from which to draw their inspiration. Nevertheless certain literary influences are still very active; that of Sterne lingered on in Jean Paul and Heine, and other Romanticists, soon to make way however for the greater force of Scott and Dickens<sup>1</sup>. Burns, it must be noted, was not known in Germany until the thirties and then mainly through the exertions of Carlyle. Moore's *Lalla Rookh* found many admirers, including Goethe. Browning and Tennyson also enjoyed great popularity in their day whilst Oscar Wilde, Swinburne and Mr Bernard Shaw were greater favourites with the Germans than with their own countrymen. But of all English lyric poets none has ever evoked more influence on the continent in general, and in Germany in particular, than Byron, whose 'Weltschmerz' soon became a craze. In contrast with the weakening influence of English literature during the century, England's political system was still the cynosure of all German patriots, and England their refuge from the tyranny of their own governments, the Young German School in particular being loud in their admiration<sup>2</sup>.

A last chapter 'America in German Literature'<sup>3</sup> does full justice to the influence of such men as Fenimore Cooper (to whom Goethe felt much attracted) and who, for a time, rivalled his contemporary Scott for the first place in German affections. But apart from Cooper American prose seems to have been practically unknown. On the other hand Longfellow, Poe and Whitman have always attracted considerable attention, the latter, indeed, becoming the object of a special cult. None of these poets seem, however, to have left any lasting impression on German literature.

Such is very briefly the contents of this valuable book; the author may well be congratulated on the realization of the aim he had set himself: 'to draw up approximately the sum of our present knowledge of English > German influences, and by defining the known to suggest certain neglected episodes for later investigations.' It is to be hoped that some other scholar, equally well equipped, preferably Mr Price himself, may be induced by the success of this first venture to attempt

<sup>1</sup> The influence of Dickens on Raabe has been treated by Selma Fliess, Grenoble, 1912.

<sup>2</sup> In this connexion should be mentioned the monograph of F. Muncker which Mr Price has missed: *Anschaungen vom englischen Staat und Volk in der deutschen Literatur der letzten vier Jahrhunderte. Erster Teil, Von Erasmus bis zu Goethe und den Romantikern in Sitzungsberichte der Königl. Bayer. Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philos.-philol. und hist. Klasse, Jahrgang 1918, 3. Abhandlung*. Although the presentation is scrupulously objective yet one has the feeling all along that the author regrets the almost uniformly favourable impression of England and its people which he finds amongst these early German scholars and poets. He promises some more instructive and trustworthy revelations of the English character for the next chapter.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. the chapter 'Übersee' in W. Oehlke, *Die deutsche Literatur seit Goethes Tod*, Berlin, 1920.



the lighter and yet more elusive task of similarly defining the sum total of our literary obligations to Germany.

In conclusion we cannot praise too highly the typographical arrangement of the work. Fortunate, indeed, are the American scholars who can induce publishers to undertake such magnificent series as that in which the present volume appears, and for whom the publication of a learned book does not involve the assumption of a serious financial burden.

L. A. WILLOUGHBY.

SHEFFIELD.

*Norwegian Life and Literature: English Accounts and Views.* By C. B. BURCHARDT. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1920. 8vo. viii + 230 pp. 10s. 6d.

Mr C. B. Burchardt's work is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the development of English interest in Scandinavia and its literature. It displays the same thoroughness and grasp of detail as Mr Frank Farley's admirable treatise on *Scandinavian Influences on the English Romantic Movement in the Eighteenth Century*, with which it deserves to rank. The book also contains appendices with useful bibliographical material.

The author comments on the absence in the first half of the nineteenth century of any Englishman with a knowledge of Norwegian literature. It is possible that Sir John Bowring and George Borrow might have acquired that knowledge, had they received sufficient encouragement. Originally both possessed enthusiasm and some familiarity with the subject. But the reception with which their proposals for translating Norwegian and other Scandinavian authors met did not stimulate them to penetrate further. It is, however, of interest to note that Borrow translated Edvard Storm's *Thorvald Vidfôrle* and *Zinklars Vise*, P. H. Frimann's *Hornelen* and C. B. Tullin's *Maidagen*, though the two last have, to my knowledge, not yet been published. As Mr Burchardt's treatise was written in 1918, he may be excused for not knowing what was contained in Borrow's manuscripts. Similarly, his statement on p. 110 that 'Apart from Mr Gosse's pages on Wergeland and those written by Mr Latham thirty years before, no detailed account of the Norwegian poet has ever appeared in English' was correct at the time it was written. Since then, however, Mr I. Gröndahl's privately printed study of Wergeland has appeared. On the other hand it is unfortunate that so scholarly a work as Mr Burchardt's should contain the statement that 'Borrow's Danish ballads were imitated from A. S. Vedel's collection of Danish ballads' (p. 78, note 3). This view, so carefully spread by Borrow himself, was shown to be incorrect some years ago by Mr Edmund Gosse.

Mr Burchardt rightly makes merry over the ideas of Norway and the Norwegians to be found in English novelists who have laid the scene of their stories in Norway. Many of the travellers are not less delight-

fully absurd, as witness H. Smith, who in his *Tent Life in Norway* tells how he came to a gate with the inscription 'Luk grinden' ('Shut the gate'), which he clearly takes to be the name of the owner ('Luk' = Luke)!

It is strange, as Mr Burchardt indicates, that on the whole so little attention should have been paid to translating Holberg's comedies. It is highly desirable that they should be better known. At the close of his treatise, Mr Burchardt points out how few translations have been made into English of modern Norwegian writers, such as Knut Hamsun. It is as if interest had been exhausted by Björnson and Ibsen. No doubt it is all to the good that Mr Burchardt should have singled out the gaps in our knowledge of Norway and its literature and it is to be hoped that the various new organizations of which the author speaks will do something to remedy these deficiencies.

HERBERT G. WRIGHT.

BANGOR.

### MINOR NOTICES.

In Dr J. H. H. Lyon's *Study of The Neue Metamorphosis written by J. M. Gent., 1600* (New York: Columbia University Press; London: H. Milford, 1919, 8s. 6d.) we are introduced to a very curious production—a poem of some 30,000 lines preserved in Add. MSS. 14824-6, written, as the editor shows, between 1600 and 1615, and extremely discursive in subject. As poetry, it is a work of a very low order, but it is clearly of value as a reflexion of Elizabethan life. Its account of Essex's capture of Cadiz in which the author took part is especially vivid and interesting. The editor gives a number of extracts from the poem which make us eager to have the whole, but his dissertation is mainly occupied with determining the identity of the author 'J. M. Gent.' The MS. had belonged to F. G. Waldron (1744-1818) who had jotted down the names of four men of letters with the required initials: John Marston, Jervase Markham, James Martin, John Mason. Since his time the work has been most generally ascribed to Marston. Dr Lyon disposes of Marston and the last two, and makes out a strong case for Jervase Markham (whose first name is however more frequently spelt 'Gervase'). Markham was however a voluminous writer both of prose and verse, and if he were 'J. M.' one would think that it would be possible to find passages in this MS. poem which were echoes, in thought or expression, of passages in Markham's acknowledged works. This the editor has not done, in fact he finds that Markham's verse style is far more ornate than J. M.'s. J. M. has peculiarities of language, e.g. he uses 'loade' = 'laden.' It is not shown that these are shared by Markham. We are left with only a general agreement between the two authors in an interest in fish and country pursuits and in a general sympathy with Puritanism. Till the proof has been pushed a little further, one must consider that J. M.'s identity with Markham is not yet established.



One suspects that Dr Lyon has not always succeeded in reading his MS. correctly. He prints 'Gallemanfrey' pp. 45, 160, 'Gradinus' p. 171, 'despate' (= 'desperate') pp. 183, 184, 'Outs' (? 'Ours') p. 208, 'upp' (? 'upper') p. 214. On pp. 178, 183 'squilkles' surely means 'skulks,' not 'swills.' It is interesting to find J. M. saying of our war-ships: 'these are indeede our Englands wooden wals' (p. 193).

G. C. M. S.

*On the Art of Reading*, the third publication of the series of Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch's lectures on English Literature to Cambridge students (Cambridge: Univ. Press, 1920, 15s.) reaches the same high standard of excellence that characterized the two preceding volumes.

The book contains much more than its title would appear to connote, dealing, as it does, with Children's Reading, Reading for Examinations, A School of English, The Value of Greek and Latin in English Literature, The Bible, Selection, and The Use of Masterpieces.

Apart from its wide scope and sound erudition, an outstanding feature of the book is the interesting and inspiring method with which every subject is treated.

The lecturer draws freely on his encyclopædic knowledge of books and their writers, ancient, mediæval, and modern; the whole field of literature from Lear's *Book of Nonsense* to Aristotle and Plato being laid under contribution to provide felicitous quotation and apt illustration.

The versatility of the author is specially noticeable, his treatment of children's reading being as facile and enlightening as his disquisition on the value of Greek and Latin in English Literature.

Wit, humour, and pleasant discursiveness add to the charm of the lectures, and do not in the least detract from the tone of high seriousness that animates the author and inspires the reader, and reaches its culmination in the concluding lecture—'The Use of Masterpieces'—in itself a masterpiece of artistic appreciation and eloquent appeal.

The lectures are equally valuable to students for the English Tripos, to teachers of Literature in every type of school, and to the lover of reading for its own sake.

J. H.

*Les Origines de la Poésie française de la Renaissance*, by Henri Chamard (Paris: Boccard, 1920, 12fr.) is a re-publication, with little change, of a course of lectures delivered at the Sorbonne in the winter of 1913-1914 and reported in the *Revue des Cours et Conférences*. M. Chamard begs his readers not to forget this, but one cannot help doubting whether these lectures, which were admirably suited to their original purpose, will be found equally useful to the student who reads them at this distance of time. At any rate there is not much in them for a critic to notice. We begin with a historical survey of the studies in French sixteenth-century poetry from 1828 to 1914; it is excellent as far as it goes, but it might have been carried with advantage down to 1920. In comparing Rabelais's Abbey of Thelema with Ronsard's account of his



own daily life M. Chamard notes as a point of difference that Ronsard begins and ends his day with prayer. But he forgets, firstly, that at Thelema each member had his or her private chapel, and secondly that in the scheme of Gargantua's education the day ended with prayer, just as Ronsard's did. M. Chamard's account of the attitude of the Renaissance to Christianity is perfectly just; as he says, it tended to make religion much more individual, much less collective and social. He well defines Humanism as 'the cult of the Renaissance for classical antiquity.' The recently invented term of 'modern humanities' and the absurd definition of humanities as 'the whole civilization of a people' are the result of a hopeless confusion of thought. Finally, attention may be drawn to M. Chamard's conclusion, which is that the Renaissance 'was not a brusque rupture with the Middle Ages, but that the change was being prepared over a long period.' This is quite true; at the same time we must not forget that during the first quarter of the sixteenth century there was a marked quickening of the Renaissance spirit in France, which impressed itself very vividly upon contemporaries.

A. T.

Dr Lander Macclintock's work on *Sainte-Beuve's Critical Theory and Practice after 1849* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press; Cambridge: Univ. Press, 1920, 1 dol. 25) has the great merit of treating adequately a clearly-marked period—that which extends from Sainte-Beuve's return to Paris from Liège to his death in 1869. The more important dicta on the functions of criticism which Sainte-Beuve gave forth during this, his greatest, period are carefully collected and classified in seven chapters. This scholarly treatise is not easy to read, and it is not without its quota of curious misprints. But it throws a great deal of light on Sainte-Beuve's method, it is an able continuation of M. Michaut's *Sainte-Beuve avant les Lundis* and it takes an honourable place in the voluminous literature which criticizes the critic.

R. L. G. R.

*Selections from Saint-Simon*, edited by Arthur Tilley (Cambridge: Univ. Press, 1920, 8s.) and *Cambridge Readings in French Literature*, by the same editor (Cambridge: Univ. Press, 1920, 8s.) are attractive Anthologies which do honour to the width of Mr Tilley's reading and the catholicity of his taste. The first presents, with a critical Introduction and the necessary historical notes, what are for most practical purposes the literary remains of Saint-Simon. The second, unfortunately marred by very frequent misprints, comprises both prose and poetry and commemorates some of the great names in French History. The arrangement, according to subject-matter, seems somewhat arbitrary. Some conspicuous omissions are no doubt due to the wide field covered and to the copyright exigencies of short-sighted publishers. Both Anthologies make a direct appeal to every lover of French literature.

R. L. G. R.

The new *Oxford Italian Series* opens well with two little volumes, Francesco de Sanctis, *Two Essays: Giuseppe Parini, Ugo Foscolo*, ed. by Piero Rébora, and Paolo Ferrari, *Goldoni e le sue sedici commedie nuove*, edited by Arundell del Re (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1920, 3s. and 3s. 6d.), of which there is a cheaper edition in cloth, without the prefaces and notes. There is a pleasing freshness in the selection. Francesco de Sanctis is still too little known in this country (though Addington Symonds borrowed somewhat copiously from him in his work on the Renaissance in Italy), and the two essays here presented by Dr Rébora are eminently characteristic, that on Ugo Foscolo, perhaps, representing the great Neapolitan critic at his best. The comedy of Paolo Ferrari, for which Mr del Re claims that it 'marks a definite step in the development of the drama in Italy,' is a distinct and welcome novelty in a scholastic series. It might have been well to have added some guidance on the Venetian dialect, for fuller elucidation of the speeches of 'el nobile Grimani.' In both volumes there is an adequate bibliography, and the notes are good and useful, though we would suggest that (in the notes on De Sanctis) it is hardly accurate to describe Maria Teresa as 'Empress of Austria in Parini's time.' The principle of accentuation adopted, the indication of the stress accent by a grave stroke without any discrimination between open and close vowels, may frighten our teachers of phonetics from their propriety, though we have no doubt that the general editor of the series can make out a good case for the proceeding. The series promises to supply welcome substitutes for the more hackneyed texts too long in vogue in our Italian classes and will fill a real need for the private student. We wish the enterprise every success.

E. G. G.

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Professor G. Baldwin Brown and Mr Bruce Dickins of the University of Edinburgh write to us as follows:

'Will you kindly grant us permission through the hospitality of your columns to make the following appeal for help in an archaeological undertaking? We are preparing for publication by the Cambridge University Press an Annotated Corpus of Runic Inscriptions in Great Britain, on or in stone, bone, wood, metal, or other such material, and we shall be most grateful if any of your readers interested in the subject will kindly bring under our notice any newly-discovered specimen and any example which we are not likely to know. Runically inscribed objects contained in the larger and better-known public collections, or published in archaeological works of national scope, we shall naturally have on our list, but as regards those in private hands or in local collections of the smaller type, we shall be very glad of information, if correspondents will kindly send it to one of us.'

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[NOTE. The Italian, French and Old and Middle English sections have been compiled with the assistance of the Modern Humanities Research Association.]

## THOMAS EDWARDS, AUTHOR OF 'CEPHALUS AND PROCRIS, NARCISSUS.'

THE discovery of Thomas Edwards and his two poems, after they had been engulfed together for centuries in the cold waters of oblivion, provides us with one of the encouraging romances of Bibliography. Taken as a piece of printer's property, we knew from the Stationers' Registers, that on the 22nd day of October 1593 (six months after Richard Field entered for his copy *Venus and Adonis*) John Wolfe entered for his copy 'a Booke entituled Procris and Cephalus, deuided into 4 parts.' We hear nothing more of the book for two years, then two contemporary references to it make us fancy it was not appreciated. In 1595, W. C. (Couell) in his *Polimanteia* complaining of the printers says 'then should not Zepheria, Cephalus and Procris (workes I dispraise not), like watermen pluck euery passinger by the sleuee.' Here comes a marginal note, 'But by the greedie Printers so made prostitute that they are contemned.'

In the following year Thomas Nash, in his pamphlet *Have with you to Saffron Walden, or Gabriel Harvey's hunt is up*, wishing to discredit Harvey, says that he was in the habit of pressing the work of inferior writers upon Wolfe, if they satisfied him 'in rayling against mee, and feed his humor of vaine-glorie.'... 'So did he by that Philistine poem of *Parthenophill and Parthenope* which to compare worse than itselfe, it would plunge all the wits of France, Spaine, or Italy. And when he saw it would not sell, he called all the world asses a hundred times ouer, with the stampingest cursing and tearing he could vtter it, for that he having giu'n it his passe or good word, they obstinately contemned and misliked it. So did he by Chute's *Shore's Wife*, and his *Procris and Cephalus*, and a number of Pamphlagonian things more, that it would rust and yronspot paper to have but one sillable...breathed ouer it.' We must always discount Nash's language in his vituperative moods, yet it was over 270 years before we heard anything more about this book. *Procris and Cephalus* was merely entered in our catalogues as a work by Chute. In the year 1867, however, a fragment of the volume was found by Mr Edmunds in the Library of Sir C. E. Isham of Lamport



Hall<sup>1</sup>. It fortunately contained the title page 'Cephalus and Procris. Narcissus. *Aurora musae amica*. London. Imprinted by John Wolfe, 1595.' The name of the author Thomas Edwards comes at the end of the Dedication; the first poem was not completed, and the second not begun. Mr W. C. Hazlitt had just time to hurry a notice of it as 'a dull poem,' into his edition of Warton's *History of Poetry*, and to add that 'there was no perfect copy extant.'

Eleven years later came a new surprise. The Rev. W. E. Buckley found a perfect copy in the Cathedral Library of Peterborough, and in 1882 he reproduced this in a scholarly edition for the Roxburghe Society Reprints. Since the first outburst of enthusiasm on its appearance, there has been little consideration of the various puzzles associated with it, probably because the learned Editor did his work so thoroughly.

He must have spent on it a large amount of time and trouble, love and learning. He brought together the preliminary information, attempted to find the poet in College Registers, clerical appointments and Latin poems, really found the pedigree and status of the patron, and completed his work by a voluminous set of notes, chiefly philological.

Many years ago, I had put a great deal of work into the subject, but as a hitch occurred in one of my hypotheses, I was forced to lay it aside through the pressure of other literary work. When asked to give a lecture to the Elizabethan Society, it occurred to me that it would be worth while bringing the subject forward, as others, by this time, might have found some new points which, added to mine, might help to elucidate the story of the author and his book.

We now know that the clerk of the Stationers' Company made two slips, in reversing the order of the names of the first poem, and in describing the whole as in four parts, that is, really, the two poems, and two envoys, in four different measures of verse. It was near enough to distinguish Wolfe's entry. Both poems are examples of the poetical translations from Classical, Italian, Spanish or French originals that were so much in vogue in the sixteenth century. Both stories had been translated in Arthur Golding's *Ovid* 1565-7, Cephalus and Procris in the 7th Book f. 91<sup>v</sup>, Narcissus in the 3rd Book f. 35<sup>v</sup>. The latter as a story seems to have been more popular in England. Chaucer tells it in the *Romaunt of the Rose*, ll. 1435-1543; it appears in *The Moralisation of the Fable of Ovid* printed by Thomas Hacket 1560. A Latin poem of Narcissus was dedicated by John Clapham to the Earl of Southampton

<sup>1</sup> Now in the British Museum.



in 1591. Warner in *Albion's England* renders the story (Book IX, chap. 46).

The long interval which lay between the registration and publication of Edwards' book is remarkable. Perhaps therein lay some trick of the 'greedie printers.'

Edwards renders his first poem in decasyllabic rhyming couplets, the second in seven-lined stanzas. Neither poem can be described by Hazlitt's phrase as 'dull,' the rendering in general is poetic. He does not follow the text of Ovid slavishly, he introduces effectively the story of Aurora's love-making to Cephalus, and Lamia's encouragement of Procris. His vision was wide and suggestive, his pace rapid, he has some striking passages, and many fine lines. Had he always written up to his own highest level he would have taken a very different place in literature to-day. The poetic strain in him was marred by some lack of culture or of taste. It may be that he wrote at long intervals of time during which his fervours cooled, or his critical powers failed. His rhythm is sometimes faulty, so is his rhyme, and too many of his words are archaic. He is less happy in the seven-lined stanza of *Narcissus*, more unequal, sometimes even clumsy. Yet it is to *Narcissus* and its Envoy that we look most eagerly, as it touches on contemporary poets, among them Shakespeare.

Edwards dedicates his book 'to the Right Worshippfull Master Thomas Argall Esquire,' in words that almost suggest some of Shakespeare's Sonnet phrases:

Nor will I straine it foorth,  
To tilt against the Sunne with seeming speeches,  
Suffizeth all are ready and awaite,  
With their hartes-soule, and Artes perswasiue mistresse,  
To tell the louely honor, and the worth,  
Of your deseruing praise, Heroicke graces:  
What were it then for me to praise the light?  
When none, but one, commendes darke shady night.

.....  
O with thy fauour, light a young beginner,  
From margining reproach, Satyricke gloses,  
And gentle Sir, at your best pleasing leysure,  
Shine on these cloudy lines, that want adorning,  
That I may walke, where neuer path was seene,  
In shadie groues, twisting the mirtle greene.

That would seem to mean that he should be included among the poets who were supposed to weave myrtle wreaths.

While he says pretty things to an interested and possibly helpful patron, he more earnestly addresses himself in prose to that critical group formed by Sir Philip Sidney and his friends, and still continued by

Spenser, Dyer, Gabriel Harvey, Fulke Greville and others (including the Queen), who held the fate of poets in their hand:

To the Honorable Gentlemen, and true fauourites of Poetrie,....

In writing of these two imperfect Poemes, I haue ouergonne myselfe...but for that diners of my friendes have slak't that feare in me, and (as it were) heau'd me onwards to touch the lap of your accomplished vertues. I haue thus boldly...set to the view of your Heroicke censures....

Now is the sap of sweete science budding, and the true honor of Cynthia vnder our climate girt in a robe of bright tralucent lawne; Deckt gloriously with bayes and vnder her fayre raigne, honoured with euerlasting renowne, fame and Maiesty....

O, what is Honor without the complements of Fame? or the liuing sparkes in any heroicke gentleman? not souzed by the adamantine Goate-bleeding impression of some Artist.

Well could Homer paint on Vlysses shield, for that Vlysses fauour made Homer paint.

Thrise happy Amintas that bode his penne to steepe in the muses golden type of all bounty....

How many when they tosse their pens to eternize some of their fauourites... that either begin or end with the description of black and ougly night?...

Some there are (I know) that hold fortune at hazard, and trip it of in buskin till I feare me, they will have nothe but skin.

I walke not in clouds nor can I shro'dly moralize on any...onely I am vrg'd as it were to paraphrase on their doinges with my penne, because I honour learning with my heart. And thus benigne gentlemen, as I began, so in duety I end, euer prest<sup>1</sup> to do you all seruice.

THOMAS EDWARDS.

Contrary to what one would have expected from the preliminaries, Edwards commences his first poem, not in praise of the dawn, but of:

Faire and bright Cynthia, Ioues great ornament  
Richly adorning nightes darke firmament,

whose path he follows until he loses it in the sea, and the dawn is heralded. Then he prays Apollo to help him to paint Cephalus as he was wont to go early to the chase. In the legend of Aurora's wooing the hunter, after her failure he makes her suggest to the latter his testing Procris. When his poor wife roamed the woods wailing in her misery, an 'uncivil swain' told her that Cephalus awaited Aurora by a certain thicket, for he had heard him call 'Aer, Aer, come and cool me.' Procris went to the thicket, thinking no evil, but hoping she would have the chance of pleading with Cephalus. He, hearing the rustle among the bushes, thought it was some wild beast, flung his fatal dart, and did not miss his mark. There was hardly time for mutual explanations and embraces before she died, and he mourned her ever after. To this poem Edwards has added an Envoy in an irregular eight-lined stanza, which somewhat recapitulates the situations.

The second poem *Narcissus* has a title page, motto and date of its own. Instead of the decasyllabic rhymes of *Cephalus and Procris* Edwards essays a seven-lined stanza, and without further preface, calls on

<sup>1</sup> *Ever ready.*

You that are faire...You that are chaste....  
 You Delians that the Muses artes can moue....  
 You that in beauties honor do curuate,  
 Come sing with me....  
 I tune no discord, neither on reproache.

From the 5th stanza Edwards makes Narcissus tell his own story. He confesses how he scorned the crowd of adoring women who brought him gifts and jewels. He accepted the gifts, but would have none of the givers:

I stood as nice as any she alieu.

Then one of these foretells that he would suffer for his cruelty, in learning to love in vain, which came true when he saw himself reflected in the fountain, fancied it was a nymph and felt he loved that face, and in vain:

Yet such a humor tilted in my brest...  
 I proudly boasted that she was my choice.

Edwards slightly introduces the wooing of Narcissus by Echo; but nothing would satisfy the youth except the maiden he thought he saw looking through the fountain. He tried to kiss her in vain, because the water became disturbed by his long hair when he came too near:

And so continued treating, till with teares  
 The spring run ore, yet she to kisse forbare.  
 Looke on those faire eies, smile to shew affection,  
 Tell how my beautie would enrich her fauour,  
 Talke Sun-go-downe, no rules tending to action,  
 But she would scorne, and swear so God should saue her  
 Her loue burnt like perfume quite without sauour:  
 Yet if, (quoth she) or I but dreamt she spake it,  
 'Tis but a kisse you craue, why stoupe and take it...  
 It is the water and not she that wauers.

Then the end came:

Imbracing sighs, and telling tales to stones,  
 Amidst the spring I leapt to ease my mones...  
 Pardon my tale, for I am going hence,  
 Cephisus now freez'd, whereat the sea-nymphs shout,  
 And thus my candle flam'd, and here burnt out.

With this startling and confusing anticlimax Edwards ends the poem which in Golding's version (following Ovid) ended:

Then body was there none, but growing on the ground,  
 A yellow flower with lilly leaues insted thereof they found.

The Envoy to *Narcissus* in six-lined stanzas contains the writer's most halting poetry, and his appreciations of other contemporary poets. Before going further we want to know so far as possible who the author really was. His name was secured us by Mr Edmunds. Mr Buckley tries to find him among reverend clerics. The only thing I seem to



know about him is that he is none of these. I look for the author, not in convocation, but in court. We may try to find what manner of man he was from his poems. Not that the author trimmed them with fragments of biography, as many of his contemporaries did, but he shewed unconsciously at times some traces of his character and condition.

1. It seems to me from his opening praise of the Queen among the 'favourites' of Poetry, that he was well aware he might be taken to task verbally if he had forgotten to flatter her; and there seems to have been some personal acquaintance between him and some of the members of the group of recognised critics. Nash's words support this idea, by his very abuse of the poem.

2. He speaks modestly about his own work, with a modesty that seems real, and appreciates warmly the work of others. No hatred, malice, or uncharitableness, no winged shafts of satire through veiled words of his.

3. While he seeks brotherhood among ordinary poets, he acknowledges with reverence as his master, Spenser, under the name of 'Collyn.' Edwards is never weary of singing his praises. Even in the midst of his story of *Cephalus and Procris*, he bursts out in praise of the prime poet in a long passage, concluding:

O to that quick sprite of thy smooth-cut quill,  
Without surmise of thinking any ill,  
I<sup>1</sup> offer vp in duetie and in zeale,  
This dull conceite of mine, and do appeale  
With reuerence to thy<sup>2</sup>  
On will I put that breste-plate and there on,  
Riuert the standard boare in spite of such;  
As thy bright name condigne or would but touch,  
Affection is the whole *Parenthesis*,  
That here I streake, which from our taske doth misse.

Probably his devotion to Spenser tempted him into the superabundant use of archaic and compound words, and words used in unusual senses, as 'the teares of the muses haue been teared in Helicon' alluding to Spenser's opening lines of *The Tears of the Muses*.

4. He speaks of many classical characters but few Englishmen. The only one he mentions, not a poet, seems to be Francis Drake:

As when the English Globe-Encompasser  
By fames purveying found another land.

5. While he displays a desire to be like one of the brotherhood of poets, he takes some trouble to make quite clear his tastes, if not his pro-

<sup>1</sup> "He thinks it the duetie of everyone that sailes to strike maintop before that great and mighty poet COLLYN."

<sup>2</sup> As in Mr Buckley's reprint.

fession. The clash of arms in the tournament rings through all his verse, his language is coloured with heraldic tinctures. His patron had 'heroic graces,' his critics give 'heroic censures.' He has a strange new metaphor for writing poetry. Though his master Spenser still used the academic phrase of 'piping' and calls poets 'Shepherds,' while Edwards sometimes calls it '*singing*,' sometimes '*sailing*,' he more often calls it 'tilting.' In the quotations given above this may be seen, and there are many more:

Nor will I straine it forth,  
To tilt against the Sunne with seeming speeches.

Although he differs much from men,  
Tilting under Frieries.

Not only in this but in other phrases, he uses language from the lists, 'You that in beauties honor do *curuate*.' To 'taint' is used in the tournament sense, of *to touch*. He speaks of breastplates, standards, impresas. In the quaint phrase 'the living sparks in any heroic gentleman not souzed by the adamantine Goate-bleeding *impression* of some Artist'—he reminds us that it was then supposed that soaking in goat's blood was the only means to make carving in adamant possible. All this gives ground for my belief, that he was associated in some way with *Arms*.

6. The next point I wanted to find, was his proximate age. That is difficult. It is true that he speaks of himself to his patron as a '*young beginner*.' But that might have been a bit of fun, a specimen of his peculiar humour. A much more laboured attempt to prove the opposite may be found in his description of himself at the opening of his *Envoy to Narcissus*:

Poets that diuinely dreampt,  
Telling wonders visedly,  
My slow Muse haue quite benempt,  
And my rude skonce haue aslackt,  
So I cannot cunningly  
Make an image to awake.  
Ne the frostie lims of age,  
Uncouth shape (mickle wonder)  
To tread with them in equipage,  
As quaint light-blearing eies,  
Come my pen broken vnder,  
Magick-spels such deuize.

But for this acknowledgment of *age*, I should not have dared to put forward a hypothesis which received a rude shock many years ago. This would have required a Thomas Edwards born about 1540, who would have been at the date of publication of his poem about 53 years of age. Not such a great age, but poets then thought it poetic to magnify their age. I therefore paid attention to all of the name whom I found mentioned at court after that date.

We all know of Richard Edwards, the collector, and chief contributor to the *Paradise of Dainty Devices*. He describes himself in one of these leaving with his father's blessing his home in Somersetshire (the county of Sir Edward Dyer) a 'slender tall young man' seeking Court service. He was the eldest of many brothers. His musical powers recommended him first to Mary, then to Elizabeth. His poems given as a New Year's gift to Mary (praise of her Maids of Honour) are described as by 'Edwards of the Chapel.' He appears in one of the Court Lists as 'Gentleman of the Privy Chamber'.<sup>1</sup> In this list he was associated with a 'Thomas Edwards' in 1558. Richard was made Master of the Children of the Chapel Royal in 1561, and thereafter developed his dramatic talents. He so delighted the Queen with his performance of *Palamon and Arcite* at Oxford in September 1566, that she promised him a substantial reward. She was not prompt enough, and the poet died in the following month. It is supposed he left no child. Nothing more is heard of his reward unless we look for it in a strange coincidence. In December of that year Thomas Edwards received a patent for the office of Vibrellator or Gunner in the Tower. This was not a very important or responsible office, but it was often granted as a sort of little pension to courtiers who required some money-help. A similar grant was later made to Richard Dyer. It is just possible the grant was given to Thomas as the brother of Richard Edwards, as a remembrance of the promised reward. It might be borne by any 'gentleman of the Privy Chamber.'

Perhaps I may record here my first great disappointment in writing this paper. In the second year of Elizabeth I came upon a Thomas Edwards enrolled among the 'Extraordinary Yeomen of the Guard.' Here, I thought, was the very post for the author of this poem. I traced his name year after year, hopefully, but found that he died on 10th January 22nd Elizabeth. This is entered as 'By Certificate,' shewing he did not die at his post, but at some distance (Dec. Acc. Treas. Chamb. 22 Eliz. Pipe Office 542).

There is no record of the gentleman of the Privy Chamber living, and none of his dying. But the Vibrellator in the Tower did not die then, which may be proved by each successive patent naming the holder who preceded the patentee.

In the Envoy to *Narcissus* Edwards speaks of a distinguished noble poet who 'differs much from men, Tilting under Frieries.' Mr Buckley believes this to mean the dramatic poets who wrote for the Blackfriars, but 1593 would be too late for the early Blackfriars, and too early for

<sup>1</sup> Lansdowne MS. III, ff. 88, 89.



Burbage's which was only bought in 1596. I found among the British Museum MSS.<sup>1</sup> an entry rather more illuminating, as Edwards seems to speak only of non-dramatic poets. It is a list of 'The names of such Lords and Officers as are lodged within the Court and the Friery 1573.' After describing those resident in Court, the MS. concludes: 'In the Friery<sup>2</sup> are lodged the Lady Sydney, Mr Foskewe, the gentlemen Ushers, Sir Henry Lee, Mr Dier, with many more whose names I know not.' These two latter wrote verses, or 'tilted under Frieries' then, and might well have done so for the following 20 years. Thomas Edwards might have been lodged beside them. There are two significant points to remember. Sir Henry Lee was the Master of the Armoury, and had instituted the annual jousts in memory of the Queen's accession. He resigned his post on 17th November 1590, on which occasion Mr Hales, one of the Queen's servants, sung in Sir Henry's name the verses 'My golden locks time hath to silver turned.' The other point is, that, desiring to fix if possible Richard Edwards' place of birth in Somersetshire, I went through the Subsidy Rolls of that county, for 14-15 Henry VIII, the year in which the dramatist is supposed to have been born; I came upon John Edwards, senior, and John Edwards, junior, and immediately before them the name of Henry Dier, in the hundred of Carhampton, village of Allenford (169/168).

The only one of the university men collected by the Rev. Mr Buckley who might have been the same as the Groom of the Chamber was the Thomas who took the degree of B.C.L. at Cambridge in 1562 (no college mentioned). Another and more likely one is Thomas Edwards of Magdalen College, Oxford, described in 1562 as residing with someone in the town. There was also a Thomas Edwards, christened on the 8th of October 1560, in the Church of St Vedast, Foster Lane, but I can find no further allusion to him. One more reference I have found which seems to touch the true author of *Cephalus and Procris*, who *may* have been any Thomas I have been tracing, except the Yeoman of the Guard.

Among the Loseley papers is a bundle of private family letters. Queen Elizabeth highly favoured Sir William More of Loseley, and was very fond of his daughter Elizabeth, probably her godchild. She must have been about 40, when the Queen made her Lady-in-Waiting. She writes delightedly to her father about the kindness she received from everybody. She was then Lady Woolley by her second marriage to Sir John Woolley. Her father fell ill, she wanted to go and nurse him, the Queen was very unwilling to let her go, but finally consented

<sup>1</sup> Lansdowne XVIII, 37.

<sup>2</sup> Probably at St James' Palace.

One of Lady Woolley's friends at Court wrote to tell her of the nice things the Queen had said about her after she left, and that friend signed himself 'Your most humble servant, Thomas Edwards. From the Court, March 1594.' So here was a man of the name at the very time *Cephalus and Procris* was coming out, living at Court, having access to the Queen and able to repeat her conversation. He seemed to me so likely to have been the author, that I looked no further. But I did look for other poems. There had appeared in 1570 an epitaph on the death of the Earl of Pembroke by Mr Edwards, which might have been by him. There are two MS. poems in the Bodleian, good enough either for Richard or Thomas Edwards; the humour of them makes me almost think them by the latter. They purport to be written by a saucy page in a great house, subdued by a hopeless passion for his master's daughter.

## I.

in 5 stanzas.

If all the goddes would now agree  
to graunt the thing I would require  
madame I pray you what judge ye  
above all thinge I wold desire  
in faithe no kingdome wold I crave  
suche idle thoughte I never have....  
but will you know what liketh me  
madam, I wish your floole to be

## II.

in 7 stanzas.

The muses nyne that cradle rockte  
wherein my noble mistresse laie  
and all the graces then they flokte  
soe joyfull of that happy daie....  
No wonder then thoughte noble hartes  
of sondrie sortes her loue dothe seeke  
her will to wyne they play their partes  
happie is he whom she shall like  
to God yet is this my request  
hym to have her that loves her best.

*finis qd Edwards.*

Mr Buckley has printed these, but seems to have forgotten about Richard Edwards. Now that I have fitted a Thomas Edwards into his modest description of himself given above, we may go on to note his description of those contemporaries he thought most worthy of notice. Spenser is of course set first. Edwards treats each of his selected contemporaries under the name of the subject of his chief poem:

*Collyn* was a mighty swaine,  
In his power all do flourish,  
We are shepheards but in vaine,  
There is but one tooke the charge,  
By his toile we do nourish,  
And by him are inlarg'd.

He vnlockt Albions glorie  
 He 'twas told of Sidneys honor,  
 Only he of our stories,  
 Must be sung in greatest pride,  
 In an Eglogue he hath wonne her,  
 Fame and honor on his side.

In language neither clear nor musical he tries to point out, that Spenser did not, as the other poets did, go abroad for his materials. He found his subjects in English history and legend. He was the national poet, preeminently in his *Faerie Queene*. He places Daniel second, a little awkwardly, through using a woman's name for a man. Perhaps he means a pun in the first two words:

Deale we not with *Rosamond*,  
 For the world our sawe will coate,  
*Amintas* and *Leander's* gone,  
 Oh deere sonnes of stately kings,  
 Blessed be your nimble throats,  
 That so amorously could sing.

Here Amintas means Watson, and Leander, Marlowe. *Hero and Leander* was the only one of the poems here mentioned which was quoted by Shakespeare:

Dead Shepherd, now I find thy saw of might,  
 'Who ever loved that loved not at first sight.'  
*As you Like it*, III, 5.

The next whom Edwards names is Shakespeare:

*Adon* deafly masking thro,  
 Stately troupes rich conceited,  
 Shew'd he well deserued to,  
 Loue's delight on him to gaze,  
 And had not loue her selfe entreated,  
 Other nymphs had sent him baies.

Whether 'deafly' means 'deftly,' 'skilfully,' or 'without paying attention to' there is no doubt the words are intended as a compliment, and seem to imply that Shakespeare was beautiful and charming to look at.

The next two stanzas contain the puzzle of the Envoy:

Eke in purple robes distaind,  
 Amid the center of this clime,  
 I haue heard say doth remaine,  
 One whose power floweth far,  
 That should haue been of our rime,  
 The only object and the Star.  
 Well could his bewitching pen  
 Done the Muses obiects to us,  
 Although he differs much from men,  
 Tilting under Frieries,  
 Yet his golden art might woo us  
 To haue honored him with baies.

At the time of the publication of this reprint Dr Furnivall asked all the literary men of England 'who could be meant by this "center poet"?'



No two of the answers agreed. Among the suggestions were Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, the Earl of Essex, the Earl of Oxford, Sir Robert Dudley, Drayton, Bacon, Fulke Greville. There is something against each of these. The only man who seems to me possible, was Ferdinando Lord Strange, sixth Earl of Derby. The family title of 'Derby' was near enough the centre of England for a poet's geography. Edwards did not know much about him, he might not know that he chiefly lived at Lathom House; he had only 'heard say' of his literary talents, and was fearful of offending him by giving him a name. His power flowed far, he was king of the Isle of Man, many of the Catholics looked to him as the true heir to the throne of England—through his mother Margaret Clifford. Though many poets in England praised him, my authority for my opinion is Nash's effusive panegyric at the close of *Piers Pennilesse*, 1592, where he confesses that Lord Strange had given him liberal money-help as well as encouragement. He blames Spenser for not introducing him into the group of noblemen he praises at the end of the first three books of the *Faerie Queene*:

Heere (heauenlie Spencer) I am most highlie to acuse thee.... The verie thought of his far deriued discent & extraordinarie parts, wherewith he astonieth the world, and drawes all harts to his loue should haue inspired thy forewearied Muse.

The only excuse he could find for Spenser was that he might be intending some special honour for Ferdinando Stanley whom he called 'thrice noble Amintas.' The poet put off too long to follow Nash's advice. Ferdinando had only succeeded his father on September 25th, 1593, he died in April 1594. In Spenser's list of poets in *Colin Clout's come home again*, 1595, he acknowledges:

There also is, (ah no, he is not now)  
But since I said he is, he quite is gone,  
*Amyntas* quite is gone and lies full low,  
Hauing his *Amaryllis* left to mone....  
*Amyntas* floure of shepheards pride forlorne;  
He whilest he liued was the noblest swaine,  
That euer piped in an oaten quill:  
Both did he other, which could pipe, maintaine,  
And eke could pipe himselfe with passing skill.

This long digression seemed necessary here as no one else has brought forward Stanley as the nobleman 'who differed much from men, Tilting under Frieries.'

The next stanza is clear:

He that gan vp to tilt,  
*Babels* fresh remembrance,  
Of the world's-wrack how 'twas spilt,  
And a world of stories made,  
In a catalogues semblance,  
Hath alike the Muses staide.

This means Joshua Silvester, 'the silver-tongued' and his translation of Du Bartas' *Weeks and Workes*, dedicated to Anthony Bacon 1593.

It is a pity Edwards did not give us a longer list. He winds up with:

What remaines peerless men  
That in Albions confines are,  
But eterniz'd with the Pen  
In sacred Poems and sweet Laies,  
Should be sent to nations farre  
The greatnes of faire Albion's praise.

I believe that after one more stanza he meant to conclude. The last stanza but one is so discordant, that I fancy Wolfe must have written and inserted it himself. He did *something*, we have seen, to rouse the wrath of his two critics at least:

And when all is done and past  
Narcissus in *another sort*<sup>1</sup>  
And gairer clothes shall be plas't  
Eke perhaps in good plight,  
In mean while I'll make report  
Of your winnings that do write.

There are certain special relations between Edwards and Shakespeare to notice. Both were pupils of Spenser in their different degrees. The great poet's first poem was registered on April 18th, 1593, Edwards' first poem six months later. We usually date the existence of *Venus and Adonis* from its registration. If we apply the same treatment to Edwards' first poem, we find that he was the *first* to refer to Shakespeare as a non-dramatic poet. Shakespeare was more fortunate in his printer, and appeared in the same year. Edwards' poem somehow missed fire, and is reckoned as of 1595, though written before. He does not mention Shakespeare's *Lucrece*, 1594. He resembles Shakespeare in evidently having a little grudge against Chapman, whose *Shadow of Night* did not appear until that year. But it was probably handed round among readers before that date. Edwards evidently had studied Shakespeare closely. He makes Narcissus call upon *Adonis* to come and sit with him. In Aurora's love-making to Cephalus he follows that of Venus to Adonis effectively. Indeed it is notable both poets treated of the same theme, chaste youths besieged by passionate women. Shakespeare shews that Adonis had no time to think of Love, his heart being filled with the pleasures and the glories of the chase. Edwards paints in Cephalus the heart filled with his faithful love to his wedded wife; in Narcissus, the coldness arising from self-love.

<sup>1</sup> Does this mean that Edwards meant to put it into dramatic form?

Shakespeare also was impressed by the story of Narcissus. In *Venus and Adonis* (line 157) he says:

Narcissus so himself forsook  
And died to kiss his shadow in the brook.

He also says in *Lucrece* (l. 266):

And had Narcissus seen her as she stood  
Self-love had never drowned him in the flood.

Again in *Antony and Cleopatra*, II, 5, he says:

Hadst thou Narcissus in thy face, to me  
Thou wouldst appear most ugly.

I think that his only allusion to Cephalus and Procris is in the clown's play of Pyramus and Thisbe, *Midsummer's Night's Dream*:

Not Shafalus to Procrus was so true.  
As Shafalus to Procrus I to you!

These allusions can hardly be taken as any reference to Edwards' work, but as remembrances of the popular tales. Edwards also speaks of 'Oberon.' But one point more. While Edwards was so generous to other poets, none seems to have returned the compliment and praised him. None, unless we find in his Master Spenser, whom he revered so highly, some kindly recognition in return. I have reason to think we can, and that words which I have all my life firmly believed to have referred to Shakespeare, were really intended for Edwards. When Spenser published his *Colin Clout's come home again* in 1595, he also had a descriptive catalogue of poets included in it. Among these, he writes:

And there, though last not least, is Aetion,  
A gentler shepherd may no where be found:  
Whose Muse, full of high thoughts invention,  
Doth like himselfe Heroically sound.

Now, I think these lines suit Edwards better than Shakespeare. His poem coming out in 1595, would be 'last' before Spenser printed his. Shakespeare's had been published in 1593, and was not 'last' in any aspect. Edwards was very gentle, or, at least, quarrelled with none in print; it was his *Muse* and not his *name* that was 'heroical,' his Muse 'full of high thought's invention, Doth like himself heroically sound.' I have given suggestions of his language. I know nothing of his personal appearance. But Spenser did. Apparently it also was heroical, and 'though last' he was 'not least.' Another panegyric of Spenser's suits Shakespeare better.

The phrase 'Aetion' haunted me. I felt sure there would be found some relation to the man, if I could but find the Welsh meaning for



‘eagle-born.’ I appealed to Mr Leonard Wharton the polyglot scholar. He gave the clue I sought. The name of Snowdon in Welsh is Eryri, which means the Eagle Mountain, the name of the Carnarvon range is ‘The Eagle Hills.’ Thomas Edwards bore a Welsh name, he might have been descended from the Welsh family of the name, even if his father had settled in Somerset. Or his father might have returned to Wales before his younger son’s birth. I am quite willing to give up any theory to be able to find the truth. Elizabeth favoured Welshmen, and was pleased to be reminded of her Welsh descent, and my last Thomas Edwards evidently basked in her favour. One cannot help wondering if he had any literary association with Fluellen, and if this ‘Eagle-born’ poet was a friend of Shakespeare’s too.

CHARLOTTE CARMICHAEL STOPES.

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## POLITICAL PLAYS OF THE RESTORATION.

THE political and religious enthusiasm that reigned in the period of the Restoration is possibly unrivalled throughout the whole of our literary history. The writers were of the court or of the Parliament: they were Catholics or they were Puritans: and they were enabled, as they had not been previously, to express their thoughts with a certain amount of freedom on the subjects that lay near their hearts. No book produced in England between 1660 and 1698 can be understood without a reference, and a full reference, to the course of political events: for the religious and civil enthusiasm of the courts of Charles and of James was the intellectual aftermath of the emotions aroused during the period of the Commonwealth, and still affected intimately the social and the intellectual life of the nation. In several branches of literature this fact has been noted, particularly in that of poetry, but for the drama it has been more or less overlooked. Neither historians nor literary critics seem to have realised the mass of material which lies ready to their hands in the tragedies and the comedies of the time. After eighteen years of repression the theatre had come to its own again, and with a renewed energy authors had started to think once more in the dialogue and scenical form. The theatrical writers threw in political and contemporary reference with a free hand: while other scribblers, who, in previous and succeeding ages, would probably have written in prose or in couplets, put forward their ideas and their satire in the form of plays which, even from their incipience, were probably never intended to be acted. All sorts of subjects were so discussed, from the Worshipful Companies of Brewers<sup>1</sup>, of Doctors<sup>2</sup> and of Shoemakers<sup>3</sup> to the Athenian Society<sup>4</sup>: but by far the greatest

<sup>1</sup> *Pluto Furens & Vincit: or, The Raging Devil Bound. A Modern Farse. Per Philocomicum.* (Epistle Dedicatory signed 'C. F.') Amstelodami, 1669.

<sup>2</sup> Tom Brown: *Physick lies a Bleeding: or, The Apothecary turned Doctor. A Comedy, Acted every Day in most Apothecaries Shops in London* (1697).

<sup>3</sup> Hewson Reduc'd: or, *The Shoemaker return'd to his Trade. Being a Show, Wherein is represented the Honesty, Inoffensiveness, and Ingenuity of that Profession, when 'tis kept within its own Bounds, and goes not beyond the Last. Written by a true Friend to the gentle Craft* (1661). This 'show' is directly aimed at Hewson, the regicide.

<sup>4</sup> E. S(ettle?): *The New Athenian Comedy, Containing the Politicks, Oeconomicks, Tacticks, Crypticks, Apocalypticks, Stypticks, Scepticks, Pneumaticks, Theologicks, Poeticks, Mathematicks, Sophisticks, Pragmaticks, Dogmaticks, etc., Of that most Learned Society* (1693).

interest is to be found in a number of plays, dating variously from 1659 to about 1695, which deal entirely with political and religious questions, and which, peculiarly enough, have remained, up till now, almost wholly unread and unchronicled<sup>1</sup>.

The habit of writing pamphlets in the form of plays was not novel to the age of the Restoration; there had been political plays in Elizabeth's time, and more than one appeared during the dictatorship of Cromwell, usually without the names of the author and of the publisher<sup>2</sup>: but a real enthusiasm for political reference in dramatic form did not come until the downfall of the Commonwealth with the arrival of Monk and the subsequent return of Charles. It is this which, in this essay, I propose briefly to discuss and to analyse. Ere entering into this subject, however, one interesting fact may be noted, and that is, that while internal political and religious movements are reflected widely and largely in the theatre of the time, outside historical events, as distinct from the evolution of politics or of religion, are touched upon hardly at all. The reason for this is hard to seek, for public sentiment undoubtedly was aroused over such matters as the foreign policy of Charles as it related to France. Sufficient for us to notice, however, that, beyond a few references in Prologue and in Epilogue, and with the exception of Dryden's horrible and cruel *Amboyna: or, The Cruelties of the Dutch* (Theatre Royal Company at Lincoln's Inn Fields, 1673), no reflection of historical events is to be found in the drama. Even such internal catastrophes as the Fire and the Plague of 1665-6 passed almost unnoted. Peculiarly enough, practically the only influence exerted by historical events on the theatre, was that, at the time of the Dutch Wars, many of the Cavaliers were reft away, and the Cavaliers were the main supporters of the playhouses. Crowne, in his *The History of Charles the Eighth of France: or, The Invasion of Naples by the French* (Dorset Garden, 1671), laments that he is producing his play for a city audience, but

<sup>1</sup> Some of these, but not all, are mentioned, but not collated and criticised, by Gerard Langbaine in *An Account of the English Dramatic Poets* (1691) and by the authors of *Biographia Dramatica* (1812), a few by Genest in *Some Account of the English Stage* (1830) and a few by Sir A. W. Ward in his *History of English Drama*.

<sup>2</sup> Among these *Tyrannical Government Anatomiz'd: or, A Discourse concerning Evil Counsellors* had appeared in 1642: *The Levellers Lament'd: or, The Independents Conspiracy to root out Monarchy* (by 'Mercurius Pragmaticus,' i.e. Marchmont Nedham) in 1647: *The Famous Tragedy of King Charles I, New Market Fayre: or, A Parliamentary Outcry of State Commodities set to Sale. Part I. Printed at You May go Look and New Market Fayre: or, Mrs Parliament's New Fancies. Part II. Written by the Man in the Moon* in 1649. *The Tragical Actors: or, The Martyrdome of the Late King Charles* wherein Oliver's late falsehood, with the rest of his gang are (sic) described in their several actions and stations (N.D.) may also be previous to 1660.



hopes he's safe, and if his Sense is low,  
He can compound<sup>1</sup> for 't with a Dance and Show<sup>1</sup>,

things likely to appeal to unsophisticated tradespeople. The following year, in *Marriage A-la-Mode* (Theatre Royal Company at Lincoln's Inn Fields, 1672), Dryden echoed the same cry<sup>2</sup>, and from his prologue we gather that the city folks were treating the King's company worse than the rival house. Even the actresses lost their loathing for mere merchants and one bright damsel extended to the city men a charming invitation in the Epilogue to Wycherley's *The Gentleman Dancing-Master* (Dorset Garden, 1672),

You good men o' th' *Exchange*, on whom alone  
We must depend, when Sparks to Sea are gone;  
Into the Pit already you are come,  
'Tis but a Step more to our Tying room;  
Where none of us but will be wondrous sweet  
Upon an able Love of *Lumber-street*<sup>3</sup>.

This, however, is all that we have to show for a forty years' period of intrigue and of scheming foreign policy.

The political plays of the Restoration fall naturally into several well-defined groups, in accordance with three great events in contemporary political history, events which profoundly stirred public opinion. The first group to be discussed is that which was concerned chiefly with the fall of the Commonwealth and the Restoration of the Monarchy. It may be dated from c. 1660 to c. 1665.

During this first period of political enthusiasm the one thing that the dramatists remembered was their erstwhile imprisonments and whippings: to avenge which they turned the lash of their scorn on the Commonwealth and on all connected with it. The political plays of the period commence with Tatham's *The Rump: or, The Mirrour of the Late Times* (1659-60)<sup>4</sup> and with *A Phanatick Play. The First Part. As it was presented before and by the Lord Fleetwood, Sir Arthur Hasilrig, Sir Henry Vane, the Lord Lambert and others, last Night, with Master Jester and Master Pudding* (1659-60)<sup>5</sup>. The latter is merely a

<sup>1</sup> Prologue.

<sup>2</sup> Prologue. Referring to the fact that 'our city friends' would 'hardly come so far' he says:

They can take up with Pleasures nearer Home.  
And see gay Shows and gawdy Scenes elsewhere;  
For we presume they seldom come to hear.

The Duke's company, it must be remembered, had just then moved to their new theatre in Dorset Garden, leaving the smaller house at Lincoln's Inn Fields to their rivals.

<sup>3</sup> I.e. Lombard-street.

<sup>4</sup> This play was produced at Dorset Court. It was entered to J. and R. Bloome on 23rd August, 1660. Pepys bought a copy of it in November.

<sup>5</sup> This is dated in MS. as March, 1659 (i.e. 1659-60) in the Bodleian copy (Wood 615 (23)). There was no second part.

six page pamphlet, but the former is a fairly well-wrought and readable play. In it Lady Lambert's ambition and folly are quite well portrayed, while some of the other characters are not ill drawn: In 1682 it furnished the basis of Mrs Behn's *The Roundheads*<sup>1</sup>.

These two plays were speedily followed by others, of which *Cromwell's Conspiracy. A Tragy-Comedy. Relating to our latter Times. Beginning at the Death of King Charles the First, And ending with the happy Restauration of King Charles the Second. Written by a Person of Quality* appeared in 1660. This Person of Quality was evidently a scholar, for his whole play is plentifully scattered with mythological references. Cromwell is made in it a thorough expert in the classics: witness the following:

My fine facetious Devil,  
Who wearst the Livery of the *Stygian* God  
As the white Emblem of thy Innocence,  
Hast thou prepar'd a pithy formal Speech  
Against the essence and the power of Kings?  
That when tomorrow all my *Myrmidons*  
Do meet on *Onslow-heath*,  
Like the *Greek* Exorcist, Renowned *Calchas*...  
By thy insinuating persuasive Art  
Their Hearts may move like Reeds...<sup>2</sup>

Nor are his followers to be beaten. Peters cries to him,

Most valiant and invincible Commander,  
Whose name's as terrible to the *Royallists*,  
As ere was *Huniades* to the *Turks*....  
The Ancients fam'd *Alcides* for his Acts;  
Thou hast not slain but tane the Kingly Lion,  
And like great *Tamberlaine* with his *Bajazet*,  
Can'st render him within an Iron Cage,  
A spectacle of Mirth<sup>3</sup>.

Even Lady Lambert is affected by the atmosphere around her. 'You are as valliant my dear Sir,' she assures Oliver, 'In those soft Scirmishes which *Venus* doth expect, as in those deeds of death which *Mars* approves as Heroick in his Tents<sup>4</sup>.' This play, written in five short acts, is very ambitious, for it traces the history of the Commonwealth from Cromwell's seizure of power to the arrival of Monk, who, it may be noted, in all Stuart drama of the age, is represented as a true and glorious Cavalier, not as the time-server he really was. The execution of Charles is introduced *coram populo* in Act II, scene iv: Cromwell's intrigues with Lady Lambert are wrought out in Act III:

<sup>1</sup> Noticeable is the terrible Scots dialect of Lord Stoneware, a dialect that had already appeared in Jocky and Billy, the two Scots beggars in Tatham's *The Scots Figgaries: or, A Knot of Knaves* (1652) and in the Scots Mountebank of *The Distracted State* (1651, written 1641).

<sup>2</sup> Act I, scene i.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.*

<sup>4</sup> Act III.



in Act IV, scene i, is a high court of justice, followed in Act IV, scene v, by the execution of Sir Henry Slingsby. In Act v, scene i, Cromwell is *discovered sick on his bed, Raving, his wife by him*, and subsequently dies: while Monk, after a wordy proclamation, appears in person at the close (Act v, scene iii).

Reverting to earlier affairs, *The Heroick-Lover: or, The Infanta of Spain* (1661) of George Cartwright, 'of Fullham Gent.<sup>1</sup>' presents a fictitious story which introduces a Polish king, who foolishly gives much power into the hands of a Cardinal who, in his turn, extorts money from the people. Zorates and Selucius plan a revolt and strive to get the Admiral to join them. He, however, treats their proposals with scorn:

Your Doctrine is of Devils: I fear to name  
The words which you have utter'd, without shame.  
That I shoo'd help, for to correct the King,  
Were he the worst, of any living thing!  
Or were his Royal soul, more black then Hell,  
Far be't in me, such wickedness shoo'd dwell...  
To us, who cannot judge of common things,  
Does not belong the judgement of great Kings.  
They shoo'd be like Stars, seated in the sky,  
Far from our reach, though seeming near our eye<sup>2</sup>.

The Admiral probably is Hyde, the Cardinal evidently Laud, and Zorates and Selucius most likely shadow the historical figures of Pym and Hampden. The historical reference is largely intensified by the verses appended at the close: *Upon Hells High-Commission Court, set to judge the King. Jan. 1648*, and *Upon the horrid and unheard of Murther, of Charles the First...the 30th of Janu., 1648*.

In the same year, 1661, appeared two other anti-Puritan productions, one, *The Presbyterian Lash: or, Noctroff's Maid Whipt. A Traggy-Comedy. As it was lately Acted in the Great Roome at the Pye Tavern at Aldgate By Noctroffe the Priest, and Severall of his parishoners at the eating of a chine of Beefe. The first Part. London. Printed for the use of Mr Noctroff's friends, and are to be sold at the Pye at Aldgate* (1661), and the other, *Hells Higher Court of Justice: or, The Triall of The Three Politick Ghosts, viz.: Oliver Cromwell, King of Sweden, and Cardinal Mazarine* (1661). The first of these, which may be by Francis Kirkman<sup>3</sup>, is merely a satire in thirteen scenes on Zachary Crofton, introducing numerous not unamusing hits at Puritans in the bye-play. Among the dramatis personae occur 'Light, a Taylor' and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. title-page.

<sup>2</sup> Act II, scene iii. For similar sentiments see *infra* p. 241.

<sup>3</sup> The Dedication is signed K.F., cf. MS. note in Bodleian copy (Malone 202).



'*Forger*, a Usurer,' 'two hot-headed Presbyters,' as well as '*Carp*, a Brewer' and '*Denwall*, a Joyner,' 'Churchwardens and Cavaliers.' *Hells Higher Court of Justice*<sup>1</sup> is more ambitious. Besides the three 'Politick Ghosts' mentioned in the title-page there is introduced all the hierarchy of Hell, from Pluto, 'the Great Devil,' to Charon 'Ferry man of *Hell*' and Pug 'a little Devil.' The chief and most interesting figure, however, is none of these but 'the Ghost of *Machiavel*,' repentant now for all the evil he has wrought. 'Miserable me!' he cries,

How are men wise too late? too late consider?  
Alas! I thought that then my glory which  
I now find my guilt<sup>2</sup>.

Cromwell is but Machiavelli redivivus and the play ends on a familiar moral:

May all ambition cease, cursed ambition  
The spawn of all imaginable sins,  
And let all high flown spirits still remember  
That whilst they Crowns and Septers strive to gain  
They purchase to themselves eternal pain.

In 1663 and 1664 appeared other unacted plays of a political and religious cast. *The Unfortunate Usurper* (1663) is an anonymous production, confessedly political. 'Let *Nevill*,' says the Epilogue,

Let *Nevill*, *Lambert*, *Vane*, and all that Crew  
To their usurping Power bid Adieu,  
Those Meteors must vanish, *Charles* our Sun,  
Having in *England's* Zodiack begun  
His Course...  
True Monarchy's supported by our play.

On the whole, however, it is dull, and the political parallel does not contain overmuch of interest. In the year following was issued a similar 'tragedy' entitled *The Ungrateful Favourite. Written by a Person of Honour* (1664)<sup>3</sup>, which centres mainly around the egotistical scheming of *Terrae Filius*, 'an unknown person fancied by the Prince for his rare parts and qualities, and by him advanced to highest Dignities.' The plot is complicated by the timorous restlessness of the old King, fearful of his son's popularity. About the same date, or a trifle earlier, was issued *A New Play Call'd The Pragmatical Jesuit new-leven'd. A Comedy* (undated), written by Richard Carpenter, a clergyman converted from the Roman to the English Church, a play that leads us from the first group of anti-Puritan productions to the anti-Catholic productions of a decade later. Carpenter's play has no value whatsoever as a drama, and but little other interest attaches

<sup>1</sup> Not *Hell's High Court of Justice* as it has hitherto been quoted.

<sup>2</sup> Act I, scene i.

<sup>3</sup> Licensed May 11, 1664.

to it. There is the obvious satire on priests, coupled with a few sly digs at alchemy and alchemists, Galen junior, 'a Physitian' and Agrippa, 'a Conjurer,' being introduced in person.

Apart from these plays, several more or less pertinent political references occur in various acted dramas of the time, for even in 1663, Dryden's allusions in *The Wild Gallant* (Theatre Royal in Bridges Street, 1663) to 'the *Rump Act*<sup>1</sup>, and to 'the *Rump time*<sup>2</sup>, to the 'decimated Cavalier<sup>3</sup>, and to the 'gude *Scotch Kivenant*<sup>4</sup>' were by no means out of date. The old members of the Sequestration Committee and the hypocritical Puritans formed a fitting butt for the liberated wits of the gay and reckless court poets of the time. It may be noted, however, that not all the dramatists saw only one side of the question. Cowley, in *Cutter of Coleman Street* (Lincoln's Inn Fields, 1661)<sup>5</sup>, besides ridiculing the Commonwealth men and women, in *Fear-the-Lord Barebottle* and in *Mistress Tabitha*, saw fit to satirise the self-styled captains and colonels among the Cavaliers, introducing for this purpose the rascals *Cutter* and *Worm*. A similar pair, *Billboe* and *Titere-Tu*, this time 'the one usurping the name of a major, the other of a captain,' appear in Wilson's *The Cheats* (Theatre Royal in Bridges Street, 1662), and may take their origin from Cowley's 'Hectors.' In *The Old Troop: or, Monsieur Raggou* (Theatre Royal in Bridges Street, 1665) of *Lacy*, the Cavalier troopers are made plunderers and ravishers, the only excuse which the author makes for them being that while they have their faults enormity exists in the other camp. These, however, are but stray expressions of individual opinion and when *Etheredge* in *The Comical Revenge: or, Love in a Tub* (Lincoln's Inn Fields, 1664) says of Sir Thomas Cully that he was 'one whom *Oliver*...has dishonoured with Knighthood,' and presents in Sir Frederick and others of his Cavalier characters images of Restoration refinement, he was but voicing the prevalent feeling of his caste. In any case, *Lacy* and *Wilson* were by blood, if not by profession, allied to the side of the Parliament.

By far the best satire of the whole period, however, was *The Committee* of Sir Robert Howard, which made its appearance at the Theatre Royal in Vere Street in 1662. In it the brother-in-law of Dryden lashed with his scorn the Sequestration Committee under which so many Cavaliers had suffered. In *Mr and Mrs Day and Abel* he delineated with a sure and witty pen the hypocrisy attributed to so

<sup>1</sup> Act i.

<sup>2</sup> Act III, scene i.

<sup>3</sup> Act II, scene i.

<sup>4</sup> Act iv.

<sup>5</sup> This play was a new version of *The Guardian*, acted 1641. Its scene is 'London, in the year 1658.'

many of the Puritan zealots: while in Colonels Blunt and Careless he displayed the happy-go-lucky honesty that the more idealistic followers of the Stuarts loved to fancy in themselves. *The Committee* was an instant success, and in the character of 'Teg' or Teague, Careless' Irish servant, Lacy, whom we have but now mentioned, won an apparently deserved fame. This play was the last purely political drama of the first period. Satire of Cromwell and of his satellites, though it crops up occasionally later, palled after 1665. The Puritan age, the continental exile, the Rump—all were forgotten, and we cannot trace many references to these later than this date. Edward Howard seems to have been about the last to make a 'political parallel' relating to the Commonwealth, when in *The Usurper* (Theatre Royal in Bridges Street, 1664)<sup>1</sup> he shadowed Cromwell under the disguise of Damocles, Hugh Peters under that of Hugo de Petra, and, possibly, Monk under that of Cleomenes<sup>2</sup>.

The second group of political plays may be dated 1679–1685. We have seen how in *The Pragmatical Jesuit new-leven'd* Carpenter had aimed a blow at the Church of Rome. This play is a sort of prelude to a fierce and wordy war in the playhouses of London, for the struggle between Catholic and Protestant is the keynote to this period, as well in drama as in domestic history. Between the last anti-Puritan plays of 1664/5 and 1679, with a single exception, only one political play may be mentioned—and that is the anonymous *The Religious Rebel: or, The Pilgrim-Prince* (1671). The scene is Germany of the eleventh century and presents to us Hildebrand (Gregory VII) as a self-seeking villain passing to the papal chair over a sea of murder and poison. The political dramatists of 1679–1685 did not for the most part go so far back in history: they took their characters from living friars and from prominent Whigs of their own time. If we seek for the source of their inspiration we shall find it in the stirring events which were being enacted in the reign of the first recalled Stuart. As has already been mentioned none of the dramatists was affected by the intricate foreign policy which was being woven during this period. Their attention centred on three problems which were closely associated one with another, all of which were questions of domestic policy. These concerned the Catholics, the Whig party and Shaftesbury. Even a slight acquaintance with the events connected with these suffices to show the abundance of material which was lying

<sup>1</sup> Pepys saw this play on January 2nd, 1663/4.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Genest, *Some Account of the English Stage*, I, 72.



to hand for any dramatist on the search for subject matter of contemporary interest.

As far as the religious question goes, the plays may be divided into two groups—those of the Court party, written mainly by Mrs Behn, D'Urfey, and Banks, and those of the Protestants, supplied for the most part by Settle, Shadwell, and Dryden. Bitterness marks the utterance of both. The Protestants led off with *The Excommunicated Prince: or, The False Pelique. A Tragedy. As it was Acted by His Holiness's Servants. Being the Popish Plot in a Play. By Captain William Bedloe* (1679). This piece, which has been attributed to Thomas Walter, does not deal with the subject implied in the title-page—indeed 'the Popish Plot in a Play' appears to have been added by an enterprising but unscrupulous publisher in order to excite interest and to augment his sales. The whole is written in rhyme, but rhyme of such a character that the author has to use as couplets within the first half-page such pairs as 'now' and 'know,' 'know' and 'too,' 'shun' and 'alone,' 'sooth' and 'smooth,' 'hand' and 'commend,' 'crown' and 'one.' It is but a poor piece of work, introducing Teimurazer a 'Prince of Georgia, excommunicated by the Pope'; Morinus and Brizander, 'Friends to the Prince, and Zealous for the establish't Religion and Government,' and Piazer, 'a Divine of the Grecian Church: A fierce Preacher and Writer against the *Papists*, most unmercifully Murther'd by some of the Conspirators.' The plot is uninteresting, with the religious bias truly felt.

The year following appeared Settle's truly awful, but in a way effective, *The Female Prelate: Being the History of the Life and Death of Pope Joan* (Drury Lane, 1680)<sup>1</sup>. Dedicated to the Earl of Shaftesbury, it drew a storm of enthusiasm from the Whigs, who contributed to make it a success. The old discredited medieval legend is raked up by the author in all its fulness. The plot is simple, but affords many opportunities for anti-Catholic propaganda. Pope Joan, masquerading as a man, falls in love with the Duke of Saxony, whose wife, Angeline, is being tempted by the Pope's companion, Lorenzo. The married couple remaining faithful to one another, both are thrown into prison. There a fire, a favourite Restoration scenical device, occurs, and the Pope, who had come in the dark to the Duke, and Lorenzo, who had come to Angeline as her husband, are discovered. Angeline dies of shame and a broken heart, while the Duke is ordered to be burnt. At the critical juncture, however, Joan is publicly discovered and is hurried off to torture and death. With all his Ford-like skill in horrors, Settle

<sup>1</sup> Licensed Sept. 1680.

works up the lusts and cruelty that lay behind so much of the outward-seeming piousness of the Roman, and particularly of the Jesuit, clergy.

In 1681 the battle was joined in earnest, the anti-Catholics producing four plays and the anti-Whigs a couple. Of the former, *The Spanish Fryar: or, The Double Discovery* (Dorset Garden, 1681) is by Dryden. The satire in it is not very bitter, but the attack on priests was not passed over silently, although, peculiarly enough, Charles himself defended it against its detractors<sup>1</sup>.

Condemned also by the Court party as a satire on the clergy was the *Thyestes* (Drury Lane, 1681) of Crowne, for even when the subject of a play went back to ancient Grecian times, contemporary references and parallels could be introduced. 'We shewed you,' says the Epilogue,

We shewed you in the Priests today, a true  
And perfect Picture of old *Rome* and new....

*Thyestes*, however, as a political and religious production, fades into insignificance when we come to consider the anonymous *Romes Follies: or, The Amorous Fryars...As it was Lately Acted at a Person of Qualitie's House* (1681) and of Shadwell's well-known *The Lancashire Witches, and Tegue o Divelly The Irish Priest. Part the First* (Dorset Garden, 1681). The former of these is wholly concerned with the evils of the Roman religion and deals with the amorous plots of priests and Italian ladies. In it the Pope appears in person, along with the ghosts of five of his predecessors. Poor Shadwell, on the other hand, because he had not sensibly confined his satire to the Catholics, but had applied his caustic brush to the character of Smerk, the sneaking Church of England clergyman, as well, fell into disfavour with both parties, and had a fair portion of his comedy eliminated by the censor. Apart from this, Shadwell's play is interesting for the witchcraft scenes and for the elaborate 'Notes upon the Magick' appended to Acts I, II and III<sup>2</sup>. The best individual characters are those of Teague and Smerk.

In the meantime had appeared Mrs Behn's *The City Heiress: or, Sir Timothy Treat-all* (Dorset Garden, 1682) more indecent than was that authoress' wont, and containing a very loyal attack upon all Commonwealthmen and 'true blue Protestants' of the Sir Timothy Treat-all type. The plot itself is not a particularly brilliant or moral one, and

<sup>1</sup> Dryden had previously indicated his contempt for the priesthood, notably in his alteration of *Troilus and Cressida*, where Calchas, from being a 'priest' is made a 'rascally rogue Priest' who is good for nothing but keeping a mistress and living uxoriously on the fruits of his 'Coz'nage.'

<sup>2</sup> See E. Amman, *Analysis of Thomas Shadwell's Lancashire witches* (Bern, 1905).



certainly, if Mrs Behn intended us to admire Tom Wilding as contrasted with his uncle, she has not well succeeded. A man who seduces a girl who loves him, passes her off in marriage when he has finished with her to his best friend, and imposes a still older cast mistress of his own on his uncle, may have been in the taste of the Restoration—he assuredly is not in ours.

The other Court reply to the anti-Catholic slanders of Dryden and of Settle was D'Urfey's *Sir Barnaby Whigg: or, No Wit like a Woman's* (Dorset Garden, 1681). It is a purely party play in which Wilding, Townly and Livia are contrasted with Sir Barnaby, a 'Phanatical Rascal, one of *Oliver's* Knights.'

1682 saw a turn in the tide. The Court party were now in the ascendant. Dryden and Lee's *The Duke of Guise* (Drury Lane, 1682) was written in their favour, but seems to have been looked on dubiously by both parties. It certainly raised a tumult enough. Shadwell and others commenced to attack it, and to those attacks Dryden replied with *The Vindication: or, The Parallel of the French Holy League and the English League and Covenant*. As a play it is fairly good, although marred by the introduction of Melanax, a spirit, some devils, and Malicorne, a sorcerer.

On the side of the Court, Mrs Behn again proved herself redoubtable, for in 1682 appeared her rehashing of *The Rump* as *The Round Heads: or, The Good Old Cause* (Dorset Garden, 1682) with many additions to hit at recent events. The Prologue and the Epilogue openly show the ultra-loyal, ultra-tory attitude adopted by this authoress, although the play as a whole is too much of an adaptation to be considered as an individual production.

A new writer, however, now moved into the political arena in the person of John Banks, whose *Vertue Betray'd: or, Anna Bullen* appeared at Dorset Garden in 1682. The Prologue and the Epilogue, it is true, are directed against political factions in plays, but the development of the plot reveals the strong royalism of the author. The play closes on a note of divine right:

A Prince can do no Ill!...

For Heav'n ne're made a King, but made him just.

One anonymous comedy also was put forward to aid the opponents of the Whigs, *Mr Turbulent: or, The Melanchollicks* (Dorset Garden, 1682), a play reissued three years later as *The Factious Citizen: or, The Melancholy Visioner* (1685)<sup>1</sup>. Timothy Turbulent is 'one that

<sup>1</sup> This fact has so far been overlooked. The second play alone is chronicled in *Biographia Dramatica*.



hates all sorts of Government and Governours, and is always railing against the Times,' having as his creature one Rabsheka Sly, 'a private Sinner, and Railer against the Times.' Abednego Suck-Thumb is the 'Melancholy Visioner' and Priscilla, a Quaker. As may be realised, the whole piece deals in vivid, if somewhat coarse, satire of the Whigs.

Crowne's *The City Politiques* (Drury Lane, 1683)<sup>1</sup> appeared in the following year. Practically wholly political, it yet weaves into the satiric web the story of Florio's love for Rosaura, Paulo Camillo's wife, and of Artall's for Lucinda, wife of Bartoline. General as the limning of Whig tendencies is, the play, linking itself with a group later to be discussed, springs from the impeachment of Shaftesbury, who is represented here as Camillo, the old Podesta. Other characters too have been identified: Bartoline, 'an old Counsellor' who 'is very old, and very rich, and yet follows the Term, as if he were to begin the World,' has been conjectured to be Sergeant Maynard or Aaron Smith, Dr Panchy to be Titus Oates, and the Bricklayer to be Stephen Colledge, 'the Protestant joiner,' who was brought to trial in 1682.

The whole controversy of this the second period of political dramatic production ends with the year 1685, when appeared *The Rampant Alderman: or, News from the Exchange*<sup>2</sup>, and Dryden's much more ambitious opera entitled *Albion and Albanus* (Dorset Garden, 1685). The first deals with an old Whig alderman, friend to 'Doctor Oats' who 'squeaks Sedition to him in the Coffee-House' and to Doctor Olyfist, a man who is outwitted in love and finance by the gay young Wilding and the witty Cornelia. It was never acted. Dryden's play is not only more interesting intrinsically but had a more exciting history. Written with a heavy political bias for the Court (Dryden had by this time swung round from his anti-Catholic opinions) it designed to trace in allegorical wise the reign of Charles from the Restoration to the date of production. It was so put on rehearsal: but, unfortunately for the laureate, Charles died before its public performance, and Dryden was compelled to alter it so as to introduce the character of Albanus, i.e. James. It was staged at the Theatre Royal, probably on the 3rd of June, but ill-luck dogged its footsteps. On the sixth night of production, June 13th, news of Monmouth's landing came to London and the ill-fated thing was laid to

<sup>1</sup> The date has long remained in doubt. A. W. Ward placed it as 1673: *Biographia Dramatica* as 1675, Maidment and Logan as 1688. Genest's supposition of 1683 is in all likelihood correct. The play appears in *The Term Catalogues* for May of that year (cf. *The Term Catalogues*, ed. Arber, II, 17).

<sup>2</sup> *The Rampant Alderman* was entered in the Stationers' Register on August 30th, 1684, and is catalogued in *The Term Catalogues* in November of the same year (*The Term Catalogues*, ed. Arber, II, 99).

an untimely rest<sup>1</sup>. The company, which had been to great expense about scenery, lost, we are told, a considerable amount of money over it.

Allegorical as the whole is, it is comparatively easy to distinguish the various figures. Albion is quite plainly Charles, and Albanus has already been identified as James, while Archon is quite as evidently Monk. The places too are given symbolical names: Augusta is London, we are told in the list of persons: Thamesis is self-explanatory: Democracy is the Republican Party: Zelota is 'Feign'd Zeal': Acacia, Innocence: and Asebia, 'Atheism, or Ungodliness.' It was certainly to be regretted for Dryden's sake that so ingenious a plan after such a mighty coat-turning, should have been unsuccessful.

Along with the general satire of the Whigs, as we have seen, went a very particular satire of the leader of the Whigs, the Earl of Shaftesbury. Already in 1674 Payne, in *The Siege of Constantinople* (Dorset Garden, 1674), seems to have been aiming at him in his character of the Chancellor, and shows his opinion of him when he leaves him at the end *Empal'd*. Real, definite abuse, however, did not start till Dryden produced his *Mr Limberham: or, The Kind Keeper* at Dorset Garden in 1678. In it he seems to have aimed at the prominent Whig leader in the title character<sup>2</sup>. *Shaf?*

For the sake of art, one political reference in the Restoration drama is to be deeply regretted, and that is the introduction of Antonio (Shaftesbury again) into Otway's *Venice Preserv'd: or, A Plot Discover'd* (Dorset Garden, 1682). Antonio is an old weak sensual senator (the counterpart of Mr Limberham) who loves Aquilina, the mistress of Pierre, and who is duly put to shame by the latter. In the same year Shaftesbury was honoured by being placed in two other fairly well-known plays, Southern's *The Loyal Brother: or, The Persian Prince* (Drury Lane, 1682), and D'Urfey's *The Royalist* (Dorset Garden, 1682). Both are bitterly anti-Whig in tendency. The first, which is a tragedy, introduces Shaftesbury as Ismail and the Duke of York as Tachmas. The latter is represented as the noble brother and loyal general, in the end granted by his sovereign, Seliman, the head of Semanthe. As a whole it is not a bad production, although in places one is inclined to agree with the Epilogue:

Though Nonsense is a nauseous heavy Mass,  
The Vehicle call'd Faction makes it pass.

*The Royalist* is a comedy, and seems to have been well received, although

<sup>1</sup> Downes, *Roscius Anglicanus, or, an Historical Review of the English Stage...* (1708), p. 55.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Ward, *op. cit.* III, 373. The satire was also applied to Lauderdale.



there is a hint to the contrary in the Preface<sup>1</sup>. Its scene is London of Commonwealth times, in which members of the Sequestration Committee make still another appearance. Again, for the ideals of the time, Sir Oliver Old-Cut and Sir Charles Kinglove may be contrasted. Grasping and weak-willed as the former is, he is not so brutal or so heartless as the latter, who, although he has sworn the most fervent vows to Phillida and has apparently meant them, sins with the old man's wife, Camilla. In the dramas of the Restoration, the Cavaliers assuredly were condemned out of their own mouths.

Just as from 1667-9 there had come a reaction in political sentiment, at least in so far as political sentiment was expressed in tragedy, comedy or farce, so from the death of Charles to the advent of the Revolution there is a serious gap—a gap, however, that led to an even greater output than before.

The main body of theatrical pieces with a political bias centre, naturally, around the defeat of James and the coming of William. It follows inevitably that the questions which had been prominent in the earlier period should still be the source of inspiration for dramatic writers, since the policy of James was throughout his reign closely bound up with the Catholic cause, while William was by the very nature of events in active relationship with the Whig party.

Our old friend Crowne, whom we last saw attacking the party of Shaftesbury, opened the battle by producing in 1689 *The English Friar: or, The Town Sparks* (Drury Lane, 1689), a severe satire on the Catholic party. Its dedication to the Earl of Devonshire displays its political tendency. In Lord Wiseman, Crowne presents his ideal of the strong sane Englishman, Protestant and opposed to all the 'knaveish tricks' of courtiers and priests. In Lord Stanley he shows the evils of temporising. Lord Stanley is a Protestant, but, seeking advancement from the court, he keeps in with Father Finical, a rascally Jesuit, 'Bishop *in partibus infidelium*'—a satirical portrait possibly aimed at John Leyburn, whom Innocent had, at the advice of James, sent to England as Bishop of Adrumetum. The most excellent scene of the whole comedy is that in Act v, scene iii, where, with very perverse logic, this Father argues with Pansy regarding the question of sin. Crowne, it may be remarked, may have owed a trifle for his principal character to the *Tartuffe* of Molière<sup>2</sup>: while he, in turn, gave Cibber the basis of his later famous or infamous *Non-juror* (Drury Lane, 1717).

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Genest, *Some Account of the English Stage* (1830), I, 355.

<sup>2</sup> *Tartuffe* had been translated by Medbourne in 1670.



Crowne's attack was followed up in 1690 by Shadwell in *The Amorous Bigotte: with the Second Part of Tegue O Dively* (Drury Lane, 1690), in which he mingles satire of the Catholic priest with a story of Spanish intrigue. Teague, like his brothers in faith, Father Dominick and Father Finical, ends by being exposed before the audience in all his rottenness. *The Folly of Priestcraft* (1690), an anonymous and unacted comedy, appeared likewise in the same year, but beyond its general attack upon the Church, deserves little attention.

Cruel, and largely unfair, satire of priests appears also in *The Siege and Surrender of Mons. A Tragi-Comedy. Exposing the Villainy of the Priests, and the Intrigues of the French* (1691)<sup>1</sup>, which was answered the same year by *The Bragadocio: or, The Bawd turn'd Puritan. A New Comedy. By a Person of Quality* (1691), in which is introduced the character of Sir Popular Jealous, 'A Seditious Magistrate that Patronises the People only to serve his own ends of 'em,' the direct descendant of Sir Barnaby Whig and Mr Turbulent.

The years 1690 to 1693, however, are richest by far in direct theatrical reference to the stirring months of James's flight and Irish defeat. *The Banished Duke: or, The Tragedy of Infortunatus* was played in 1690 at Drury Lane. It is a kind of political allegory, very thinly disguised, aimed directly at the Catholics and the Stuart Court. '*Romanus*, King of *Albion*' is clearly James; '*Infortunatus*, Nephew to King *Romanus*, Banish'd for pretending Right to the Crown' is as evidently Monmouth. '*Petrus Impostor*, a Jesuit, Father Confessor to Queen *Papissa*' reveals Father Peters, while *Papissa* herself, 'a Rigid Catholick, and Queen to King *Romanus*,' is Mary of evil fame. '*Manlius Clericus*, Chaplain in Ordinary to King *Romanus*,' in all probability represents that Henry Compton, Bishop of London, who was excluded from the Privy Council in 1686. The whole of this play is written in rhyme, and the effect of all the elements of the older heroic tragedy, when applied to living, if allegorised, persons, is somewhat ludicrous. Queen *Papissa* is just the old sensual, imperious empress of evil who had appeared in Dryden and Settle twenty years previously. 'What plots of Wit,' she cries,

What Plots of Wit, and Stratagems of War,  
In Brains quite void of Sence, do you prepare?  
I am great *Albion's* stately head, and can  
Out-wit the Projects of an Ancient Man.  
Without your Aid I quickly will pull down  
All *Hereticks* before my Royal Crown.

<sup>1</sup> Licensed on April 23rd, 1691, and entered in *The Term Catalogues* for November, 1691 (ed. Arber, II, 381).

My Subjects I will to Subjection bring;  
 I'm their whole Queen, and will be half their King.  
 I'll wear Royal Breeches, and I'll make  
     *(Throweth by her Gown, and sheweth a Pair*  
     *of Scarlet Breeches.)*

All Protestants to tremble and to quake.  
 And if *Romanus* you offended be,  
 I'll snatch the Sword and rule the Monarchy.  
 The *Roman Church* in *Albion* I'll advance,  
 I'll have but one Religion as in *France*:  
 I'll tame my stubborn Subjects till they know  
 The flaming fury of a Popish Foel<sup>1</sup>.

Following this, appeared four or five plays which it is just possible were written by one man. The first of these is *The Abdicated Prince: or, The Adventures of Four Years. As it was lately Acted at the Court of Alba Regalis By several Persons of Great Quality* (1690). In this play James appears under the less complimentary title of Cullydada, which is a compound of Cully and Dadda. D'Adda, as we shall see, was papal nuncio, and Cully, as defined in John Kersey's *Dictionarium Anglo-Britanicum* (1708), is 'Milk-Sop, one that may be easily led by the Nose, or put upon.' '*Philodemus*, Duke of *Monumora*,' is Monmouth; *Hauteselia* is Mary; *Pietro* is Father Peters. *Barbarossa* is probably George Jeffries and Count *Dadamore* is quite plainly Ferdinand D'Adda, who had come with the above-mentioned John Leyburn as acting, if not titular, papal nuncio. This play, it may be remarked, is among the few Restoration political dramas chronicled and described by Sir A. W. Ward<sup>2</sup>.

By the same author confessedly was penned *The Bloody Duke: or, The Adventures for a Crown. As it was Acted at the Court of Alba Regalis, By several Persons of Great Quality* (1690), in which James masquerades as '*Androgynes*, King of *Hungary*.' Monmouth is Caligula, his brother, while *Remarquo*, who is the only character common to both plays, may be Halifax. It introduces, like the former, a vast amount of Court gossip, but is not so intrinsically interesting.

From the style and printing<sup>3</sup> one would be inclined to attribute *The Late Revolution: or, The Happy Change. As it was Acted throughout the English Dominions in the Year 1688. Written by a Person of Quality* (1690), to the author of both the above pieces. Like them it is described as a tragi-comedy: and one may note that it as well as *The Abdicated Prince* is mentioned at the end of *The Bloody Duke* as one of the trio of

<sup>1</sup> Act 1, scene ii.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* III, 294<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> All employed black letter frequently as well as italics. *The Abdicated Prince*, *The Bloody Duke* and *The Late Revolution* were all entered together in *The Term Catalogues*, May 1690 (ed. Arber, II, 313).



dramas giving 'a full Account of the private Intrigues of the Two last Reigns.' The characters of *The Late Revolution* are simpler than those of the two preceding plays. Among the men, Father Peters, who appears in person, alone has historical significance. Among his companions are '2 Popish Lords,' and 'Two Noble Lords, true Protestants, and good *Englishmen*.' The entire female caste consists of 'Popish Ladys, *Celiars*, the Popish Midwife' and 'Several Popish Whores.' Its plot deals mainly with the coming of the Prince of Orange as reflected in Catholic circles, and there is presented in Act v, scene vii, an interesting scene wherein Hot-Head, 'an Old *Cavaleer*,' and Friend Testimony, 'a *Parliament-Officer*,' meet to swear friendship—symbolical of the decay of the old Cromwellian disputes, and of the formation of new parties. The Prologue is also interesting as it is addressed to the players and attacks them for their Stuart sentiments, with special reference to the then recent production of Dryden's *Don Sebastian, King of Portugal* (Drury Lane, 1690):

Which abdicated Laureat brings  
In praise of Abdicated Kings.

In *The Royal Voyage: or, The Irish Expedition. Acted in the Years 1689 and 90* (1690), likewise a tragi-comedy, the old black letter is replaced by ordinary capitals, but again similarity of style and construction connects it with the author of *The Abdicated Prince*. 'The End of this Play,' says the Preface to the Reader, 'is chiefly to expose the Perfidious, Base, Cowardly, Bloody Nature of the *Irish*, both in this and all past Ages.' As might be expected, it is a very brutal and ugly play, ridiculous were it not that in its time it might have been believed.

*The Royal Flight: or, The Conquest of Ireland* (1690), on the other hand, is 'A New Farce' introducing King James and the Irish leaders in person. The best scene is that of Act I, scene iv, wherein is introduced 'Hall the Jesuit, and a Rabble of Priests, one carrying the Host and another Tinkling a Little Bell before 'em.'

1st Priest: *Mater Apostolorum, ora pro nobis (singing).*

2nd Priest: (*whispering to his companion*)—S'lfe joy make a great haste—for by my Shoule, joy, I have promis'd a Dear Joy to meet her by Twelve of the Clock.

1st Priest: By my Shoule, I'm in thy Condition—*Audi preces Nostras pro Domino Nostro Jacobo-bo—*

Towards the close of this theatrical pamphleteering came, in 1693, *The Royal Cuckold: or, Great Bastard: Giving an Account of the Birth and Pedigree of Lewis Le Grand, the First French King of that name and Race. As it is Acted by his Imperial Majesty's Servants at the Amphitheater in Vienna, translated out of the German Language, by Paul*



*Vergerius*. This, taken from a contemporary *Secret History of Lewis the Fourteenth*<sup>1</sup> and written mostly in prose, carries us back again to the events of 1688. 'Clodius Capo, the King of France' is James once more: 'Orlinus Brother to Capo, and Apparent Heir to the Crown is Monmouth, and 'Pedro Marcellus, Father Confessor to the Queen' is Father Peters. It is taken up almost entirely with the amorous and political intrigues of the Queen and with the birth of a bastard Prince of Wales. The additional information given on the title-page regarding its source and origin is, needless to say, spurious.

On the advent of William several of the dramatists were sufficiently temporising to fall in with the spirit of the times and court the new monarch fulsomely. Others, however, like their predecessors of the past two or three decades could not forget their ultra-monarchical sentiments so soon, and still craved for the full expression of the doctrine of divine right. Just as Crowne had cried in 1671:

Make him know it is a safer thing  
To blaspheme Heav'n, then to depose a King,

and

Titles of Kings are mysteries too high  
Above the reach of ev'ry vulgar eye<sup>2</sup>,

just as in 1674 Settle had declared that

he that's absolute, and depends on none,  
Is above Terror: and that Right alone  
Belongs to Kings. The life of Majesty,  
But one unalterable Scene should be,  
Unmov'd by storms, a walk of State, untrod  
By all but Kings, and boundless as a God<sup>3</sup>,

just as in 1675 Lee thought that

Kings, though they err, should never be arraign'd<sup>4</sup>,

so Mountford, in 1688, showed how concerned he was over the tendencies of the times. In his *The Injured Lovers: or, The Ambitious Father* (Drury Lane, 1688) Antelina, having been deflowered by the King, poisons him, whereupon her lover grows duly anxious:

*Rheus*: The Action troubles me, although I cannot live  
To see the Event: I wish thy sufferings may quit  
Thy Crimes, for Heaven has great regard to Princes.

*Antelina*: And has it none for injured Subjects think you?

*Rheus*: Not when they offer to Revenge themselves<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See Gildon's edition of Langbaine, p. 167.

<sup>2</sup> *The History of Charles the Eighth of France, or, The Invasion of Naples by the French* (Dorset Garden, 1671), Act I, scene i.

<sup>3</sup> *The Conquest of China, By the Tartars* (Drury Lane, 1674), Act II.

<sup>4</sup> *Sophonisba: or, Hannibal's Overthrow* (Drury Lane, 1675), Act III.

<sup>5</sup> Act V.

A similar episode occurs in *The Conquest of Spain* (Haymarket, 1705) by Mrs Pix, where Juliano, told by his fiancée, Jacinta, that she has been ravished by the King, cries out:

Saidst thou the King? Then all revenge is lost,  
And we must bear our heavy load of shame:  
Tamely as cowards I must bear this wrong:  
Nor once attempt to wash thy Stains in Blood<sup>1</sup>—

reminiscences of Restoration Court enthusiasm in the reign of Anne.

The tendency, however, aided by the sentimentalism so rapidly gaining way in the last decade of the seventeenth century and in the first of the eighteenth, was to support the limited monarchy of William. The union of the two sentiments is well seen in D'Urfey's comedy of *Love for Money: or, The Boarding School* (Drury Lane, 1691), which, one of the precursors of sentimentalism, is violently Williamite in politics. Crowne, likewise, continued to remain what he had become in 1689—an anti-Catholic and anti-Jacobite. In the Dedication of his *Caligula* (Drury Lane, 1698) to the Earl of Rumney, he eulogises in no mean terms the Revolution. This tendency in the age was no doubt intensified as William settled down to government, and particularly after the abortive Assassination Plot of 1696, which latter event is seen reflected in Dennis's comedy of *A Plot and no Plot* (Drury Lane, 1697), which is directed openly against the Jacobites. In no copy of it, however, which I have consulted, is there printed either of the subtitles mentioned by Sir A. W. Ward, 'Or Jacobite Credulity<sup>2</sup>,' or 'Jacobite Cruelty<sup>3</sup>.'

Many of the unacted plays mentioned here are worthless as specimens of literature; many even of those actually produced in the playhouses are unworthy of regard. Yet the theatre, more than any other form of artistic expression, is the reflection of an age: and no less than the Comedy of Manners or the Heroic Tragedy, do these political plays, of which I have endeavoured to give a very brief account, present to us in little the feelings that were aroused in the nation by the bitter struggle between Catholics and Protestants, between Whigs and Tories, between King and Parliament, for religious and political supremacy.

ALLARDYCE NICOLL.

LONDON.

<sup>1</sup> Act III.

<sup>2</sup> Ward, *op. cit.* III, 426.

<sup>3</sup> Ward, *op. cit.* III, 295, n. 6.

## THE HUMANISM OF FRANCIS JEFFREY.

SINCE 1894 Francis Jeffrey has been twice edited in selections in England and once in America, and in the same period he has been anatomized by a Harvard professor and by a Berlin seeker for the 'Doktorwürde.' By different ways all of the operators have ended in agreement with Professor Saintsbury that Jeffrey is underestimated, or, as one puts it, that modern neglect of him 'will never do.' Satisfied with that compliment, they have forsaken Jeffrey's relation to the larger movement of nineteenth-century literature to explain the peculiar nature, and limitations, of his judicial outlook on books. This is damning a critic with faint praise, and it promises to bring Jeffrey into neglect much more profound than that in which he has rested since Coleridge attacked him in the *Biographia*, and Carlyle dismissed him in the *Reminiscences* with the twice-incised stigma of being 'not a deep man.' The new criticism of Jeffrey and the old meet in the quotation by several recent editors of Lamb's thrust at 'the Caledonian intellect' which wrote about literature in the same way that it 'addressed twelve men on a jury.' Lamb showed the way to twentieth-century students in that happy fling at the Edinburgh reviews, thrown off in a smiling digression, and nothing really material has been said since. The emphasis is just where Lamb put it.

Jeffrey was the Platonist of nineteenth-century criticism, and that is all his claim to a present hearing. It is no part of my purpose to prove a Platonic 'influence' on Jeffrey, although that might not be impossible. The *Dialogues*, and especially the *Republic*, were a large part of the wide, desultory reading which brought him to a final resolution of his doubts in the long struggle with himself in Edinburgh between 1793 and the establishment of the *Review* ten years later<sup>1</sup>. In later life Plato was the ancient writer most often named in his letters. Carlyle tells us that mysticism was a word with which Jeffrey had no patience, and it was surely with that shibboleth that he condemned Wordsworth, but he recognized a kind of mysticism in the Platonic

<sup>1</sup> In a letter to Robert Morehead, November 26, 1796, he speaks of himself as reading at random 'letters from Scandinavia, a collection of curious observations upon Africa, Asia, and America, a book of old travel and an absurd French romance, Plato's *Republic*, and I don't know what besides.'



dialogues of which he always spoke with ardour. In a letter written in 1841<sup>1</sup> he mentions 'a paper about enthusiasm' by his friend Stephens, and adds, 'I cannot find anyone to like it except myself. But it certainly suits my *idiosyncrasy* (what do you think that is now?) singularly; and I am sure it is more like Plato, both in its lofty mysticism, and its sweet and elegant style, than anything of modern date.' All through his life the Platonic 'sweetness and elegance' of style was a delight and torment to Jeffrey. In the early letters from Oxford to his sister, preserved in Lord Cockburn's *Life*, letters full of boyish confidences about ambitions and disappointments, he talks of a determination to bring English prose back to a standard of delicacy and force which it had once almost reached, though not quite, in Addison's hands. Later he was to realize that Addison's 'flatness' fell far short of his ideal and to discover that no eighteenth-century man, and indeed no writer of prose in any period of English literature, altogether satisfied him. The untranslatable things in the Platonic *Dialogues* seem to have bewitched Jeffrey, though he was not a person subject to enchantments, and to have made him a very acute critic of prose, capable of vast enthusiasm over some specimens of it, but never quite able to forget that

...he on honey-dew had fed,  
And drunk the milk of Paradise.

Many have done lip-service to Plato's style, and English poetry, and even English criticism, have had several practitioners who have called themselves Platonists, but Jeffrey stands alone as the one man who accepted the final deliverance against poets in the *Republic* in just the way that it was intended to be understood. He never said anything about it, and he may not have been aware that he was a disciple, but his influence and originality as a critic were both due to his loyal faith to Plato's creed. 'What shall we do,' Plato asked, 'with a poet able by his genius, as he chooses, to become all things, or all persons, in turn, and able to transform us too into all things and persons in turn, as we choose, with a fluidity, a versatility of humour almost equal to his own?' And Jeffrey had no difficulty in answering with Plato that we, 'if he came to our city with his works, his poems, wishing to make an exhibition of them, should certainly do him reverence as an object sacred, wonderful, delightful, but should not let him stay. We should tell him that there neither is, nor may be, any one like that among us, and so send him on his way to some other city, having anointed his head with myrrh and crowned him with a garland of wool, as something in himself

<sup>1</sup> To Mrs Charles Innes, March 25, 1841.

half divine, and for ourselves we should make use of some more austere and less pleasing sort of poet, for his practical uses<sup>1</sup>.’ Platonism of this kind is a liberal creed, although it has had a reputation for bigotry in England ever since Gosson invoked it amiss and called down Sidney’s classic answer to its Puritan misapplication. From Sidney to Jeffrey it remained in abeyance. Perhaps without realizing the resemblance of his own general point of view to that of the *Republic*, or the extent to which the logical and ethical outlook of the *Dialogues* had influenced him, Jeffrey assumed Plato’s position, and in that was his originality as a critic. The force of that originality is only beginning to be appraised. It condemned Jeffrey to be a lover of minor writers, and to acrimonious warfare with some of the great ones. Unfortunately, he never learned to dismiss the great poets out of his commonwealth with their heads anointed with myrrh and crowned with a garland of wool.

To be wise, and eke to love,  
Is hardly given to gods above.

Jeffrey chose to be wise, and was seldom more than dimly aware that the poets whom he exiled from his modern Lacedaemon in the England of the Industrial Revolution were ‘something half divine.’

Herr Reiser’s dissertation<sup>2</sup>, already mentioned, devotes its space to a brilliant analysis of the sources of neo-classic and romantic thought woven into the *Edinburgh* criticism, and he is especially complete and suggestive in his pursuit of the origins of some of Jeffrey’s ideas in the eighteenth century. The result of his study is to reveal more strikingly than ever the range and freedom of Jeffrey’s eclecticism. The introductions to the selections from his essays by Professor Nichol Smith and Lewis E. Gates<sup>3</sup> point out the nice balance between his obligations to eighteenth and to nineteenth century thought, and in large outline they indicate the scope of his debt, which began with Addison and ended with Alison, while it could make room for Hazlitt, and in spite of a rather provincial cast, borrowed heavily from Mme De Stael and may even be suspected of having once or twice extended to A. W. Schlegel. Coleridge was the first to deny bluntly that any principle lay behind that eclecticism, and most writers since have followed Carlyle in the opinion that Jeffrey’s thinking lacked a pole. To the men of his own generation he always remained a superior literary hack, and his letters prove that even to himself he rose above that rank only very rarely.

<sup>1</sup> Pater’s paraphrase, *Plato and Platonism*, p. 249.

<sup>2</sup> Berlin, 1908.

<sup>3</sup> *Selections from the Essays of Francis Jeffrey*, by Lewis E. Gates. Ginn & Co., Boston, Massachusetts, 1894.



Carlyle's account of him in the all-night conversations at Craigheroon when he used to discuss so many subjects easily, fully, shrewdly, but never 'earnestly, though sometimes there was a look in his eyes as if he would have been earnest,' has left an impression of him as a clever man, and 'a veracious little gentleman,' but no thinker. And so his reviews are usually thought of as a cento of neo-classical conservatism and contemporary confusion in matters of taste, but uninformed by any kind of coherent principle, or strongly original purpose. The truth is just the reverse of that impression, as Jeffrey himself would have been prompt to admit. Really a very simple principle inspired his criticism, and for want of a better name, it might as well be called Platonism; Platonism with the peculiar twist that Jeffrey gave to it.

Summing up his opinions of his work in the preface to the collected *Edinburgh* essays in 1850, Jeffrey wrote briefly in defence of his own originality, and made his regular claim to a place among English critics. The sentences are formal and repellent; there is none of the intimate, spontaneous glow about them which sometimes glimmers for a moment in the best passages in the essays, and often amounts to real charm in his letters. But perhaps no less weight should be attached to them for all their coldness. The essential part of them is this:

If I might be permitted farther to state, in what particular department, and generally, on account of what, I should wish to claim a share of those merits (i.e. of the honours of a contributor to the development of criticism), I should certainly say, that it was by having constantly endeavoured to combine Ethical precepts with Literary Criticism, and earnestly sought to impress my readers with a sense, both of the close connection between sound intellectual attainments and the higher elements of Duty and Enjoyment; and of the just and ultimate subordination of the former to the latter. The praise in short to which I aspire, and to merit which I am conscious that my efforts were most constantly directed, is, that I have, more uniformly and earnestly than any preceding critic, made the Moral tendencies of the works under consideration a leading subject of discussion.

The quotation might be paralleled by citing several passages from the *Essays* themselves<sup>1</sup>, but it is hardly necessary, for the sentences quoted are the best key to the varied problem of Jeffrey's mind; to its bold eclecticism, a quality in which it is of real, if distant, kin to Plato's, to its limited sympathy with contemporary writers, and to the insight from which the permanent value of its work arises. The weaknesses of his criticism are all those incident to a too narrowly, and, if the truth be told, somewhat conventionally and sentimentally, limited ethical standard. I do not wish to deal with details of Jeffrey's criticism in this paper, much less to burn my fingers in the controversy over the 'war with the Lakers,' but I should like to suggest that Jeffrey has

<sup>1</sup> *Edinburgh Review*, xxxiv, 349, viii, 465 and xvi, 215.



paid a rather heavy penalty for betting on the wrong horse in that business, and that while he did not do justice to one side of Wordsworth's genius, he laid the foundation for some of the most discriminating criticism of his poetry that has since been produced. In the midst of it all Jeffrey was probably less an anti-Wordsworthian than he seemed. In 1804 he could write of him to Horner :

...I am almost as great an admirer as Sharpe. The only difference is that I have a sort of consciousness that admirers are ridiculous, and therefore I laugh at almost everything that I admire, or at least let other people laugh at it without contradiction. You must be in earnest when you approve, and have yet to learn that everything has a respectable and a deridable aspect<sup>1</sup>.

The modern reader can follow Jeffrey's dogged persecution of Wordsworth with considerable satisfaction, even when he finds it appearing a little disingenuously under colour of praise of Byron or Crabbe. It is all honest, clear-eyed criticism; and it all springs from a conviction that Wordsworth was confounding life's plainest distinctions in the mystical mist with which he had surrounded himself for years in the solitude of the Cumberland hills. In a moment, I hope to give some reason for suspecting that whatever rancour there may have been in Jeffrey's attack may be at least partly explicable by an even bitterer conflict going on within himself. A student of Jeffrey who hopes to raise his standing among English critics knows that he has more serious flaws in his work to explain than the mistake about the 'Lakers.' They all go back at last to that essentially ethical outlook on literature, and the worst of them are to be traced to the sentimental cast which that outlook happened to take in him.

There is no mistake in the *Republic* about the cost of its point of view. If truth is not beauty, nor beauty truth, and you choose truth, you cannot avoid the consequence that some beauty must be sacrificed, and it is likely to prove to be the very purest sort of beauty that you must give up, the sort, that is, which is produced by art whose chief interest is in its own perfection. Jeffrey was never quite clear about this point. Admitting a difference between the most edifying and the most beautiful art, Jeffrey was always on the side of the former, but he was not always willing to acknowledge a difference in theory which in practice he often pushed almost to the point of exaggeration. After more than twenty years of reviewing, he would blandly deny any such difference in language like this :

Poetry's power of delighting is founded chiefly on its moral energies, and the highest interest it excites has always rested on the representation of noble senti-

<sup>1</sup> Letter to Francis Horner, September 3, 1804.

ments and amiable affections, or in deterring pictures of the agonies arising from ungoverned passions<sup>1</sup>.

From which it followed as the day the night that Rogers and Campbell were the first poets of their time. The trouble with Jeffrey was that he never thought strenuously through the problem of the conflict between the ethical requirements of the lives of the people for whom he wrote and the purpose of the artist struggling to make that union of imagery and truth which Doctor Johnson said constitutes poetry. The conflict is one of the differences between the insight of poetry and the dimness of the ethical level of every day, where conventions, sophistries, and sentimentality are the only guides that even the best of us can often find. Jeffrey was well launched on the course to a workable solution of the difficulty in the first clause of the sentence quoted, 'Poetry's power of delighting is founded chiefly on its moral energies,' but that was an accident. He meant what he said much more when he came to talk of the 'amiable affections' and 'detering pictures.' He can even talk about Aristotle's Tragic Katharsis in terms of 'detering pictures,' and see an example of it in *Gertrude of Wyoming*.

But it is not for his opinion of Rogers and Campbell that we remember Jeffrey, and in spite of it we are not able to forget him. We remember him for the solid qualities in the ethical standard that he applied to criticism, and for the independence and originality with which he worked it out. It was built around a very distinct and positive ideal of character. Reflections of it flash in the essays. Beginning his analysis of Benjamin Franklin's character, he writes:

No individual, perhaps, ever possessed a juster understanding; or was so seldom obstructed in the use of it, by indolence, enthusiasm, or authority<sup>2</sup>.

No one has accused Jeffrey himself of indolence, or enthusiasm, in the reproachful sense in which he thought of enthusiasm, and so far as established ideas and conventions, and even consistency with himself, were concerned, no one can charge him with having let his thinking be obstructed by authority. In middle life he remarked in a letter that he supposed that there was not a man of his age and condition in Scotland with so few fixed opinions, and he thanked Heaven for it. No traditional explanation of Jeffrey is possible. He looked for a guide to conduct outside of conventional canons, and found it in 'a capacity of patient and persevering thought—displaying itself, for the most part, in a sober and robust understanding, and a reasonable, principled, and inflexible morality<sup>3</sup>.' He asked for nothing except to see life steadily

<sup>1</sup> *Edinburgh Review*, xxxiv, 349.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, i, 138.

<sup>3</sup> *Selections from the Essays of Francis Jeffrey*, by Lewis E. Gates, p. 180.

and see it whole, and he was willing to live and contrived to be happy in its monotony. He interrupts one of the letters from which, when they were to intimates, the smile seldom disappears, to say :

Having long set my standard of human felicity at a very moderate pitch, and persuaded myself that men are *considerably* lower than the angels, I am not much given to discontent, and am sufficiently sensible that many things that appear to be and are irksome and vexatious are necessary to help life along<sup>1</sup>.

That was the outlook on life which won Jeffrey so many friends, and it was the standard applied to books which made him so many enemies in the romantic generation. It was the quality which, in the beginning of their acquaintance, drew Carlyle to him, and at last turned the balance against him, where it clearly rests in the chapter that bears his name in the *Reminiscences*. Jeffrey's fine, smiling realism and the dry light of his mind Carlyle could not away with, so he called the critic, not too inaptly, the Scotch Voltaire, and left him to carry the weight of that condemnation as best he could.

Jeffrey's ethical position contrasted with that of almost every important writer of his time in being an uncompromising dualism. The problem was one of self-limitation, discipline of the imagination, and subjection of the individual will to the conditions of life in society and sympathetic participation in the affairs of all sorts and conditions of men. He reached this position only after a long struggle. From about 1793 until not long before the *Edinburgh* was founded, he was swept away by the tendency to self-absorption and isolation in intellectual pursuits which marked the period. We find him writing to his sister from Oxford in 1791 that he has 'a boundless ambition' but feels that 'he can never be a great man, unless it be as a poet<sup>2</sup>'; telling his friend Robert Morehead about his poetical ambitions in 1795, when they had taken the form of 'a translation of Apollonius Argos in Cooper's manner<sup>3</sup>'; and writing to George Bell late in 1796, in praise of the ivory tower :

Nothing can be more ridiculous than the way that men live together in society, and the patience with which they submit to the needless and perpetual restraint that they occasion one another; and the worst of it is that it spoils them for anything better and makes a gregarious animal of a rational being<sup>4</sup>.

A month later Jeffrey had begun to move toward the position which he held through life and from which he did his most characteristic critical work. On the day after Christmas, 1796, he wrote to Morehead of 'beginning to weary of (himself), and to take up a contemptible

<sup>1</sup> To Charles Wilkes, May 9, 1818.

<sup>3</sup> Dec. 22, 1795.

<sup>2</sup> Oct. 25, 1791.

<sup>4</sup> Oct. 7, 1796.



notion of solitary employments.' The change amounted to a conversion, though it had none of the suddenness of miracles, and it seems to have been remarkably unpleasant for a process which turned a melancholy young man into one of the most equably contented and large-hearted persons who ever lived. In 1798 he writes to Morehead :

I shall never arrive at any eminence in this new character; and have glimpses and retrospective snatches of my former self, so frequent and so lively, that I shall never be wholly estranged from it, nor more than half the thing I seem to be driving at. Within these few days I have been more perfectly restored to my poeses and my sentimentalities than I had been for many months before. I walk out every day alone, and as I wander by the sunny sea, or over the green and solitary rocks of Arthur's Seat, I feel as if I had escaped from scenes of impertinence, and recollect, with some degree of enthusiasm, the wild walks and eager conversations we used to take together at Herbertshire about four years ago. I am still capable of going back to those feelings, and would seek my happiness, I think, in their indulgence, if my circumstances would let me. As it is, I shall go on sophisticating and perverting myself until I am absolutely good for nothing<sup>1</sup>.

By this time the undercurrent had set steadily toward the position that Jeffrey held throughout all of the period when he was editor of the *Edinburgh*. Acceptance of the facts of life and self-discipline to enjoy and control them had become his æsthetic creed when, in 1811, he reviewed Alison's *Essay on the Principles of Taste*. 'If beauty consist in reflections of our affections and sympathies,' he wrote then, 'it is plain that he will always see the most beauty whose affections are the warmest and the most exercised—whose imagination is the most powerful, and who has most accustomed himself to attend to the objects by which he is surrounded....It will follow pretty exactly too, that all men's perceptions of beauty will be nearly in proportion to the degree of social sympathy and sensibility' that they possess. Jeffrey clung to that view, regretfully sometimes, as he did in the *Essay on Burns*<sup>2</sup>, where he gave up his whole introduction to speculating on 'The partiality which has led poetry to choose almost all of her prime favorites among the recluse and uninstructed,' but, in the main, consistently. If it misled him about the minor poets whom he overestimated, it set him right about the essential qualities in Crabbe's work and gave his three reviews of that writer an authentic place in the history of the realistic movement in the nineteenth century which began with Crabbe and is still being continued by Mr Arnold Bennett. It was the basis of his criticism of Wordsworth, the criticism which has done most to fix his own standing as a critic, and by which, perhaps, he must ultimately be judged :

Long habits of seclusion and an excessive ambition of originality can alone account for the disproportion which exists between this author's taste and his

<sup>1</sup> To Robert Morehead, Aug. 6, 1798.

<sup>2</sup> *Edinburgh Review*, Jan. 1809.

genius; or for the devotion with which he has sacrificed so many precious gifts at the shrine of those idols which he has set up for himself among his lakes and mountains. Solitary musings amidst such scenes might, no doubt, be expected to nurse up the mind to the majesty of poetical conception—(though it is remarkable that all the greater poets lived, or had lived, in the full current of society). But the collision of equal minds, the admonition of prevailing conceptions, seems necessary to reduce its redundancies and repress the extravagance or puerility, into which the self-indulgence or self-admiration of genius is apt to be betrayed<sup>1</sup>.

MERRITT Y. HUGHES.

BOSTON, U.S.A.

<sup>1</sup> *Edinburgh Review*, Nov. 1814.

## LOAN-WORDS FROM ENGLISH IN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY FRENCH.

### II.

As to the vocabulary relating to English life in general, a few notes will be sufficient. M. Bonnaffé has *pudding* (from 1698), *pie* (from 1698), *rosbif* (*rot-de-bif* from 1698, *rosbif* from 1756), *plum-pudding* (from 1756). The following points may be noted:

(1) *pudding* is in Miège (1687): 'Il faudroit être cuisinier pour decrire toutes les sortes de boudin qui se font en Angleterre. Car on y appelle *pudding*, non seulement ces boudins qui se font dans des boyaux de cochon, mais aussi de certaines farces à l'angloise, qu'on fait de plusieurs manieres, dont les unes se cuisent au pot et les autres au four. Celles-là s'appellent generalement *boiled puddings* et celles-ci *baked* (ou *pan*) *puddings*... Au reste, c'est un plat d'Angleterre, à quoi les etrangers s'accoutument facilement.'

(2) *rosbif* is earlier than 1756; *Jacques Rosbif* is the name of an English merchant in De Boissy's play, *Le François à Londres* (1727).

(3) *plum-pudding*, explained in Miège (1687) as 'boudin où il y a des raisins secs,' occurs in 1745 in L'Abbé Le Blanc's *Lettres d'un François*, ii, p. 33: 'Si sur la table du candidat, il n'y a pas de plum-pudding, ou si, y en ayant, il n'en mange pas, autre preuve qu'il est whig.'

The Refugees were impressed by the London squares. The Academy admitted *square* in 1835 and M. Bonnaffé has found it from 1778; it occurs in 1774 in Grosley's *Londres*, 2nd ed., i, p. 72: 'Les Anglois les appellent squarres,' and may be in the first edition of 1770. In any case, one should not omit to say that before that the expressions *carré*, *place carrée* are used in reference to the London squares, witness the following texts:

1687. Miège: 'La ville de Londres est embellie de plusieurs belles places carrées.'

1725. Bèat de Muralt, *Lettres*, etc., éd. 1726, i, p. 178: 'Souvenez-vous, comme d'une chose remarquable, que Londres a plusieurs places qu'on appelle *carrés* où l'on peut se promener et où peu de gens se promènent.'

Such words as *Strand*, quoted from 1698 (cf. also *Broadway*), should not be included; from the seventeenth century not only *Strand*, but also



*Cheapside, Whitehall* and others are of course common. On the other hand, I should be inclined to include :

(1) *penny-post*. 1687. Miège: '*Penny-post*. C'est une des grandes commodités de la ville de Londres, de l'invention d'un Mr Dockerey, marchand de cette ville... Celui qui envoie la lettre paie le sou. Mais ce qui est encore extrêmement commode, c'est qu'on a étendu le *penny-post* jusqu'à dix milles autour de Londres. En ce cas, celui qui reçoit lettre ou paquet hors de la ville paie un sou de son côté.'

1774. Grosley, *Londres*, i, p. 61, n. : 'Si l'établissement du *penny-port* à Londres date de ce siècle, Paris auroit, à cet égard, l'honneur de l'invention.'

1845. Bescherelle, *Dict. Nat.*, art. *penny*: 'On appelle, à Londres, penny-post, notre petite poste; cependant depuis la réduction des lettres dans tout le royaume, le nom peut s'appliquer au service intérieur de la poste aux lettres en général.'

1846. Bastiat, *Œuvres Complètes*, éd. 1881, i, p. 135. 'Nous n'avons ni railways ni penny-postage...'

(2) *rickets*. 1687. Miège: '*Rickets*. C'est une sorte de maladie qui est assez rare en France, et très commune en Angleterre parmi les jeunes enfants.'

1759. L'Abbé Expilly, *Descr. hist. géogr. des isles britanniques*, p. 383: 'Les rickets est une maladie qui attaque souvent les petits enfants et qui devient souvent incurable quand elle n'est pas traitée avec le plus grand soin.'

1845. Bescherelle, *Dict. Nat.*: '*Ricket*. s.m. Pathol. Nom que l'on donne quelquefois aux personnes affectées de rachitisme et qui en présentent les caractères dans leur conformation.'

M. Bonnaffé quotes *croup* from 1777. English influence on *consumption* 'phthisie' (earlier 'maladie de langueur') seems likely and *galopante* in *phthisie galopante* comes from *galoping consumption*.

One of the first ideas of the Refugees was to make known English scientific work. As early as June 1685, in the *Nouvelles de la République des Lettres*, p. 677, Bayle, struck with the considerable scientific production in this country, says: 'On voit par là que l'Angleterre toute seule pourroit fournir de quoi remplir d'extraits de bons livres un journal plus gros que le nôtre...' And his suggestion was followed. In his own periodical are to be found earlier examples than are given by the *Dictionnaire Général* of a very large number of scientific terms. It appears to me that it would be well to attempt to fix the chronology of such scientific terms as began to be used from 1665; a proportion of them originated in England although as a general rule they would come into French from the scientific Latin still much in use at the end of the seventeenth century.

For instance, from Newton's *Principia* (1687) come the F. *centrifuge* and *centripète*, but they are transcriptions of Newton's Latin creations *centrifuga*, *centripeta*. On the other hand, Newton's *Optics* appeared in English in 1704 (Latin transl., 1706); in Coste's translation into French, which was published in 1722, *réflexible*, *réflexibilité*, *réfrangible*, *réfrangibilité* are taken from English as is supposed by the *Dict. Gén.*<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Réfrangible*, *réfrangibilité*, *réflexibilité* occur in 1706 in the *Nouvelle de la République des Lettres*, Avril, pp. 397, 400, Juin, p. 368, in a review of Newton's *Optics* and before the publication of the Latin translation of that work.

*Réfracter* and *réfractif* as optical terms are also anglicisms; the first occurs in Voltaire's *Éléments de la philosophie de Newton* in 1738 (*Dict. Gén.*, 1752). Anglicisms, at a very little later period, are *inoculer*, *inoculation* (of virus), and also *chronomètre* and *compensateur*.

Some would be found in the vocabulary of every science. In zoology, M. Bonnaffé gives *albatros*, *alligator*, *antilope*, *balbuzard*, *baltimore*, *noddy* and *puffin*. And there are others. The word *mandrill* appears to furnish a parallel case to that of *tatouer*. The E. *tattoo* occurs for the first time in Captain Cook's *Voyages*; M. Bonnaffé has shown that the F. *tatouer* is first attested from 1772 in translations from Cook. As to *mandrill*, it is a name of a monkey of the genus *cynocephalus* and it was first inserted in the *Dict. de l'Acad.* in 1878; the *Dict. Gén.* quotes it from 1798; but it occurs in 1755 in J.-J. Rousseau's *Discours sur l'inégalité*, p. 226: 'Il est encore parlé de ces espèces d'animaux antropoformes dans le troisième tome de la même *Histoire des Voyages* sous les noms de beggos ou de mandrills...' Now Prevost's *Hist. des Voyages* began to appear in 1746, and the volume containing 'le voyage de Guinée de Mr Smith' was out by 1748 as it is referred to by Montesquieu in the *Esprit des Lois* (*Œuvres*, éd. 1820, i, p. 421). It is thus practically certain that the first appearance of *mandrill* in French occurs in the translation of W. Smith's *Voyage* (1744), and the *Voyage* contains the first example of *mandrill* in English (*N.E.D.*, s. voc. *mandrill*). This is another small piece of evidence of the close relations between the two literatures and shows at the same time the importance for anglicisms of the numerous translations of English works of travel which was published in French from the end of the seventeenth century.

Of fish-names *gunnelle* or *gonnelle*, *pilchard*, *sprat* are usually reflexes of *gunnellus*, *pilchardus*, *sprattus*, used by Linnaeus as specific terms. There is evidence that *pilchard* and *sprat* have existed as more popular borrowings; M. Bonnaffé includes *sprat* in his list, and an interesting example of *pilchard* in a text of 1707 will be found in the *Modern Language Review*, viii (1913), p. 180. Lacépède, in his *Histoire Naturelle des Poissons* (1798—1803), made use of various English fish-names: *ballan*, *bibe*, etc., which though little used have found their way into dictionaries.

The spelling of the word is often indicative of its source. The -oo of *kanguroo* (from 1802) and of its variants *kangouroo*, *kangaroo* (cf. the more French termination *kangourou*, *kangarou*) suggests that the word came through English like *whip-poor-will* (1779) or *raccoon*; it is amusing to remember, in this connection, that Töpffer, *Voyages en zigzag* (1844),



éd. 1846, pp. 5, 21, etc., uses *kangourou* in the sense of 'puce' and creates from it *kangouriser* and *kangourisme*.

Among the names of trees I notice that M. Bonnaffé omits *tallipot* (from 1683), considered by the *Dict. Gén.* as being the E. *tallipot* corrupted from the Malay *kelapa*.

English influence on commercial and industrial terms should also be noted. *Penny* (spelled *peni*), *shilling* (*chelin*), *farthing* (*fardin*) are in Perlin's *Description des royaumes d'Angleterre et d'Écosse* (1558). *Guinée* appears in 1669. M. Bonnaffé gives neither *half-penny* nor *crown* (*couronne*), cf. *demi-couronne*. Of weights and measures he only admits *yard* and *stone*. A glance at Savary des Bruslons' *Dictionnaire du Commerce* shows that English weights and measures were known in the eighteenth century. *Inch*, *foot*, *mile* appear of course as *pouce*, *pied*, *mille*; but *fathom*, *furlong* and others could be quoted with examples, to say nothing of *firkin* and *kilderkin*, *rod* and *rood*.

The English word *customs* appears at the end of the seventeenth century in *receveur des coutumes*; *excise* (quoted by M. Bonnaffé from 1688) is in 1687 in Miège: '*excise* sorte d'impôt qu'on peut appeler *excise* par distinction.' M. Bonnaffé quotes *drawback* from 1755 as a commercial term and also *consolidé* (*les annuités consolidées* in a text of 1768); he might have noted among the derivatives of the latter the words *consolider* and *consolidation* in speaking of the public debt. *Annuité* as an insurance term is also an eighteenth-century anglicism.

M. Bonnaffé includes *importer* and *importation* but, by a curious oversight, makes no mention of *exporter* and *exportation*; it should be noted that *réimporter*, *réimportation*, *réexporter*, *réexportation* are as old as the simpler forms. The names of stuffs are of the commonest kind of loan-words. I shall quote two only here: *reps* and *calicot*, both admitted by the *Dict. de l'Acad.*, in 1835, and neither recognized as anglicisms by M. Bonnaffé. As to *reps*, he may have been influenced by the authors of the *Dict. Gén.* who consider it a word of unknown origin. It is, however, clear that its source is the E. *rib*, 'a raised stripe or wale in cloth or knitted goods.' E. *ribs* has given F. *reps* which has returned to E. as *rep* or *reps*. *Calicot* is not, as the *Dict. Gén.* says, an attempt to reproduce the E. pronunciation of Calicut, but is borrowed from E. *calico*, spelt *callico* in 1687 by Miège<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> M. Bonnaffé includes neither *châle* nor *cachemire*:

1791. Volney, *Les Ruines* in *Œuvres*, éd. 1821, i, 24: 'Les schals de Kachemire...'

1793. Mackintosh, *Voyages*, i, 301: 'Les femmes (aux Indes) ont des shawls qui....'

In a note: 'Les shawls ou chales, en prononçant à la françoise, sont des voiles de mousseline ou d'autre étoffe.' Nor *casimir* introduced by the Académie into its Dictionary in 1835 and considered by the *D.G.* as of unknown origin. It is the obsolete E. *cassimere*, a doublet of *cashmere*.



Of Anglo-americanisms, M. Bonnaffé has found *squaw*, *swamp*, *wigwam* and *alligator* in Richard Blome, *L'Amérique Angloise* (1688), a translation from English. *Toboggan* as an anglicism is quoted from 1890 only; a historical note might be added showing that an independent French form *tabaganne* occurs in 1691 in Leclercq's *Nouvelle relation de la Gaspésie*, p. 70, as I am informed by Professor Weekley. *Punch* is first quoted in 1653 as *bolleponge* from Boullaye-le-Gouz' *Voyages* and there explained as 'une boisson dont les Anglois usent aux Indes' (cf. *bouleponche* in Furetière's *Dict.* in 1701 and the later *bol de punch*). So *grog* is first attested in a translation of Cook's voyages. M. Bonnaffé omits the words *plantation* and *planteur*. Miège in 1687 translates *the plantations of America* by *les plantages d'Amérique*. Already, in reference to Ireland, we find in 1704 in the *Hist. des guerres civiles*, ii, p. 60: 'On envoya seulement quelques troupes dans l'Ultonie pour y défendre leurs plantations...', and in 1761 in Savary des Bruslons' *Dict. du Comm.*, iv, c. 211, we read: '*Plantations*. Les Anglois ont ainsi appelé les colonies fondées principalement sur la culture, et ils ont nommé planteurs les colons qui les cultivent.'

The American war of independence and the interest aroused thereby in France caused the introduction of a certain number of anglicisms: *congrès* (*congressiste* and later *congressman*), *meeting*, *dollar*, *cent*. To these should be added influence on the *F. insurgent* and *insurgence* and the word *papier-monnaie* (and sometimes *monnaie de papier*):

1790. *Qu'est-ce que le papier-monnaie? Lettres d'un Anglais [Playfair] à un Français*. Impr. de Callot in 8vo. [See Quérard, *Superch. Litt.*, i, p. 353.]

1793. Brissot in *Deb. of the Nat. Conv.*, éd. Bossange, 1828, iii, p. 150: 'Ils ignorent donc que les Américains furent libres longtemps après la mort de leur papier-monnaie.'

1845. Faucher, *Études sur l'Angleterre*, i, p. 118: 'La monnaie de papier, en Angleterre, est encore aujourd'hui dans son état féodal.'

*Whist* in its earlier form *wisk* has been found by M. Bonnaffé from 1758. He does not mention the game of *crabs* or *creps* (*Dict. Gén.*, from 1789). French relations with the United States brought in various modifications of whist, notably *boston* and *maryland*. M. Bonnaffé only gives *boston* and quotes from the *N.E.D.* his first example of 1805: 'Tarif du jeu de boston whist.' But in 1789 a new edition of the *Académie Universelle des Jeux* had appeared at Amsterdam, 'augmentée du jeu des echecs par Philidor et du jeu du whisk par Edmond Hoyle, traduit de l'anglois, du whisk bostonien et du maryland.' M. Bonnaffé has not found *chelem* before 1821 nor *singleton* before 1841: both are in the 1789 edition just mentioned, *chelem* (pp. 324, 337) in reference to both *boston* and *maryland*, *singleton* (p. 330) in reference to *boston* only.

Among words of more general interest, one notices the omission of *romantique* (*romantisme* and occasionally *romanticisme*), on which so much has been written. *Humour* occurs first in Bêat de Muralt's book, published in 1725, but written in 1694-5<sup>1</sup>. *Spleen* is given by M. Bonnaffé from 1763; it is already in Le Blanc's *Lettres d'un François* (1745), i, pp. 118, 140, and the disease is described in Prévost's *Cleveland* (1732) although the word does not occur there. M. Bonnaffé's first instance of *goddam* is of the year 1769; the word is already in 1766 in Baculard d'Arnaud's *Sydney et Silli*, éd. Francfort, 1767, p. 3. A few words of this class omitted by M. Bonnaffé might be mentioned:

*lune de miel* (E. *honeymoon* from 1546, *N.E.D.*).

1747. Voltaire, *Zadig*: 'Zadig éprouva que le premier mois du mariage, comme il est écrit dans le livre du Zend, est la lune de miel, et que le second est la lune de l'absinthe.'

1817. [Defauconpret], *Londres et ses habitants*, i, p. 68: 'Cela est charmant. Et les femmes peuvent-elles faire assurer à leurs maris la même santé, la même amabilité que dans le premier mois de leur mariage que vous nommez ici le mois de miel?'

1818. *La Minerve Française*, i, p. 253: 'Le premier mois de cette union, ce mois précieux que les Anglais nomment énergiquement *the honeymoon*, la lune de miel...'

1829. Balzac, *Physiologie du mariage*, médit. vii: 'Cette expression, *lune de miel*, est un anglicisme qui passera dans toutes les langues...'

*désappointer, désappointement.*

1761. Voltaire, *Lettre à d'Olivet*: 'Que d'expressions nous manquent aujourd'hui qui étaient énergiques du temps de Corneille...? On assignait, on apointait un temps, un rendez-vous; celui qui, dans le moment marqué, arrivait au lieu convenu et qui n'y trouvait point son prometteur, était *désappointé*. Nous n'avons aucun mot pour exprimer aujourd'hui cette situation d'un homme qui tient sa parole et à qui on en manque.'

Cf. also Voltaire, *Dict. Phil.*, art. *appointé*, quoted by Prof. Baldensperger in *Rev. de Philol. Fr.*, xxvi, p. 95: 'Les Anglais ont pris de nous ces mots *appointé, désappointé*, ainsi que beaucoup d'autres expressions très énergiques, ils se sont enrichis de nos dépouilles et nous n'osons reprendre notre bien.'

1789. Dutens, *L'ami des étrangers qui voyagent en Angleterre*, p. 178: 'Votre imagination, exaltée par leur exagération, sera certainement désappointée...'

1803. *L'Abeille du Nord*, 8 Nov., p. 779: 'Ceux qui se seraient représenté M. Gibbon comme un homme d'une physionomie imposante...se trouveraient singulièrement désappointés, pour me servir d'une expression anglaise, que nous avons mal à propos abandonnée...'

1821. Ch. Nodier, *Promenade de Dieppe aux montagnes d'Écosse*, p. 294: 'Le désappointement que nous en ressentions, influa peu sur les impressions que nous venions chercher.'

1835. *Désappointer, désappointement* officially accepted by the Acad. in their new sense.

*non-sens* (thirteenth-century example in *Dict. Gén.*).

1745. [Abbé Le Blanc], *Lettres d'un François*, iii, p. 296: 'Ce que nous nommons esprit, les Anglois le nomment déraison.' 'Non sense' in note at the bottom of the page.

ante 1778. Voltaire quoted by Mercier, *Néologie*, 1801, ii, p. 145: 'Origène fut le

<sup>1</sup> *Humour* as a translation of E. *humour* occurs in the translation of Temple, *Œuvres mêlées*, Amsterdam, 1693, ii, 364.



premier qui donna de la vogue au non-sens, au galimathias de la Trinité, qu'on avait oublié depuis Justin.'

1787-8. Féraud, *Dict. crit.*, quotes the word from Linguet.

1809. J. Le Maistre, *Les Soirées de St Pétersbourg*, éd. Lyon-Paris, 1870, ii, p. 130 : 'Quelque chose d'intrinsèquement faux, et même de niais, ou comme disent les Anglais, un certain non sens qui saute aux yeux.'

1823. Aicieu, *Diorama de Londres*, p. 110 : 'Il ne faut qu'avoir assisté quelque-fois aux débats parlementaires auxquels il prenait part, pour lui avoir entendu lâcher quelqu'un de ces non sens.'

1832. Raymond, *Dict. Gén.* : '*Non-sens.* s.m. Phrase qui ne présente aucun sens. Absence de jugement.'

1878. *Non-sens* officially accepted by the Academy.

### *papier.*

1731. Montesquieu, *Notes sur l'Angleterre* dans *Œuvres*, éd. 1820, ii, p. 286 : 'Comme on voit le diable dans les papiers périodiques, on croit que le peuple va se révolter demain.'

1745. [Abbé Le Blanc], *Lettres d'un François*, ii, p. 219 : 'Il est triste pour nous, dit un auteur anglois, d'être forcés d'avouer que nos papiers publics ne sont remplis que de personnalités et de satires scandaleuses.'

1771. Grimm, *Corr. Litt.*, éd. 1813, i, p. 131 : 'On peut se rappeler une aventure rapportée il y a quelques années dans les papiers anglais.'

1774. Grosley, *Londres*, éd. 1788, iii, p. 235 : 'M. Rouguet ne considère, sous cet article (Imprimerie), que les *papiers* publics qui inondent chaque jour la ville de Londres.'

In my view the prolonged influence of the English mind on eighteenth-century France, considered in its far-reaching results, constitutes one of the most important facts of modern times. The extreme French conservatism of the second half of the seventeenth century in the matter of neology produced a very natural reaction, and I am convinced that English influence on the new vocabulary of the eighteenth century is greater than is usually supposed and particularly considerable in the case of abstract and general terms. Up to the present, in many cases, the English word precedes the corresponding French word in date, but that may be due to the extremely unsatisfactory condition of French lexicography. The *Dictionnaire Général* was a boon when it appeared and it still remains the most satisfactory publication of its kind. But a new French dictionary, of larger proportions, is urgently required. In it a much more extensive vocabulary would have to be introduced, the etymologies would have to be brought up to date, earlier instances than those given by the *Dict. Gén.* quoted for thousands of words, the dating of the various meanings of identical words undertaken and in many cases the historical order of meanings reversed. Nor can it be expected that any one man can satisfactorily accomplish the task. Nor, may I add, can a proper account of French borrowings from other languages be drawn up until this task is completed. It may, however, interest readers of the *Modern Language Review* to have a few out of many eighteenth-century



words the English origin of which is either certain or very probable, or which at the very least have undergone English influence:

*additionnel* (E. *additional*, quite common in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries). First noted in the second half of the eighteenth century, in Turgot (*frais additionnels*) and in Buffon (*Dict. Gén.*). Chiefly used in *centimes additionnels* (cf. E. *additional excise* translated by Boyer in 1729 by *surcroît d'impôt*) and in the historical *acte additionnel*.

*coalition*, *coaliser*, admitted by the Academy in 1798. Cf.

1787. Féraud, *Dict. crit.*: *coalition*.

1791. Doumergue, *Journal de la langue franç.*, viii, p. 265 (the word is noted by him in one of Mirabeau's speeches): '*Coalition*, mot que les Anglais ont pris des Latins et que nous avons pris récemment des Anglais.'

1798. Romance-Mesmon, art. from *Le Réveil* of Hambourg, Oct. 1798, p. 209, n. (*Rev. de Philol. Fr.*, xxii, p. 141): '(Coalition) Ce mot n'est pas français; il n'existait pas même en Angleterre il y a vingt-cinq ans, au moins dans son acception politique; il doit son origine aux débats parlementaires relatifs à la guerre d'Amérique.'

*conciliatoire*, admitted by the Academy in 1878.

1777. Linguet, *Ann. pol. civ. et litt.*, iii, p. 523: 'bills conciliatoires.' E. *conciliatory* is much earlier. Cf. Linguet's use of *prohibitoire*, see Gohin, *Transformations de la Langue française*, 1903, pp. 328, 329.

*exhibition*.

1774. Grosley, *Londres*, éd. 1788, iii, p. 197: 'Trois tableaux qui j'ai vus de lui à l'exhibition\*.\*—\*Note: Une exposition publique.'

1817. [Defauconpret], *Londres et ses habitants*, ii, p. 161: 'On en fait ce qu'on appelle en Angleterre une *exhibition*.'

1826. Ch. Nodier, *Promenade de Dieppe aux montagnes d'Écosse*, p. 81: 'Les exhibitions particulières sont une espèce de spéculation que la cupidité multiplierait au défaut de la vanité, car on paie, à entrer à toutes les exhibitions et même à celles des musées nationaux.'

1898. Remy St Maurice, *Le Recordman*, p. 203: 'Le Gallic effectua ce que les Américains appellent une course "exhibition," c'est à dire qu'il couvrit seul...une distance déterminée...'

The word is now a common sporting term and with it go *exhibitionner* and *exhibitionniste*.

*immoral*, *immoralité*, admitted by the Academy in 1835. (The *N.E.D.* quotes E. *immoral* from 1660 and *immorality* from 1566.)

The first instance of F. *immoral* quoted up to the present is of 1776 (see *Dict. Gén.*). For *immoralité*, the first I can quote is:

1793. *Déb. de la Conv. Nat.*, éd. 1828, iv, p. 313: 'C'est là la source de la corruption et de l'immoralité qui règnent dans le parlement britannique.'

*inconsistance*, *inconsistant*, admitted by the Academy in 1878. Cf. E. *inconsistence*, *inconsistency* translated by Boyer in 1729 by *incompatibilité*, and *inconsistent* by *incompatible*, *contraire*, *contradictoire*.

1755. Rouquet, *États des arts en Angleterre*, p. 108: 'Tout ornement introduit dans un portrait aux dépens de l'effet de la tête est une inconsistance.'

1794. La Harpe in *Mercurie franç.*, n° 4: 'L'inconsistance des idées, du caractère; l'inconsistance d'un ministre, d'un gouvernement sont des expressions très claires...'

Gohin quotes from Beaumarchais an example of *inconsistant* of 1793: 'âge inconsistant.'

*inoffensif*, admitted by the Academy in 1835. Mercier, *Néologie*, 1801, quotes it from a translation of Sterne: 'Une de ces innocentes et in-offensives créatures.' E. *inoffensive* (or *harmless*) is translated by Miège in 1687: 'innocent, qui ne fait aucun mal, qui n'est point malfaisant, où il n'y a pas de mal.'

*instinctif*, *instinctivement*, admitted by the Academy in 1835. The *Dict. Gén.* gives *instinctif* from one of Maine de Biran's early philosophical essays (1803) and *instinctivement* from 1802. E. *instinctive* is common in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and *instinctive principles* is used in 1775 in Priestley's criticism of Thomas Reid.

*investigation*, used by J.-J. Rousseau in 1750 in the *Discours à l'Acad. de Dijon, Œuvres*, éd. 1782, 12°, xiii, p. 61: 'Que de fausses routes dans l'investigation des sciences,' blamed by an anonymous critic and defended by Rousseau in his *Lettre sur une nouvelle réfutation* (xiii, p. 230): 'Quand j'ai hasardé le mot *investigation*, j'ai voulu rendre un service à la langue, en essayant d'y introduire un terme doux, harmonieux, dont le sens est déjà connu, et qui n'a point de synonyme en François.' The word was accepted by the Academy in 1798. The E. *investigation* is rendered by Miège in 1687 by *exacte recherche*, *perquisition*.

*mésinterpréter*, *mésinterprétation*, both used by Diderot and the first by J.-J. Rousseau, are the E. *misinterpret*, *misinterpretation*.

*populaire*, in sense 3 of the *Dict. Gén.*: 'qui a la faveur du peuple.' With this sense go *popularité* (Acad. 1798), *impopulaire*, *impopularité* (Acad. 1835).

1687. Miège: 'to be a popular man, *être populaire*.'

1704. Clarendon, *Hist. d. guerres civ. d'Angl.*, i, 123-4: 'Williams, évêque de Lincoln...qui depuis sa disgrâce s'étoit rendu fort populaire...'

1748. Montesquieu, *Esprit des Loix*, in *Dict. Gén.*: 'Pour se rendre populaire...'

1786. [O. Goldsmith], *Lettres phil. et pol. s. l'hist. d'Angleterre* (transl. by Mme Brissot), i, p. 311: 'Car pour être populaire, il falloit être conquérant.' Translator's note: 'En Anglois, ce mot veut dire avoir la faveur du peuple et c'est le sens dans lequel on le prendra.'

*population*. See the *Dict. Gén.*

*social*. The word is found in various senses in the fourteenth, fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Its fortune (cf. the derived *socialisme*, *socialiste*) was made by Rousseau's *Contrat Social* of 1762. The Supplement of 1752 to the *Dict. de Trévoux* notes *vertus sociales* from Prévost's *Pour et Contre* (1731-40); E. *social virtues* is translated in 1729 by Boyer: *vertus sociables*. *Vertus sociales* occurs repeatedly from 1740, e.g., in 1748



in [Toussaint], *Mœurs*, 4th ed., 1749, p. 258. For the numerous meanings of *E. social* in the early eighteenth century, see the *N.E.D.*

*vulgarité* (in an unfavourable sense). Cf.

1800. Pougens, *Bibl. franç.*, Déc., p. 163: 'Madame de Staël me paraît moins heureuse lorsqu'elle veut défendre le mot *vulgarité*. Cette expression empruntée de Dryden est-elle bien conforme au génie de notre langue?'

[Cf. Dryden, *Dedication to Juvenal*: 'Is the grandesophos of Persius and the sublimity of Juvenal to be circumscribed with the meanness of words and the vulgarity of expression?']

Another important word of this class is *patriote* in the modern sense, with *patriotique* and *patriotisme*, all accepted by the Académie in 1762. The older meaning of *patriote* is 'compatriote.' For the new meaning cf.:

1750. [Bolingbroke], *Lettres sur l'esprit de patriotisme, sur l'idée d'un roi patriote... ouvrage traduit de l'anglois* [by the comte de Bissy], Londres, in 8vo. (The E. original goes back to 1738.)

It would be interesting to know if any much earlier instances of the French words in question can be given. Under the influence of Rousseau, from 1754 (cf. *Dedication to Disc. sur l'inégalité*, p. xxiii: 'un honnête et vertueux patriote'; viii: 'la tendre affection d'un vrai patriote'), the word *patriote* gained ground very rapidly; both *patriotique* and *patriotisme* occur in letters of Moulton to Rousseau in 1758. On the other hand, the corresponding English words were common in the beginning of the eighteenth century.

These few instances show that a great deal remains to be done in this field of enquiry. The greatest French writers of the time as well as the humblest have helped in the naturalisation of words from English sources. Some authors and some subjects are particularly implicated. At the end of the century Linguet's *Annales* (1777—1783) contains not only *bénévolence*, *boxe* (at a theatre), *closet*, *counsellor*, *cutter*, *forgery*, *garret*, *huzza*, *impeachment*(t), *indictment*, *pit*, *smogler*, *soupe untonnée*, but words of so-called learned formation, the corresponding English forms of which had been long in use; *congratulatory*, *digestible* and *indigestible*, *émigration*, *incidentel*, *inconditionnel*, *jésuitisme*, *judiciel*, *oblitération*, *théoriste* and many others.

I do not suppose that Professor Brunot would wish us to take too seriously his statement in the preface that the search for early examples of words is 'un jeu assez puéril.' In the history of loan-words, the early texts are often of paramount importance. Not the date only but the nature and source of the text must be taken into account. In that respect the work of Godefroy and Delboulle must not be lightly treated, and they have helped the *Dict. Gén.* to attain its recognized place in lexicography. In the course of this article, I have already called attention



to earlier instances of some thirty words and I think it worth while to append the following notes on some thirty others. The date within brackets after each word is that of the earliest instance given by M. Bonnaffé:

*baby* (1850), *bébé* (1842). 1704. Clarendon, *Hist. d. g. civ. d'Angl.*, i, p. 22: 'Le roi parla en ces termes... Voici baby Charles et Stenny qui souhaitent aller...en Espagne pour querir l'infante...' Note: '*Baby* qui veut dire petit enfant, et Stenny étoient des noms dont il se servit en parlant du prince et du duc.' Cf. *Bébé*, surname of Nicolas Ferry (1739—1764), dwarf at the court of Lorraine.

*bill d'attainder* (1826). 1748. Montesquieu, *Esprit des Lois*, in *Œuvres*, éd. 1820, i, p. 323.

*boxeur* (1792). 1788. Mercier, *Tableau de Paris*, xi, p. 162.

*building* (1895). Cf. 1774. Grosley, *Londres*, i, p. 48: 'La Tamise... n'a de communication avec l'intérieur de la ville, pour les chargemens et dechargemens des marchandises, que par des *buldings*, stairs ou échelles qui se ferment exactement hors les cas de besoin...'

*chester* (1853). 1760. Savary des Bruslons, *Dict. du Comm.*, ii, p. 782: 'On fait cas du fromage de Chester.'—1762. *Journal du voyage à Londres du duc de Nivernais*, in Loménie, *La Comtesse de Rochefort et ses amis*, p. 366: 'Une bouchée de fromage de Chester très gras.'—1790. Grimm, *Corr. Litt.*, éd. 1813, v, p. 397.—1845. Bescherelle, *Dict. Nat.*

*claret* (1830). 1762. *Journ. du voy. du duc de Nivernais*, in Loménie, *op. cit.*, p. 367: 'Avec deux petits coups de vin claret, c'est-à-dire de Bordeaux.'

*coachman* (1838). 1790. Grimm, *Corr. Litt.*, éd. 1813, v, p. 395.—1830. Balzac, *Route d'Hastings*, in Spœlberch de Lovenjoul, *Hist. d. œuvres d. Balz.*, p. 260.

*congrès* (1776). 1776. Beaumarchais, *Mémoire au roi seul*, 29 février, in Loménie, *Beaum. et son temps*, i, p. 101: 'Je puis vous dire dès à présent quelles résolutions prendra le congrès à cet égard.'

*coolie, couli* (1699). 1684. Thévenot, *Voyages*, iii, p. 20.

*creek* (1786). 1759. Bellin, *Ess. géogr. sur les isles britanniques*, ii, p. 35, n.: 'Par le mot *creek*, les Anglois entendent une petite baie ou anse, dans laquelle de petits bâtimens peuvent mouiller et se mettre à l'abri. Ils donnent aussi ce nom à de petites rivières qui se déchargent dans une plus grande, ou même à la mer, lorsque leur cours n'est pas étendu. En françois nous avons le mot de *crique* qui a la même signification.'

*croupal* (1863). 1832. Raymond, *Dict. Gén.*

*cromwellisme* (1689). 1688. Ex. in Littré, *Suppl.*

*cromwelliste* (1717). 1666. Robinet in *Continueurs de Lovet*, éd. Rothschild, i, 887.—1685. *Nouv. de la republ. des Lettres*, Mai, p. 563.

*dispensaire* (1775). Cf. 1745. [Abbé Le Blanc], *Lett. d'un Fr.*, ii, p. 85 : 'Malgré les éloges que les Anglois donnent à ce dernier (i.e., Garth), au sujet de son *Dispensaire*...' 1754. Pope, *Œuvr.*, i, p. 22 : 'Le docteur Garth, auteur du *Dispensary*, fut un des premiers amis de notre poète.'

*dyke* (1768). 1759. Savary des Bruslons, *Dict. du Comm.*, i, c. 975.

*fox-hunter* (1840). 1745. [Abbé Le Blanc], *Lett. d'un Fr.*, ii, p. 188 : 'C'est la description bizarre d'un être assez singulier et que les Anglois appellent *fox-hunter*... Le *fox-hunter* ne connoît de gloire que celle de courir aussi vite que l'animal dont il est l'ennemi déclaré...'

*hourrah, hurra* (1830). 1774. Grosley, *Londres*, i, p. 158 : 'Sa fureur (i.e., de la canaille) tomba principalement sur les carrosses de place, des cochers desquels elle exigea qu'ils la saluassent du fouet et du chapeau en criant *ourey* : cri de ralliement dans toutes les bagarres.'

*ketch* (1788). This form occurs in 1761 in Savary des Bruslons, *Dict. du Comm.*, iii, c. 470.

*medium* (1856), of spiritualism. Cf. the following : 1765. [Berger], transl. of D. Webb, *Rech. sur les beautés de la nature*, p. 143 : 'Les hommes d'un génie supérieur voyent la nature à travers le même *médium*, leur imagination brillante...'

*newtonianisme* (1773). 1738. Letter of Mme du Châtelet to M<sup>re</sup> Maupertuis in *Lettres*, éd. Asse, p. 199.

*non-conformiste* (1688). 1684. [Nicole], *Les pretendus reformez*, p. 614.

*porter* (1775). 1774. Grosley, *Londres*, i, p. 333 : 'Quoique le porter passe pour très fort, il me portoit moins à la tête qu'à l'estomac...'

*sandwich* (1802). Cf. 1774. Grosley, *Londres*, i, p. 296, which gives the description of a sandwich and says it was named after an English minister, but does not give the name. (Already mentioned in first ed. of 1770.)

*self defence* (1889). 1745. [Abbé Le Blanc], *Lett. d'un Fr.*, iii, p. 8 : 'Moi, George Bishop, maître de la noble science de défense dans toutes ses branches...'

*toast*<sup>2</sup> (1762). 1745. [Abbé Le Blanc], *Lett. d'un Fr.*, ii, p. 105 : *toste, toste de rebut*.

*toaster* (1750). 1745. [Abbé Le Blanc], *op. cit.*, ii, p. 108.

*turnep* (1771). 1761. Savary des Bruslons, *Dict. du Comm.*, iii, c. 482 (art. *laine*) : 'Les navets ou turnipes...'

*whisky* (1786). 1770. D'Orville, *Nuits anglaises* according to Hans Bachmann, *Das Englische Sprachgut in den Romanen Jules Verne's*, 1916, p. 7.—1786. Grimm, *Corr. Litt.*, 3<sup>e</sup> partie, iii, p. 492: 'wiskis.'

It will be noted that I have throughout this article carefully given the texts on which I base my argument. Mere affirmation, unsupported by textual evidence, must be of little value in dealing with the origin of loan-words. On the subject of eighteenth-century English loan-words in French, I believe that good and interesting work remains to be done.

PAUL BARBIER.

LEEDS.



## THE ETHICAL SYSTEM OF THE 'INFERNO.'

IN the eleventh Canto of the *Inferno* (lines 22—90) two distinct statements are put upon the lips of Virgil in reference to the Ethical System of Hell. A considerable literature has gathered round the question of their relation to each other, but, though opinions still differ, I cannot help hoping that a fuller statement and coordination of the evidence than, so far as I know, has yet been furnished, may secure a unanimous verdict.

I believe it can be shewn that an elaborate and uniform numerical scheme underlies the classification in all the three Cantiche. It consists in a three-fold division, yielding, by subdivision of its first and third members, seven main divisions of souls; to which two more, on a somewhat different plane, must be added,  $7 + 2 = 9$ ; while yet another mansion, distinct from the nine thus appropriated gives us  $9 + 1$ , and so yields the mystic number 10. But in the matter of topography and classification the first Cantica is far more complicated than either of the other two, and for that reason it will be well to preface our examination of the *Inferno* by a brief account of the simpler schemes of the *Purgatorio* and the *Paradiso*.

On the Mount of Purgatory there are seven terraces. They correspond to the seven Capital Vices, from the stains of which souls must be cleansed before they can ascend to the Earthly Paradise. But this seven-fold classification is explained by Virgil (in *Purgatorio* XVII) as rising out of a three-fold division that underlies it. Our affections, he says, are perfectly regulated when we love, or rejoice in, the right things in the right measure—God and goodness supremely, and all else in relation and in subordination to that highest love. When we go wrong, we either love what we ought not to love at all, or we love the supreme too little or that which is not supreme too much. Thus perverse love, inadequate love, and excessive love, include, amongst them, every kind of passion or affection that needs purgation on the Mount, and they underlie all the seven capital vices.

<sup>1</sup> The quotations from the *Inferno* given in this essay are taken from Mr George Musgrave's translation. It was in connection with a hoped for reissue of that work that it was first drafted.

If, in Pride, we desire another's defeat or humiliation as ministering to our own exaltation, if, in Envy, we grudge another's success or rejoice in his ill-fortune, or if, in Anger, we seek assuagement in another's hurt, then we take joy in that for which we ought to feel sorrow and our love is perverse. If, in Sloth, we neglect the means of learning what we may of the Supreme Good, or pursue it, when known, with languid affection then our love is defective. If, in Avarice, in Gluttony, or in Carnality, we pursue the things of the world and the flesh too eagerly, then our love is excessive.

Thus the arrangement of the repentant souls in seven classes (occupying seven distinct terraces) reveals itself as an elaboration of a more fundamental three-fold division. Or, if we take it the other way round, we may say that we find the first and third members of the fundamental Triad each falling into three sections, while the central member remains undivided; so that we have  $3 + 1 + 3 = 7$ . Reading from below upwards, in the order of Dante's ascent, then, we have

		Carnality	3
		Gluttony	2
		Avarice	1
3	Excessive love		
		Sloth	1
2	Defective love		
		Anger	3
		Envy	2
		Pride	1
1	Perverse love		
			<hr/>
			$3 + 1 + 3 = 7$

But, in addition to the occupants of the seven terraces, there are the Excommunicated on the island-base of the Mount, and the Late Repentant on its lower slopes, constituting two other classes not strictly coordinate with the seven; and giving us  $7 + 2 = 9$ . There remains the Garden of Eden at the summit, which is not a part of Purgatory at all, but is the goal to which it leads. And so  $9 + 1 = 10$  completes the scheme.

Turning to the *Paradiso* we find a closely but not monotonously parallel system. There is indeed no direct emphasis laid on a three-fold division, but the central position and significance of the Sun is repeatedly impressed upon us directly and by implication; and if we take first, the three 'inferior' planets, the Moon, Mercury and Venus, all of which are within the range of the earth's shadow; second, the Sun himself; and third, the three 'superior' planets, Mars, Jupiter and Saturn, we have an easily recognisable scheme of  $3 + 1 + 3 = 7$ .

And again, we have two other regions—far more conspicuous and important than in the parallel case of the *Purgatorio*—clearly differentiated from the seven spheres of the earlier part of the poem. In these two regions no special class of souls appears to the poet, but the whole

host of the Redeemed in the one, and all the Angels in the other. These are the sphere of the fixed Stars and the sphere of the Primum Mobile, and they give us  $7 + 2 = 9$ . And finally, beyond all the nine revolving spheres, there is the Empyrean—spaceless, timeless, and subject to no change. So here too we close with  $9 + 1 = 10$ .

The scheme of the *Inferno* is more elaborate and complicated. We may note, however, at the outset, that the Vestibule containing the Trimmers and the Neutral Angels is associated with Hell but is not a part of it; and furthermore that Hell itself contains nine circles and nine classes of damned souls. So we can already recognise the  $9 + 1 = 10$  with which we are familiar in the other *Cantiche*. With this preface we may turn to the eleventh Canto of the *Inferno*, where the classification of sins is expressly set forth by Virgil.

When we reach this eleventh Canto, the poets have already passed through six of the Infernal Circles, those namely of the Virtuous Heathen (I), of the Carnal (II), of the Gluttons (III), of the Avaricious and Prodigal (IV), of the Angry (V), and of the Heretics (VI); and now, as they pause on the verge of the deepening and narrowing abyss, Dante's guide explains to him the nature and meaning of the three circles (VII, VIII, IX) that remain, placing them expressly in line with those previously traversed. All *malizia*, he explains, which earns hatred in heaven, aims at inflicting injury, and it works by the two weapons of *forza* (practised by the *violenti*) and *frode*. The more heinous of these is *frode*, because it is an abuse of the specifically human faculty of reason. It is *dell' uom proprio male*. And so: 'The fraudulent are lower, in suffering more intense.'

But the fraudulent themselves constitute two classes rather than one, inasmuch as Traitors, who have fraudulently wronged those who had special claims on their fidelity, are differentiated from the common cheats, who have only traded on the ordinary confidence that one man has in the integrity and good-will of another. Thus the Traitors are punished with Satan in the lowest circle of all (IX), whereas those guilty only of common fraud,

which breaks  
Only the bond of love which nature makes,

occupy circle VIII.

Thus, the three circles yet to be explored contain the *violenti* (VII), the (simply) *frodolenti* (VIII), and the Traitors, or treacherously *frodolenti* (IX). Of these three circles VII is subdivided into three, VIII into ten, and IX into four compartments. But these subdivisions do not affect our present enquiry.



When Virgil has finished his account of the three circles (VIII—IX) which the pilgrims have yet to visit, Dante, after complimenting him on his luminous exposition, proceeds to question him about four (but four *only*) of the six circles they have already seen. Why, he asks, were (1) the Carnal, (2) the Gluttonous, (3) the Avaricious and Prodigal, and (4) the Angry, not included in the treatment of 'all *malizia* that earns hatred in heaven,' if they have offended God? And, if they have not, why are they punished? On this Virgil displays a quite unwonted irritation, caused (as it is easy for any teacher to surmise!) not by the unintelligence of the question itself, but by its coming on the top of the pupil's assertion that he had perfectly understood the exposition. Had he really understood it (and it was not hard), a passage in Aristotle with which he was particularly familiar, a tacit reference to which had run through Virgil's whole discourse, would have furnished him of itself with the answer to his question. 'What!', the teacher rejoins, 'Does not Aristotle tell us that there are three kinds of reprehensible conduct, *incontinenza*, *malizia*, and *bestialitade*? And does he not add that of these three *incontinenza* is the least blameworthy<sup>1</sup>?' Had not the questioner's wits been wool-gathering, or his usual intelligence thrown out of gear, he would have had this passage in his mind, and would have seen, without asking, why the sinners in the said four circles (all of whom had manifestly sinned through incontinence) were broadly distinguished from the fell souls punished in the Nether Hell.

This remarkable dialogue incidentally resolves our nine circles of Hell into the 7 + 2 for which we are prepared. For both Dante in his question and Virgil in his answer tacitly omit circle I, of Unbelievers, and circle VI, of Misbelievers, as though they lay outside the system under examination, as indeed they do. Thus the three lower circles yet to be visited (VII, VIII, IX), and the four upper circles of the Incontinent already traversed (II, III, IV, V) form a scheme of seven, outside which the two others (I, VI) stand on a distinct footing,  $7 + 2 = 9$ .

And further, by now making a single class of Incontinence (1) in the Upper Hell, coordinate with the two classes of *forza* (2) and *frode* (3) in the Nether Hell, Virgil has given us the three-fold division that we expect on the analogy of the other two Cantiche. The seven-fold division we have already recognised is now found to spring out of this Triad by the subdivision of its first member, *incontinenza*, into four and of its last,

<sup>1</sup> It has been observed that Aristotle nowhere makes this statement in set terms. But the objection is captious, for it is implied, and quite obviously assumed, throughout his whole discussion of the three reprehensible kinds of conduct.

*frode*, into two. This gives us a  $4 + 1 + 2 = 7$ , which is easily recognisable as analogous to the more symmetrical  $3 + 1 + 3 = 7$  of the other Cantiche.

The  $7 + 2 = 9$ , and the  $9 + 1 = 10$  of the others we have already found in the *Inferno* also.

The whole scheme of the *Inferno*, then, may be thus presented:

			1 Trimmers
		1 Heathen	
1 Incontinence	{ 1 Carnality 2 Gluttony 3 Avarice 4 Anger		
		2 Heretics	
2 Force	1 Force		
3 Fraud	{ 1 Simple Fraud 2 Treacherous Fraud		
<hr/> 3	<hr/> 4 + 1 + 2 = 7	<hr/> + 2 = 9	<hr/> + 1 = 10

Thus, by the aid of the Aristotelian reference, we have been enabled to disentangle the full numerical scheme so plainly set out in the *Purgatorio* and the *Paradiso* from the intricacies by which it is crossed in the *Inferno*. But here the reader may demand, not without some impatience, how he can be asked to suppose that Dante the poet was at all these pains to lay traps for Dante the pilgrim, and at the same time to conceal his numerical scheme almost past finding out. The natural progress of our investigations will bring us an answer; and meanwhile—calling, for convenience, the triad *incontinenza*, *forza*, *frode* the ‘Virgilian,’ and the triad *incontinenza*, *bestialitade*, *malizia*<sup>1</sup> the ‘Aristotelian’—we may note that when Virgil has developed the two last terms of his own triad he implies that Dante himself ought to have been able to supply the first term, on the analogy of the Aristotelian triad, by including circles I—IV, in their collectivity, under *incontinenza*. The presumption then is strong that the analogy holds all through and that we are to take *bestialitade* = *forza* (*violenti*), and *malizia* = *frode*. The alternative is to regard the Aristotelian triad as introduced merely for the sake of embracing the four upper circles under the least heinous category of offences. In this case the introduction of *bestialitade* and *malizia* would be purely incidental, and therefore, for purposes of classification, irrelevant.

<sup>1</sup> The order of enumeration in *Inf.* xi, 82 sq. is

Incontinenza, malizia e la matta  
Bestialitade.

In Aristotle (*Eth. Nic.* vii, 1, 1) it is: *malitia*, *incontinentia*, *bestialitas*. But the order of gradation, with which alone we are concerned, is identical in both.



Let us then set aside the *incontinenza*, as to which there is no dispute, and examine the relation, or want of relation, between the two other pairs of terms (throwing the Aristotelian words into their Latin form):

I	II
malizia { <i>forza</i> <i>frode</i>	<i>bestialitas</i> <i>malitia</i> .

It will be convenient here to note that the terms *forza* and *frode* are taken from Cicero: *Cum autem duobus modis, id est, aut vi aut fraude fiat injuria; fraus quasi vulpeculae, vis leonis videtur* (*De Off.* I, 13, sec. 10). The influence of this passage may be traced in *Inf.* xxvii, 75, but what chiefly interests us in the present context is that (while incidentally explaining the introduction in Virgil's discourse of *ingiuria*, as the link between *malizia* and *forza* and *frode*) it fully explains why those who practise *forza* (*vis*) are uniformly described as the *violenti*.

The terms of comparison then are the Ciceronian and the Aristotelian terminology; and there would be nothing at all surprising in Dante's finding, or attempting to establish, a harmony between them. Considerable sections of the 2<sup>a</sup> 2<sup>ae</sup> of the *Sum. Theol.* are devoted to similar adjustments and harmonisings between the terms, or systems, of different authorities. But in this instance scholars who work on the Greek text of Aristotle have found irreconcilable divergencies between his classification and Cicero's. Aristotle's own terms are ἀκρασία, θηριότης, and κακία; so that, setting aside ἀκρασία, as to which there is no dispute, we have to study (1) the relation of θηριότης (represented in the Latin translation used by Dante by *bestialitas*) and *forza*; and (2) that of κακία (*malitia*) and *frode*. We will begin with (1).

Now Aristotle expressly states that θηριότης is different in kind from κακία. It is ἕτερόν τι γένος κακίας (*Eth. Nic.* vii, 1, 1), whereas *forza*, in the *Inferno*, is but a certain species of *malizia* itself. If then we identify *bestialitas* with *forza*, we make it at once a species of *malizia* and something different from it in kind. When we turn to the Latin translation, however, the case is completely changed; for the translator, by a not unpardonable error, understands Aristotle in the exact opposite sense, and makes him say that *bestialitas* is *quoddam genus malitiae*—a certain kind of *malizia*, just as *forza* is in the other scheme. Moreover Aristotle himself, while sharply distinguishing θηριότης from κακία, regards them both as forms of μοχθηρία, κακία being μοχθηρία κατ' ἄνθρωπον, and θηριότης a barbarous or exorbitant μοχθηρία, more revolting than κακία but not really so mischievous, because a bad man, under the direction of his intelligence, 'can work a thousand-fold more



harm than a brute<sup>1</sup>. Now the Latin version translates *μοχθηρία* by the very same word, *malitia*, that it has already used for *κακία*. Thus I and II in Italian and Latin become

I	II
<i>malizia</i> { <i>forza</i> <i>frode</i>	<i>malitia</i> { <i>bestialitas</i> <i>malitia</i> .

And in both cases the second form of *malitia* is declared to be specifically human (*dell' uom proprio male* in I, and *malitia secundum hominem* in II) and at the same time is said to be more pernicious or blameworthy than the other. In both schemes, too, the first form of *malitia* is specifically differentiated from the other by its monstrous and unhuman nature. Aquinas in his commentary calls it *bestialis malitia*<sup>2</sup>.

Nor will anyone deny that the general character of the offences included by Aristotle under *θηριότης* corresponds to the crimes of the *violenti* punished in Dante's circle of *forza*.

In a later chapter (*Eth. Nic.* vii, 5) Aristotle develops his conception of passions that are *θηριώδεις*, and associates with them such as are *νοσηματώδεις*, or unnaturally morbid. All are treated together and are said to arise from diseased physical conditions or mutilations, from evil habits early instilled, or from an abnormally depraved disposition. Their general characteristic is that they find attraction in things that are naturally repulsive. They are therefore monstrous and contrary to human nature.

It is exactly this idea, systematically worked out by Dante, *more suo*, that underlies the arrangement of circle VII. It is a commonplace alike with Dante and Aquinas that there are three objects of affection natural to man (cf. *Conv.* I, 1, 54 sqq., *Purg.* xvii, 106—111). It is natural to us to feel good-will to our kind if no interest or passion of our own is enlisted against them. For instance, it would be unnatural not to help a man who had fallen down to get up again, even if he were a stranger. It is still more obviously natural for every man to desire his own good. And most of all is it natural to man to love God, apart from whom there can be no existence, no good, and therefore nothing to love at all. The sins of circle VII do violence, or force, to all these

<sup>1</sup> Vide *Inf.* xxxi, 49 sqq. (in reference to Nature having discretely ceased to produce giants, though still producing whales and elephants). Cf. *Purg.* v, 112 sq. where the conjunction of pure malevolence with intelligence in a devil is noted.

<sup>2</sup> The equivocal use of the term *malitia* in II, as the name both of the genus and of one of the species it embraces, presents no difficulty. Dante himself makes Fraud (generic) include Fraud and Treachery as species. Aristotle makes Incontinence (generic) include Incontinence proper and Incontinence in desire for gain, in temper or in ambition (cf. p. 278). The *Ethics* teems with analogous instances.

natural affections. The *violenti*, instead of taking pleasure in doing kind offices to their neighbours, take a disinterested delight in torturing them (cf. Aquinas on Arist. *Eth. Nic.* vii, 5, 3, [Phalaris] *in ipsis cruciatibus hominum delectabatur*) or in devastating their possessions. Or sometimes the perversion may strike a deeper stratum where the 'violent' hates his own life or makes a wild onslaught on his own property. But they are most unnatural and 'violent' of all who hate God himself and the Nature 'which is his art.' (Cf. *De Mon.* I, iii, 18; II, ii, 37, and *Inf.* XI, 100, after Mr Musgrave's certain restoration of *ed è sua arte*.) The influence of the Aristotelian phraseology, too, may be seen in the 'bestial,' that is unhuman, form of the guardians of the seventh circle, the Minotaur, the Centaurs, the Harpies, and the Black Bitches. Note too that Aristotle mentions the trick of biting the nails or plucking at the hair as allied to *θηριότης*, and Dante's Minotaur gnaws his own flesh.

It is abundantly evident, then, that the *bestiales* of the Aristotelian reference correspond in principle to the *violenti* of Virgil's first discourse; but, more than that, I think it can be shewn that, in this connection, the terms *bestiales* and *violenti* themselves would be regarded by Dante as synonyms; for we have seen that *bestialitas* is a breaking out against nature; and all through his Physical treatises Aristotle habitually uses *violentus* (*βίαιος*) as equivalent to *contra naturam*. Look, for example, at *Phys.* v, vi, 5, or *De Caelo*, III, ii, 1, where it is expressly said that 'to be moved "by violence" or "against nature" is one and the same thing.' It is true that the context in which Aristotle uses *βίαιος* in this sense is very generally concerned with physical movements. But this is not always so. He applies the term to monstrous births, for instance; and he says that taking interest is the most 'unnatural' of all ways of making money, and again that the man who wants to make money for its own sake *βίαιός τις ἐστίν*. *Pol.* I, iii [x] fin., *Eth. Nic.* I, v, 8 (1258<sup>b</sup> 7 sq., 1096<sup>a</sup> 6). Aquinas too explains that the *violentum* is *excisio quaedam ejus quod est secundum naturam*, and again, that it is *quaedam exorbitas ab eo quod est secundum naturam* (*Com. in De Caelo*, II, xxiii, 4, i, 9); and he applies the term to forced flowers and to contortions of the body. In the light of these passages (which could be indefinitely multiplied) it becomes clear that the term 'violent' could be naturally applied in the *Inferno* not only to acts of reckless slaughter or devastation, but to every sort of perverse and unnatural wickedness or depraved habit that involves the 'elimination' of the natural affections, or the 'exorbitant' play of animal impulses not specifically human, and, gener-

ally, anything that runs counter to nature—just such sins, in fact, as we find in Dante's seventh circle or under the heading of *θηριότης* in Aristotle's *Ethics*.

As to the *frodolenti* of circles VIII and IX as compared with Aristotle's *malitia*, in the narrower sense, it is enough to note that both classes include all the sins that do not come under the head of incontinence or of brutish violence, and that both are characterised by the turning of the specific human faculty of intelligence to evil ends.

We can now understand why, when Dante told Virgil that he completely understood his exposition of *forza* (*violenti*) and *frode*, and then by his question shewed plainly that he had not so much as noted that the elaborately described 'violence' was unhuman brutishness, and had so missed the running parallel with the Aristotelian division, the teacher felt some irritation. For it is an interesting fact, which we happen to know, that Dante himself, the Poet, had been particularly familiar with this three-fold Aristotelian division of reprehensible dispositions from early days, and never seems to have had it long out of his mind. It is worth while to set forth the proof of this.

In the prose framework in which Dante set the poems of the *Vita Nuova* (written, say, in 1292) he tells us (§ II) that, after meeting Beatrice as a little girl, in her ninth year, he closely observed her ways 'and found her so noble and praiseworthy that verily of her might have been said those words of the poet Homer: "She seemed not to be the daughter of a mortal man, but of God."' Now Dante had no first-hand acquaintance with Homer, and his actual quotations from him are all taken from Aristotle or Horace. This particular one occurs in the very passage of the *Ethics* which we are now considering. 'To bestiality one might reasonably oppose some heroic and divine excellence that transcends the range of our human virtue, even as Homer makes Priam say of Hector, because of his supreme excellence, "nor did he seem to be the child of a mortal man, but of God."' We see then that at this early period of his studies Dante was already familiar with the opening of the seventh book of the *Nicomachean Ethics*.

We may go further. It is clear that this section of the *Ethics* had specially impressed him, and moreover that he had studied the commentary of Aquinas upon it; for he incorporates a remarkable passage from this commentary in the third book of the *Convivio*, written, we may suppose, in 1308 or a little earlier. In reference to the contrast between heroic or divine excellence and bestiality, Aquinas says: 'In



evidence of which we must consider that the human soul stands midway between the higher and divine beings with whom it shares intelligence, and the brute beasts with whom it shares the faculties of sense. As then the sensitive parts of the soul are sometimes corrupted in man even to the similitude of the beasts—which is called bestiality as exceeding the limits of human vice and incontinence—so likewise the rational part is sometimes perfected and informed in man beyond the common measure of human perfection, even as it were to the similitude of the Immaterial Beings, and this is called divine virtue as beyond the human and common virtue. For the order of things is such that the mean touches either extreme on this side or that. Hence in human nature too there is that which touches the higher, that which is united with the lower, and that which is of intermediate habit between them.' Compare Dante's 'And because in the intellectual order of the universe ascent and descent is by almost continuous gradations, there is no intermediate step from the lowest form to the highest, and from the highest to the lowest (as we see is the case in the sensible order); and because between the Angelic nature, which is an intellectual existence, and the human soul, there is no intermediate step, but the one is as it were continuous with the other in the order of gradation; and because between the human soul and the most perfect soul of the brute animals there is also no intermediary, and because we see many men so vile and of such base condition as scarce to seem other than beasts, so also we are to lay it down and firmly to believe that there be some so noble and of so lofty condition as to be scarce other than angels. Otherwise the human species would not be continued in either direction, which may not be. Such as these Aristotle, in the Seventh of the *Ethics*, calls divine<sup>1</sup>. And again in the Fourth Treatise<sup>2</sup> he recurs to the contrast between the *vilissimi e bestiali* and the *nobilissimi e divini* amongst men, and he once more refers us directly to the seventh book of the *Ethics* and the quotation from Homer. And yet again, in the *De Monarchia*<sup>3</sup> Dante returns to the Homeric passage concerning Hector, and again refers directly to Aristotle 'in iis quae de moribus fugiendis ad Nicomachum,' i.e. 'in that section of the *Nicomachean Ethics* which treats of reprehensible conduct.'

It is evident then that Aristotle's three-fold division was familiarly present to Dante's mind all through his life as a student and a writer; and the words he puts upon the lips of Virgil shew that he had read

<sup>1</sup> *Convivio* III, vii, 69—90.

<sup>2</sup> xx, 30 sqq.

<sup>3</sup> II, iii, 53—57.

the whole Aristotelian doctrine into Cicero's phrases<sup>1</sup>. Had Dante, the student, actually heard a teacher deliver Virgil's discourse to a pupil, he would at once have recognised it as a luminous commentary on the Aristotelian *locus de moribus fugiendis*, and would never have asked the inept question that drew Virgil's rebuke. But Dante, the poet, is not so sure of his reader; and he thinks it quite possible that, even after all the hints that have been given him, the said reader may need an express reference to Aristotle's actual words and phrases—though he ought to be ashamed of himself if he does! Only it is a gracious practice of Dante's, dictated by his subtle sense of sympathy with his reader, to represent *himself* as bewildered and as receiving enlightenment from his guides, whenever he has a difficult point to expound. This practice is of course essential to the texture of the Comedy, as a dramatic narrative, and it is due to the consummate sincerity with which this attitude is maintained that the reader finds himself perpetually under the illusion that he is really being instructed *with* Dante and not *by* him. It is this that makes the Comedy (the most frankly didactic of all great poems) so entirely free from the offensive tone of superiority with which didactic writings are often taxed. But this is not a mere artifice. It represents the proud Dante's deep humility before the face of his great teachers. Whether or not, in any special instance, Dante is actually recording his own former perplexities and taxing himself with obtuseness in so long failing to see the obvious solution that lay within his grasp, we may be sure that the general impression we receive of Dante the pilgrim truly represents what Dante the man thought of himself. It was his sincere conviction that, when his gifts and his opportunities were weighed, the wonder was not that he saw so much but that he had been so slow to see it.

It would perhaps be enquiring too curiously to ask whether, in this special instance, reminiscences are embedded of Dante's own slowness to connect a somewhat detached passage in Cicero's *De Officiis* with the opening of Aristotle's seventh book, and the light he ultimately gained from bringing them together; but in any case the passage so understood

<sup>1</sup> It is equally obvious, of course, that Cicero himself did not mean all that Dante read into him. In the first place, he uses the substantive *vis* but not the adjective *violentus* so significantly introduced by Dante. And in the second place, even if he had used it, it could not, in his day, have borne the technical meaning it acquired as a translation of Aristotle's *βίαιος*. The nearest approach to such a use that I have found cited from a classical author is where Seneca's Hecuba laments that she should have been left alive when Astyanax and Polyxena were murdered:

Sola mors, votum meum,  
Infantibus violenta, virginibus venis,  
Ubicunque properas, saeva: me solam times.—(*Troades*, 1171 sqq.)



would well illustrate that humility with which Dante is seldom credited—deep and beautiful as it is—because, while he parades his pride, he does not parade his humility.

As we stand at the close of this long investigation, the question may well arise whether the whole of the *Inferno* was really composed with the scheme in view which is expanded in the eleventh Canto. There is much to suggest that in the earlier Cantos the design had been drawn to a smaller scale. In ten Cantos we have traversed six out of the nine circles of Hell, and (apart from the Heathen and the Heretic) we seem to be following quite simply the succession of the well known seven Capital Vices. It looks as if this earlier portion of the Poem had been ultimately set in a larger framework for which it was not originally designed.

If this were so, we should suppose that when the Poet determined to amplify the later parts of the *Inferno* and found it convenient to desert the simple method of treating successively the seven Capital Vices, his mind had already conceived the grandiose architecture and elaborated the number scheme that now dominates the whole Poem; and that he found in the Aristotelian three-fold division of 'reprehensible actions' a scheme that would admit the part of his now deserted plan that he had already executed, and yet would give him the larger canvas that he required for the new one. The symmetry of the  $3 + 1 + 3 = 7$  was indeed to some extent irretrievably compromised, but the most essential element in it might yet be preserved, by dividing Fraud into two degrees and getting a  $4 + 1 + 2 = 7$ . The rest of the scheme would fit in reasonably well.

That something like this must have happened, and is the reason why the ethical and topographical features of the *Inferno* never seem to justify themselves by any such self-evident consistency as marks the *Purgatorio* and the *Paradiso*, is apparent from other considerations. The contrast has often been remarked between the simplicity, the swiftness, and the comparative absence of topographical precision<sup>1</sup> that characterise the Cantos that tell of the Poet's progress through the earlier circles of Hell, and the unexpected expansion, the harder tone, and the rigidly defined topography that we find further on. Such considerations have given more credit than it would otherwise have received to the well authenticated tradition preserved by Boccaccio that

<sup>1</sup> The symmetrical diagrams of the journey of poets through Hell that are current in most of the editions and diagrams are unauthorised by the text in many of their details so far as the early circles are concerned, and depend for their general character upon a note in *Inf.* xiv, 126 which may well be an afterthought of Dante's.



Dante had written the first seven Cantos before his exile, and resumed the work afterwards on recovering his manuscript.

But on the other hand the *De Vulgari Eloquentia*, which was certainly written after Dante's exile, admits no art forms in Italian verse except the *Canzone*, the *Ballata*, and the *Sonetto*. All else is 'illegitimate and irregular.' It can hardly be supposed that when Dante wrote thus he had already composed seven Cantos of the *Inferno* in Italian. And again, I hope to shew elsewhere that Virgil and Beatrice could not have taken the places they already occupy in the first two Cantos of the *Inferno* until the author's set of mind revealed in the *Convivio* had yielded to that of the *De Monarchia*. Whatever earlier material was incorporated in the Comedy, its organism, of which the second and part of the first Cantos of the *Inferno* are an essential constituent, can scarcely have been articulated before the fall of Henry, in 1313.

Would not all the difficulties disappear if we might suppose that the pre-exilian manuscript was not written in Italian, but was the Latin poem which, according to Boccaccio, Dante began but afterwards abandoned in favour of Italian? If Dante had carried his Latin hexameters so far as to cover in a few hundred lines the first four of the Capital Vices, and on receiving his lost work again had thrown it into the Italian form, he might, perhaps years afterwards, have incorporated it in the wider scheme of which the first two Cantos of the Comedy as we now have it are the prologue. The lines that Boccaccio gives as the opening of the Latin poem quite lend themselves to such a hypothesis; but its highly speculative character forbids its being urged as any more than a tentative suggestion, though it is one that naturally arises out of a study of the 'Ethical system of the *Inferno*,' and may fitly close it.

#### APPENDIX.

I have thought it best to develop the positive exposition of *Inf.* XI on its own lines, with the minimum of controversial reference to divergent views. But a brief examination of some of the points on which, in my opinion, mistakes have been made, may naturally follow as a supplement.

The contention already noticed that the three-fold Aristotelian division of *incontinenza*, *bestialitate* and *malizia* is not intended to apply in its integrity to the main divisions of the *Inferno*, but is introduced merely with reference to Dante's perplexity as to four of the circles of the Upper Hell, seems to rest on the assumption that there is a closer and more easily recognisable correspondence between

the Incontinent of Aristotle's scheme and the denizens of circles II—IV of the *Inferno* than there is between Aristotle's *θηριώδεις* and the *violenti* of circle VII or between Aristotle's *κακία* and the *frodolenti* of circles VIII and IX, so that, when Virgil gives at full length the three Aristotelian categories of misconduct, Dante might naturally understand that two of them had nothing to do with the matter in hand but were only introduced because they happened to be in the context.

But the fact is that the correspondence between the Incontinent of Aristotle's *Ethics* and the Incontinent of Dante's Hell is far from complete. Aristotle carefully distinguishes between the 'incontinent' man who tries to control his unregulated appetites (because he knows that their indulgence is reprehensible) but sometimes fails, and the 'dissolute' man who has no scruples and who deliberately indulges his feeblest inclinations. Semiramis, according to this doctrine, would have been an ideal representative of Dissoluteness as distinct from Incontinence; and it must be confessed that the inclusion of such as her in the same circle with Dido and Francesca, or of Filippo Argenti in another circle of Incontinence rather than in circle VII, greatly weakens the application to Dante's Hell of Aristotle's plea for the comparatively venial character of Incontinence.

Again, Aristotle is very careful to limit incontinence, properly so called, to the sphere of the senses of taste and touch (with some further distinctions). Thus none but those unchaste or gluttonous offenders, who yield under the assault of strong temptation and are always sorry afterwards, should, according to Aristotle, be regarded as 'incontinent' in the proper sense. One hardly conceives of Ciacco's case as covered by this definition.

In a secondary sense, Aristotle allows us to speak of incontinence in the love of gain or of distinction, or in the matter of temper, but then we ought to add an expressly qualifying word to indicate this restricted use of the term. Yet more, Aristotle takes elaborate pains to shew that incontinence is less blameworthy in the matter of temper than in that of the appetites, because *inter alia* it is unpleasant to be angry, so that a man is not likely to court ill temper for the sake of indulging it; and also because, at the moment, an angry man generally thinks that he does well to be angry and may believe himself to be obeying the orders of reason, though, in reality, like a hasty servant, he has rushed to execute the order before he has rightly heard what it is. But all these points, so elaborately developed by Aristotle, are ignored or contradicted in the *Inferno*. Anger comes lower down than

sins of the appetites, no room at all is found for incontinence in pursuit of distinction, and no difference is recognised between incontinence proper and dissoluteness.

The case of *θηριότης* is closely similar. Dante seizes the main idea and develops it in accordance with his own ethical principles. He emphasises the un-natural and particularly the un-human character of this class of sins, and so includes suicide, usury and (for the sake perhaps of symmetry) the mad assault which the habitual gambler makes upon his own property; and he drops out morbid timidity, which Aristotle (also perhaps for symmetry) includes among the exorbitant passions. But he adheres to the most striking examples, and he preserves the main conception in its integrity.

Incidentally he finds in the Ciceronian *vis*, understood in the Aristotelian sense, a term preferable in this connection to the Aristotelian *bestialitas*, inasmuch as this latter word had a considerable range of varied application in the Latin and Italian of Dante (vid. *infr.* p. 280), whereas *violentus* exactly defines the 'unnatural' character that is the special note of *θηριότης* and of circle VII.

In dealing with incontinence Dante simplified Aristotle (if indeed he was giving any direct thought to him when he *wrote* of the early circles). In dealing with *forza* = *bestialitas* he systematised him. But, so far from there being a closer correspondence in the former than in the latter case, it seems truer to say that a careful examination will raise more than a suspicion that, while the Aristotelian division suggested Dante's treatment of later classes of sin and dominates it throughout, it was imposed upon the earlier portion of the poem *post factum*, though not without success.

And, if Dante's (or rather Cicero's, as understood by Dante) *violenti* are a preciser and in some respects a better equivalent to Aristotle's *θηριώδεις*, something similar may be said, in a lesser degree, of *frode* with respect to *κακία*; for in truth, when Aristotle says (*Eth. Nic.* VII, 1) that *κακία* is the opposite of *ἀρετή*, he gives it, by implication, a wider signification than he wishes it to bear, and he somewhat blurs the distinction between it and *ἀκρασία*, whereas the Ciceronian *fraus* brings out very well the heinousness of turning the intelligence, which is the proper glory of man, to purposes of shame, and marks off such conduct quite clearly from mere incontinence.

Another divergent interpretation of the relation between Virgil's first discourse and his Aristotelian citation consists in equating Fraud with *bestialitas* and Violence with *malitia*, instead of vice versa. This



obviously mistaken conception apparently rests on no better foundation than the order in which *malitia* and *bestialitade* happen to appear in *Inf.* XI, 32 ff. and *Eth. Nic.* VII, 1, 1, and it would hardly have been necessary to mention it were it not that it has found hospitality in a once popular Italian edition that may still fall into the hands of a beginner.

And, lastly, there is a striking passage in the *Convivio* which impresses itself with singular vividness on the memory of the reader and has given rise to a vain but persistently recurrent attempt to identify the *bestiales*, not with the Violent, but with the Heretics of circle VII. The passage, which occurs in the ninth chapter of the second Book, should be read in its entirety; but the phrase with which we are immediately concerned runs as follows: 'Per proponimento dico, che intra tutte le bestialitadi quella è stoltissima, vilissima e dannosissima chi crede, dopo questa vita, altra vita non essere.' And since it so happens that the Epicureans, the only class of Heretics with whom Dante holds special converse in the sixth circle of Hell, were particularly identified with this supreme 'bestialitade,' many readers have fallen, and will probably continue to fall, into the temptation of making an isolated identification of the *bestiales* with the Heretics, though it is impossible to incorporate it into any organic system of interpretation whatever. The truth is that *bestialitas* and its Italian equivalent are used by Dante and the Schoolmen in a wide variety of meanings.

The underlying idea, when precise, is always the absence of something specifically human. Thus, since legal or sacramental marriage is a specifically human institution, Bonaventura declares that all unchastity is *bestialis*, and it is exactly in this sense that Dante himself uses the word in a much-worried passage in the twenty-sixth Canto of the *Purgatorio*. Now since Reason is generally regarded by medieval writers as the one supreme characteristic of Man, the popular use of *bestialitade* for 'stupidity' or 'folly'—always like the French *bêtise*, expressing serious irritation—was really a strictly scientific term. And it is in this sense that Dante himself uses the word, not only in the passage under consideration but in *Convivio* IV, xiv, 107, where, with reference to a peculiarly exasperating and inane argument to which he supposes his adversary might possibly descend, he exclaims 'risponder si vorrebbe non colle parole ma col coltello a tanta bestialità.' It is clear that in the passage about the immortality of the soul the word is used in this general sense of 'stupidity,' and that there is no intention whatever of giving Epicurean misbelievers such a monopoly of it that, under all circumstances and in every context, it is to be regarded as their hall-mark.

## SOME SPANISH CONCEPTIONS OF ROMANTICISM.

WHAT Romanticism meant in Spain is a question which has yet to be answered. Certain features there are in it with which everyone is familiar, whether because they are common to other countries, or for the opposite reason—that they are strikingly peculiar to Spain. But the relative importance of each of these elements, and the proportion which each may claim in the total product of the Romantics, it will be the principal task of the future historian of Spanish Romanticism to determine. This task will be all the harder because the Spanish movement reached its climax late, was partially obscured by those foreign influences which in another sense enlightened it, and was led by men who had not always that clear purpose which may provoke enmity but dispels misunderstanding. The intention of this article is to set out some of the leading conceptions and misconceptions of Spanish Romanticism held by the leading writers of its formative period and by the contributors during this period to the leading periodicals of Spain.

The period which we shall cover may be taken as the first third of the nineteenth century, or, more exactly, down to the year 1835. The last-named date will generally be recognised as marking the point (as nearly as any one date can do so) at which the national Spanish type of Romanticism was formed. (In the spring of this year appeared Rivas' *Don Álvaro*, which, much more truly than *Macías* or the *Conjuración de Venecia*, was the typical Romantic drama. It was in this year that Eugenio de Ochoa did battle for *Don Álvaro*, styling it a 'terrible personificación del siglo XIX<sup>1</sup>, and opposing to classicism, which to him was 'testarudo, intolerante, atrabiliario<sup>2</sup>, a very definite conception of the contrary ideal. Finally he could write in the summer of 1835: 'Ya es evidente que el romanticismo, bueno o malo, existe; y no es poco haber logrado tamaño triunfo<sup>3</sup>.'

### I.

Let us first consider the conceptions of some typical Romantically-minded writers during this formative period of the movement. We shall

<sup>1</sup> In the *Artista*, Vol. I, p. 177.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 36.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. II, p. 47, and cf. Vol. III, p. 1 (1836), where he describes the triumph in greater detail.



not expect at first to find these conceptions very clear ones. The whole controversy between Böhl von Faber and José Joaquín de Mora<sup>1</sup> reveals, as we shall see, a very one-sided idea of the 'cuestión suscitada acerca del mérito o demérito de los autores dramáticos, clásicos y romancescos<sup>2</sup>,' of which so much mention is made. And this is natural enough. Political upheavals had disturbed the course of literature; the various foreign influences were contending for the mastery in Spain; and the precise relation between the nascent ideals of Romanticism and that timid reformation which had sprung up at the end of the preceding century was not at all easy for the writer of 1810 to 1820 to determine.

The first important document to be considered under this head is the *Europeo*. In this journal—of which I have already given a short account elsewhere<sup>3</sup>—we find so much material that it is not hard to evaluate the editors' conception of Romanticism—a conception not typically Spanish indeed, but one which must have influenced Spanish thought very considerably in the decade of pre-Romanticism which ended with the *chefs-d'œuvre* of Martínez de la Rosa, Rivas, Gutierrez and Hartzenbusch.

Monteggia's threefold test of the 'essence of Romanticism' (Oct. 25, 1823) may be summarised as follows: I. *Style*: Quoting from the *Génie du Christianisme*, he shews how the mysteries of the Christian religion succeeded Greek mythology as material for the poet's imagination to work upon. The Northern bards, the Druids and the chivalrous Moors further inspired the troubadour with themes which ousted those of antiquity. Slavish adherence to classical legend is one of the signs of the anti-Romantic of all ages; though the true classic is no slavish imitator<sup>4</sup>. Summing up: the chief mark of Romantic style is 'un colorido sencillo, melancólico, sentimental, que más interesa el ánimo que la fantasía<sup>5</sup>.' The examples given are Manzoni's *Conte di Carmagnola*, Schiller's *Maria Stuart*, *Atala*, *René*, *The Corsair* and *Childe Harold*. Finally the writer notes the tendency of the Romantics (notably in Byron's *Manfred*) to exaggerations of this 'melancholy' style. II. *Argu-*

<sup>1</sup> See Camille Pitollot, *La querelle caldéronienne de J. N. Böhl von Faber et J. J. de Mora*, Paris, Alean, 1909.

<sup>2</sup> *Diario Mercantil de Cádiz*, August 12, 1818, Vol. II, No. 741. A question which has an important bearing on the subject of this article, namely the use during this period of the words *romanesco*, *romancesco* and *romántico*, I am compelled for lack of space to postpone for separate treatment.

<sup>3</sup> *Modern Language Review*, Oct. 1920, pp. 375 ff., in conjunction with which this article should be read as no quotations are repeated in full.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Giovanni Berchet's *Lettera semiseria di Crisostomo*.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Visconti in Nos. 23–8 of the *Conciliatore* for 1818. Here, in an exposition of *Idee elementari sulla poesia romantica*, he attacks equally with classical mythology the paladins, fairies, magicians, etc., of the Ariosto type of epic.



ment: (Romanticism prefers the mediæval to the ancient theme (e.g. Crusades, Discovery of the New World, Revolutions of modern ages), declaring that the classical subject lends itself only to conventional treatment.) The classical hero has to be endowed with modern sentiments if he is to be made real; and this transformation has often been effected by the great Romantics (e.g. by Shakespeare, in *Julius Caesar*) working by 'nature and the human heart.' III. *Execution* (The Romantic lyric is freer in its technique; the instrument is suited to the theme instead of being subjected to arbitrary 'rules.') In the drama the differences are even greater: the Classicists rigorously observe the unities, while the Romantics 'only recognise the unity of interest.' A detailed discussion of the unities follows. IV. The article ends rather abruptly by a counsel to the reader to study the works of 'Schloegel, Sismondi, Manzoni, y de lo que han dejado escrito sobre este particular los redactores del *Conciliatore* de Milan en Lombardia.' The writer was of course an Italian.

On Nov. 22, 1823, López Soler contributes an article entitled 'Examen sobre el carácter superficial de nuestro siglo.' We are a decadent nation (is its trend); we have lost all respect for religion; we are content to rest upon our great achievements of the seventeenth century; and in literature we are imitators, not authors, with the sterile qualities of erudition in place of the fertile gifts of genius.

The article 'Análisis de la cuestión agitada entre románticos y clasicistas' which López Soler writes in the following number does not fulfil the expectations which this jeremiad arouses. Its aim is to 'conciliate' the rival literary schools, and it is written 'in no party spirit.' The three great external influences upon all poetry are (1) Religion, (2) Nature, (3) local conditions and customs. Each of these has contributed towards the making of Romanticism. As to the first the heroes of Christianity compared with those of Homer are by their nature more inclined to the type of the Romantic hero<sup>2</sup>, and in other ways the Christian religion has moulded the Romantic author. As to Nature, it is noteworthy that in the countries where Romanticism was born she wears a gloomier and more melancholy dress, while the customs of those same countries also favour the modern *genre*. Contrast the wars of the

<sup>1</sup> 'Lo que en los antiguos era un atraso (dicen los románticos) ha servido de regla a los ciegos imitadores de todo lo que proviene de ellos. Consecuencia de este error son las inverosimilitudes... que más choc(an) al público que el no mudar de escenas.' 'Los románticos no reconocen más que una sola unidad que es la de interés.' The writer was perhaps influenced by Visconti's *Dialogo intorno alle unità di tempo e di luogo nelle opere drammatiche*, which was published in the *Conciliatore* for 1819.

<sup>2</sup> 'Menos entusiastas y más recogidos, menos brillantes y más melancólicos, más pundonorosos y menos ligeros.'

Romans with the struggles of Christians and Mahometans, the fierce brilliance of the Olympic games with the jousts of the Middle Ages, with their incentives to valour and honour alike!

Thus far López Soler evidently conceives of Romanticism as a natural outcome of advancing civilisation, as one of the developments of modern life. In the conclusion of his article (Dec. 6, 1823) he presents it as an ideal of equal beauty with that of Classicism, but as an alternative and nothing more. (There is good (and bad) in the practice of Classicism and Romanticism alike. Why then should the partisans of the one attack the other as they do?)

Deduciremos de aquí que los románticos han debido escribir con el orden y estilo que les reprenden los clásicos, pero que estos no han de advertir en su sistema ninguna injuria al autor de la Odisea, pues cuando nuevas causas piden un nuevo estilo esto no supone que se haya destruido el antiguo sino que la literatura se ha enriquecido con un nuevo género.

The contributions of these two writers to Spanish Romanticism are in the sum not large. It is evident that they conceive of Romanticism more as a matter of content than as one of form: this alone puts them back into the period of pre-Romanticism as judged by standards of Italy or France. To take their ideas separately, Monteggia, though he offers many parallels with Berchet, Di Brême and Manzoni, seems free from many specifically Italian influences: there is, for instance, none of that strongly moral and patriotic feeling in his work which characterises Italian even more than Spanish Romanticism<sup>1</sup>, and none of the Italian emphasis of *art* in Romantic literature. If occasional phrases (like that from Visconti cited above<sup>2</sup>) seem to indicate Italian influence, Monteggia in general rather suggests the theories of Mme de Staël and A. W. Schlegel with the superposition of the emotionalism of Chateaubriand and Byron.

López Soler is, at this stage, less advanced than his colleague, and suggests A. W. Schlegel even more strongly. Particularly is this so in his idea of a possible 'conciliation' between the two ideals<sup>3</sup>. It will be remembered how A. W. Schlegel, in his lecture on the English and Spanish dramas, suggests that, with regard to Shakespeare and Calderón, their merits should not be considered 'rather from a national than a general point of view,' and adds: 'But here a *reconciling criticism* must

<sup>1</sup> Cf. for example Manzoni's *Lettera al marchese d'Azeglio* (Sept. 20, 1823), Torti's *Sermoni sulla Poesia* (1818), etc.

<sup>2</sup> And again the idea of America as a 'Romantic' theme, which Visconti, unlike most Romanticists of his day, expresses.

<sup>3</sup> Which was an idea not unknown in Italy also. Cf. Romagnosi in No. 3 of the *Conciliatore*, who invents the word *ilichastico* to express the attitude of those who rejected the terms 'classic' and 'romantic' and declared themselves 'men of their age.'



step in; and this, perhaps, may be best exercised by a German, who is free from the national peculiarities of either Englishmen or Spaniards, yet by inclination friendly to both, and prevented by no jealousy from acknowledging the greatness which has been earlier exhibited in other countries than his own<sup>1</sup>. The rôle of Schlegel's unbiassed German López Soler seems here to be giving himself, but his 'vermittelnde Kritik' unfortunately fails to reach the root of the matter. If it had done this, instead of merely asking for 'some of each,' his work would have been better worthy of our attention<sup>2</sup>.

Durán's well-known *Discurso* (1828)<sup>3</sup> was, as its editor said, 'el verdadero precursor del romanticismo; abrió paso al renacimiento de la forma y del gusto genuinamente españoles.' And it deserves this title principally because, for Durán, Spanish Romanticism meant nothing less than a return to the Golden Age. 'To avoid circumlocutions,' as he says, he will describe early Spanish drama as 'romántico' from the beginning. And the ideal of this drama, which is now being re-created by Schiller, Byron, Scott and others—with 'más verdad y filosofía, pero acaso menos belleza y cultura'—is a presentation which shall be neither abstract nor theoretical, but as it truly was, or is, in life<sup>4</sup>. Classic literature on the other hand regards man solely after his external actions. 'Sus virtudes y vicios se consideran en abstracto, prescindiendo siempre del sujeto a quien se aplican; por lo cual el protagonista de ellas carece de toda

<sup>1</sup> *Vorlesungen über dramatische Kunst und Literatur*, Black's translation, p. 341. The original reads: Könnte man einen Lands- und Zeitgenossen und verständigen Bewunderer des Shakspeare, und einen andern des Calderon wieder auferwecken, und sie mit den Werken des ihnen fremden Dichters bekannt machen, so würden beide, mehr von einem nationalen als allgemeinen Gesichtspunkte ausgehend, ohne Zweifel sich nur mit Mühe hinein versetzen, und viel dagegen einzuwenden haben. Hier muss nun die vermittelnde Kritik eintreten, die vielleicht von einem Deutschen am besten ausgeübt werden kann, der weder in englischer noch in spanischer Nationalität befangen, aber einer wie der andern durch Neigung befreundet ist, und durch keine Eifersucht gehindert wird, das Grosse, was früher im Auslande geleistet worden, anzuerkennen.' The critic adds in a footnote, with respect to his 'vermittelnde Kritik,' that the term was first used by Herr Adam Müller in his *Vorlesungen über deutsche Wissenschaft und Literatur*, but that the idea of reconciling differences in taste, (um) 'aller ächten Poesie und Kunst die gehörige Anerkennung zu verschaffen,' is very much older than Müller.

<sup>2</sup> It may be added that López Soler's conception of Romanticism as a 'new genre' reminds one of the ideas in Di Brème's *Discorso intorno all' ingiustizia di alcuni giudizi letterari*, Milan, 1816.

<sup>3</sup> Its full title is: *Discurso sobre el influjo que ha tenido la crítica moderna en la decadencia del teatro antiguo español, y sobre el modo con que debe ser considerado para juzgar convenientemente de su mérito peculiar*. It was published in Madrid in the year 1828, but is here quoted as reprinted in Vol. II of *Memorias de la Academia Española*.

<sup>4</sup> *Ed. cit.*, pp. 312-13. 'Tampoco el poeta romántico suele proponerse pintar un siglo o una nación entera, presentando un protagonista, ideal o histórico, al cual atribuye y reviste, no de un vicio o una virtud aislada, sino de todas aquellas pasiones, hábitos y costumbres que pueden caracterizar la época o nación que trata de retratar.' He promises a further discourse which shall shew the progress so far made by Romanticism in the nineteenth century.



individualidad que le caracterice y distinga esencialmente de los demás hombres dominados de cierta y determinada pasión<sup>1</sup>. The works of the classic writer have a 'fin moral, fijo y determinado,' which aim with the Romantic, whose object is the presentation of individual characters, takes quite a secondary place.

{ Classic drama proceeds from the 'religious and social system of the ancient Greeks and Romans,' Romantic drama from the 'chivalric customs of the Middle Ages; from its traditions, whether historical or legendary; and from the spiritual side of Christianity<sup>2</sup>. }

{ The freedom which Romanticism claims is a consequence of this. It is because of the lofty, often the religious themes of the Romantic poet, and because he paints from the life, that he evolves 'sublimities of thought and audacities of metaphor,' which, together with the requirements of his characterisation, make it impossible for him to accept such rules as those of the Unities. Not only does he throw off the fetters of restricted time and place, but he uses as many modes of expression as he finds in life itself<sup>3</sup>.

This view of Romanticism as essentially the mediæval, Christian ideal, individualistic and natural, desiring freedom of art to carry out its aims without hindrance, is not unlike Monteggia's, up to this point. Where Durán acquires a distinctive importance is, of course, in his identification of this ideal with the drama of the Golden Age, and (as shewn by his other work) with the romances of Old Spain. His concern is primarily with *Spanish* Romanticism. There is not a word of Victor Hugo, and very few words about France, in the entire *Discurso*. Its author assumes that the Spanish Romantic Movement will be genuinely Spanish.

The *Boletín de Comercio*, which was published from 1832 to 1834, is not primarily literary, and professes at its commencement to have purely practical aims. But as it proceeds it becomes more definitely of literary value; articles by Bretón, Gil y Zárate and Estébanez Calderón appear; and the unsigned contributions are of a kind which justifies

<sup>1</sup> *Ed. cit.*, p. 313.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 314.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 315-16: 'Por esta causa, y para conservar la verosimilitud propia del género, el poeta presta a los interlocutores el lenguaje adecuado a las circunstancias, carácter y situación de cada uno, valiéndose a veces de esta diversidad de tonos para formar el contraste entre la idealidad poética y la verdad prosaica. De aquí procede que los modos de expresión trágico, lírico, bucólico, satírico, y cómico se hallan admitidos y amalgamados en el drama romántico.' A note (d), p. 328, adds: 'La metafísica de las pasiones y los monólogos largos son por esta causa indispensables al género romántico, pues sin ellos no podrían ni retratarse los sentimientos íntimos del alma y de la conciencia, ni graduarse la marcha imperceptible de los movimientos que a cada paso modifican al hombre individual.'

their quotation as serious criticisms<sup>1</sup>. There is, from our present standpoint, but one article of the first importance in the *Boletín*, namely that on the present state and the prospects of Spanish literature<sup>2</sup>. This article (unsigned) has four main theses, the indication of which will be sufficient description of its contents:

1. It laments the present servile state of Spanish literature.

Es una verdad harto dolorosa, y que en vano trataríamos de ocultar con un mal entendido orgullo: no marchamos en las producciones del entendimiento al nivel de las demás naciones ilustradas de Europa. Lo más que hacemos es trasplantar a veces lo que otras producen; pero en cuanto a originalidad, nuestro ingenio no da hace ya tiempo sino escasos y débiles destellos.

2. The 'new movement,' which arose at the end of the eighteenth century, was unhappily led by authors in love with French tradition, and nothing of the first class was being produced when the French invasion put a stop to all literary activities. (This seems fairly evident, but the important point is that the writer has a more clearly defined idea of the work of the school in question than many writers of his day.)

3. There is a great future and it is in the hands of the young patriotic writers of Spain.

En medio de (las disensiones) se ha formado una juventud que arde en vivísimos deseos de ser útil a su patria. Por todas partes pululan ingenios que anhelan lanzarse a la carrera, anunciando talentos no vulgares. Acaso en ningún tiempo ha ofrecido España tal multitud de jóvenes atletas que se presentan en la liza, no sólo con ardor, sino con armas poderosas: pues todos ellos prueban que se hallan formados en excelente escuela. [What school does he mean?] Dentro de algunos años es de esperar que si encuentran libre campo para ejercer sus talentos, brillará la aurora de una nueva época gloriosa para nuestra literatura. El movimiento está dado: sólo falta que continúe.

4. But this new school will be different from the last: the spirit of revolt is now abroad.

De veinte años a esta parte el influjo de las revoluciones que han agitado a los imperios se ha comunicado también a la literatura. Los preceptos aristotélicos...han sufrido embates poderosos que ponen en peligro su existencia. Novadores atrevidos se han lanzado al palenque, y han desbaratado el santuario donde aquellos principios se guardaban en respetuosa veneración. Hase vuelto a entronizar el imperio de la imaginación, y he aquí que se presentan de nuevo con la frente erguida y laureada los escritores audaces que en España, Inglaterra y Alemania no reconocieron nunca las trabas del clasicismo. Los mismos franceses...se rebelan ahora, y son los más ardientes en destruir el edificio de sus antiguas leyes literarias.

It seems not unfair to say that this article, with its contempt for

<sup>1</sup> For further description see Le Gentil, *Les Revues littéraires de l'Espagne*, Hachette, 1909, pp. 40-2.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. I, No. 25. (Feb. 8, 1833.) Other articles of importance for a general study of Romanticism are: *Visión literaria* (No. 36); *Sobre la literatura y las artes de la edad media* (No. 51); *El Tiempo* (No. 95); *Los libros de la edad media* (No. 129); and a large number of reviews and minor notices.



French classicism and for classicism in general<sup>1</sup>, conceives Spanish Romanticism to be a living force, intimately associated with patriotism, and taking the best elements of the French revolutionary school, then in its prime, without imitating particular authors or particular phases of the Romantic movement. This is also characteristic of the far-sighted views of Larra. Praising Martínez de la Rosa's poetry<sup>2</sup>, he foresees that the day of Gessner and Meléndez is, for the time being, past, and that Byron and Lamartine hold sway. The new 'golden age' of Spain is to come, he tells us so late as May 1834<sup>3</sup>; it has not arrived yet.

Busquemos en España desgraciados y oprimidos ¿pero literatos?... Si bien luce algún ingenio todavía de cuando en cuando, nuestra literatura sin embargo no es más que un gran brasero apagado, entre cuyas cenizas brilla aún pálida y oscilante tal cual chispa rezagada. Nuestro siglo de oro ha pasado ya, y nuestro siglo XIX no ha llegado todavía<sup>3</sup>.

In an almost contemporaneous article he describes the new phenomenon of Romanticism—'el drama romántico, nuevo, original, cosa nunca hecha ni oída, cometa que aparece por primera vez en el sistema literario con su cola y sus colas de sangre y de mortandad, el único verdadero,' and speaks of it as a discovery hidden from every age and reserved for the 'Colones del siglo XIX.' He then attempts 'in one word' to define the 'discovery' of Romantic drama. 'En una palabra,' he says, it is 'la naturaleza en las tablas, la luz, la verdad, la libertad en literatura, el derecho del hombre reconocido, la ley sin ley<sup>4</sup>.'

## II.

Here, then, we have some representative constructive conceptions; let us turn now to the opponents of Romanticism, and to those who, while belonging definitely to neither side, were pleased to throw occasional stones at the innovators and to ridicule their exaggerations without standing up squarely to do battle against their principles. We shall see at once that these critics had no such broad and comprehensive

<sup>1</sup> As appears very clearly from passages not quoted in the above summary. Thus: 'Los franceses...vieron que no podían tener literatura si no la fundaban en la exacta proporción y belleza de las formas, en lo escogido de los pensamientos, y en el exquisito gusto que dirigió siempre a los grandes maestros de la antigüedad.' 'Su lengua [i.e. la lengua francesa] no podía producir aquellos sonidos halagüeños que habían seducido los oídos de los españoles.' So *passim*.

<sup>2</sup> In the *Revista española*, 1833, p. 836: 'La tendencia del siglo es otra...Buscamos más bien en el día la importante y profunda inspiración de Lamartine, y hasta la desconsoladora filosofía de Byron que la ligera y fugitiva impresión de Anacreonte.' He attributes the preference, however, to the decadence of his times.

<sup>3</sup> In the *Revista española*, 1834, p. 484: 'En poesía,' he adds, 'estamos aun a la altura de los arroyuelos murmuradores, de la tórtola triste, de la palomita de Filis, de Batilo y Menalcas, de las delicias de la vida pastoril, del caramillo y del recental, de la leche y del miel, y otras fantasmagorías por este estilo.'

<sup>4</sup> In the *Revista Española*, March 1835, p. 34, article entitled *Una primera representación*.



idea of the movement as the writers mentioned above. And, further, we may say at once that they fastened in the main on two points, from which they rarely departed: (1) the impatience of the Romantics with restrictions like those of the Unities—an attitude which they were pleased to interpret as meaning opposition to all rules and an ideal of complete lawlessness; and (2) the exaggerations of modern Romanticists, mainly those of England and France.

As an extreme—and an early—example of the kind of opposition which the new movement encountered, we may profitably quote from the three periodicals which between 1814 and 1820 formed the battleground of Böhl von Faber and Mora. These are the *Mercurio Gaditano*<sup>1</sup> (1814); the *Crónica científica y literaria de Madrid* (1817–20); and the more robust *Diario mercantil de Cádiz*, which may be consulted continuously during the whole period of the controversy.

To the *Crónica* Romanticism is no fit subject for serious consideration:

Hoy día las ideas sobre la literatura han sufrido extrañas mudanzas y aberraciones. Hemos querido sacudir el yugo de las tradiciones literarias, suplir con la *inspiración del genio* la falta de disciplina, y las vaporosidades Ossianicas han osado usurpar el trono del cantor de Aquiles<sup>2</sup>.

Its innovations are 'vaporosas irregularidades<sup>3</sup>'; its exponents sup full of horrors, their heroes being 'asesinos, salteadores, brujas, magos, corsarios, diablos y hasta vampiros<sup>4</sup>'; its literary productions are described as the 'irruptions of our modern vandals<sup>5</sup>.' These phrases are little more than repetitions of the polemic of the *Mercurio* ('la moda de desacreditar las reglas eternas del gusto, y de sacudir el yugo de los preceptos<sup>6</sup>'; 'este género es menester que sea detestable<sup>7</sup>' etc.), and the whole controversy in the *Diario mercantil de Cádiz* turns upon the double question of irregularities and exaggerations<sup>8</sup>.

It is easier to understand the emphasis laid on these aspects of the movement in 1818—or even later, after Victor Hugo's quotation of Lope de Vega in the *Préface de Cromwell*<sup>9</sup>—than the extraordinary

<sup>1</sup> A continuation of the more accessible *Redactor General de Cádiz*. It is to be found in the Biblioteca Provincial de Cádiz, but I have searched without any success for it elsewhere. Only five months are included in the one volume published, which ends at No. 158 without explanation.

<sup>2</sup> *Crónica* etc., No. 11 (May 6, 1817).

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 275.

<sup>6</sup> *Mercurio Gaditano*, No. 127 (Sept. 22, 1814).

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 126.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 306.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, No. 127.

<sup>8</sup> It is unnecessary to labour this point since M. Pitollot's study of the controversy, reconstructed from the original documents and mentioned above, is readily available.

<sup>9</sup> 'Quando he de escribir una comedia,  
Encierro los preceptos con seis llaves.'

(Quoted in *Préface de Cromwell*.)

judgment on Durán's *Discurso* which a critic contributed to the *Correo Literario y Mercantil*<sup>1</sup>:

El resultado de todo es que lo que el señor Durán parece entender por género romántico no es otra cosa que la mezcla de la tragedia y de la comedia, *sin sujeción a otras reglas que las que a cada autor indique su voluntad o su fantasía*...un drama según esta doctrina puede sin estorbo contener la vida de un hombre, la historia de una familia y aun los anales de una nación entera...tales y tan insostenibles paradojas hacen poco honor a la ilustración del crítico y a nuestra misma literatura.

The words in italics became the text for many succeeding diatribes; the double accusation represented the bulk of hostile criticism; and we have Martínez de la Rosa writing his preface to the *Poesías* of 1833 with both of them in mind. He declaims against the extremists (as much of the Classical as of the Romantic school, it is true), and, when he comes to discuss the theories of the combatants, we find that his whole preoccupation is the question of freedom as against submission to rules, which last he deems essential.

No quisiera sin embargo desaprovechar la ocasión, que ahora se me viene a las manos, de decir en breves palabras mi sentir y dictamen respecto de las dos sectas enemigas, que tan cruda guerra tienen trabada en el campo de la literatura: apresurándome a advertir de antemano que como todo partido extremo me ha parecido siempre intolerante, poco conforme a la razón, y contrario al bien mismo que se propone, tal vez de esta causa provenga que me siento poco inclinado a alistarme en las banderas de los *clásicos* o de los *románticos*....

Again:

¿Qué acontecerá probablemente, si por el ansia de seguir una senda distinta, se corre a ciegas sin concierto ni guía, y se desprecian como inútiles trabas los consejos de la razón y del buen gusto? Que a fuerza de mofarse de la supersticiosa observancia de las reglas, se sacudirá todo freno; y que siguiendo el curso natural de toda secta, ya sea religiosa, ya política, o bien literaria, los primeros caudillos echarán por tierra los antiguos ídolos; y sus discípulos y secuaces, llevados del anhelo de la novedad, sobrepujarán la licencia y extravíos de sus propios maestros (*Poesías*, pp. ii-iv).

Of the identification of Romanticism with lawlessness in literature, one of the best known reviews of the time will furnish us with a striking example. The *Cartas Españolas*, unwilling to range itself on the side of either the Classic or Romantic party, was nevertheless keenly alive to the importance of the struggle, and it opened its columns freely to the disputants. To two of these we owe a series of letters which takes up the all-important question of 'What is Romanticism?' The first of the writers ('El literato rancio') contributes two letters to Vol. iv (1832, pp. 197-201, 373-6), in the earlier of which he affects to respond to the editor's desire 'que le diga mi parecer acerca de la gran contienda que divide ahora el mundo literario, esto es acerca de los dos partidos

<sup>1</sup> 1828, p. 72.

<sup>2</sup> The review was founded and edited by José María de Carnerero (1831-2). For its general characteristics see Le Gentil, *op. cit.*, pp. 26 ff.



de clásicos y románticos.' The great difficulty (he continues) in discussing the matter, is to decide what exactly is meant by each of these terms: he will therefore discuss the various opinions current, confining his remarks chiefly to drama because this is the principal field of the combatants. The rest of this first article deals with the question of precept in literature. The Classicists' defence of it, and the Romanticists' plea for liberty in art, are in turn set forth. 'Sólo cuando se ve libre,' are the words attributed to the Romantic, 'puede remontarse a la altura de que es capaz: sólo entonces mostrarse grande, sublime y admirable cuanto cabe.' The writer then directly contradicts this with the object of shewing 'que para acertar se necesitan reglas.' Without denying that inspiration is necessary to the artist<sup>1</sup>, he follows familiar lines which we need not pursue in detail. Nothing good is ever achieved without labour; mere facility degrades any art; restraint, on the contrary, stimulates the artist; the greatest masterpieces in literary history are 'regular'—and so on. The author concludes his first letter by abusing the 'delirio calenturiento de los románticos' and fearing that they are about to 'inundate' the country with 'obras frías, extravagantes y cuya lectura es insufrible.'

The second letter by the 'Literato rancio' (IV, pp. 373-6) deals with the assertion of 'some Romantics' who declare that they do not stand for mere lawlessness. The writer asks then: (1) '¿Es cierto que tiene el género romántico sus reglas conocidas?' (2) 'Aun dado caso que las tenga, ¿puede ser su objeto diferente del que se han propuesto siempre los clásicos en sus escritos?'

Both questions he announces that he will negative. What are these Romantic precepts? he asks. 'Ninguna veo; a no ser que se tenga por regla la carencia total de todas ellas.' We have never seen them enunciated, and from their works we can deduce no precept but that of abandonment of oneself to imagination: time and place, language, thoughts, sentiments—all may be whatever an author likes to make them. As for the aim of the Romantics, it is the aim of all art—the imitation of Nature. But the Romantics would follow the 'illicit' method of portraying all they see, regardless of 'offending our senses' and our reason. 'Complacer a la razón, lisonjear los sentidos, tales son las condiciones con que ha de cumplir toda obra de ingenio.' This is the dogma by the aid of which the writer defends the 'naturalness'

<sup>1</sup> 'Es cierto que en las producciones sujetas a las reglas hay multitud de frías, insípidas y soporíferas; pero ¿es esto efecto de las mismas reglas o de la falta de ingenio en los autores?' (p. 200).



of the Classics, and condemns the temerity of the Romantics. And if, he concludes, it is asserted that these 'modern reformers of literature' rise at times to heights of sublimity, he can only point to these heights and term them fantastic, exaggerated and nonsensical.

So much then for this writer, whose conception of Romanticism may be summed up as (a) complete lawlessness, (b) the representation of life as it is. In the next volume of *Cartas Españolas* (v, 31-6), however, a writer signing himself 'El consabido' contributes a letter, in which he entirely denies that this lawlessness is Romanticism at all, and, maintaining that true Romanticism is that of Schiller and Schlegel, defends it valiantly. He refers the reader for a definition of the word in dispute to the *Discurso* of Augustín Durán already quoted, adding a note upon its derivation.

Los críticos alemanes modernos (he concludes in the footnote) aplicaron el nombre de *Romántico* o *Romancesco* a todo género de composición que tomaba sus pensamientos y formas en los escritos donde se halla la nueva marcha que tomó la poesía, la fe y las costumbres en los siglos medios. Así, pues, analizada la cuestión etimológica, venimos a parar en que la palabra Romance indicó primero en cada país respectivo una lengua, después cierta clase de escritos de recreo y ficción poética, y últimamente la voz Romántico o Romancesco expresa el género de literatura y poesía que tiene su base en el modo de existir y pensar político y religioso de la media edad o siglos caballerescos.

There we have an entirely different conception, and this is made the basis of a defence which we may briefly outline. The author upholds the Romantic interpretation of the 'unity of interest' as against the narrow interpretation of the Classic schools. He points out that the 'drama romántico' is an entirely new *género*,—'la expresión dramática de la historia y de la novela,...la pintura de la vida del hombre como la concibieron las nuevas sociedades con toda la extensión y mezcla de vicisitudes que acompañan la completa existencia individual.' Lastly, he puts some trenchant questions to those who see nothing but lawlessness in the Romantic ideal: Is poetry always to be bound by laws invented by the Greeks? Are the 'rules' of Classicism all essential and universal? If so, why do Ariosto, Calderón and Shakespeare still delight the world? What is the reason for the success of the 'Epopéya romanesca y el Drama romántico que tanto se apartan de las expresadas reglas?' Declamation against 'bad taste,' he says, will not answer these questions at all.

<sup>1</sup> The attack is carried out on the most reactionary plan. '¿Cual es la naturaleza de los románticos? La que a veces no se puede ver sin astio y repugnancia. Desfigurar la idea que tenemos de un héroe presentándole en los actos en que forzosamente ha de ser igual al común de los hombres; pintar las pasiones hasta en sus excesos más torpes; ofender la delicadeza con dichos que si bien suelen oírse, debieran quedar sumidos en el más profundo silencio,' etc.

At the same time the absurdities of foreign Romanticism were responsible for an element of satire which, prevalent principally in *dilettante* circles, gradually widened, until it was merged in something like a serious and general protest against the exaggerations of Romanticism in France.

In the *Correo de las Damas*, a fashionable weekly dealing only secondarily with literary topics, we find (April 10, 1834) an amusing skit (signed M. G.) which illustrates the first stage of this criticism of the Romantics. We are in Genoa with 'our hero'—a Parisian youth known (significantly) as Adolfo. He is a promising legal student, but one day a copy of Victor Hugo falls into his hands. He reads the book and it captivates him. He goes on to read Darlincourt and 'Valter Scoot,' forgets his studies and turns into a Romantic hero. 'Su imaginación se exalta, sus facciones se alteran, y su traje exterior sufre una gran variación; el Hernani de Victor Hugo es su héroe, se propone imitarle al menos en su larga barba y gran perilla y su objeto es buscar una joven que sienta y le haga sentir las pasiones vivas de su héroe.' It is only after prolonged travels in Italy, where 'the women have a charming air of sadness and melancholy,' that he sees the lady of his dreams: 'un rostro divino, con negros ojos, y cubierto de una extraordinaria palidez.' Finally, however, the 'angelic creature' falls short of his expectations and he goes back to France, quite cured of his *romantismo*<sup>1</sup>.

The same magazine gives us an unsigned sonnet entitled 'El Romántico<sup>2</sup>,' and a verse skit on the Romantic poet called 'Lecciones de Poesía Romántica<sup>3</sup>.' Its 'criticism' of the Romantic novel, 'un tejido interminable de acontecimientos horrorosos aglomerados uno sobre otro con la mayor confusión posible<sup>4</sup>,' and its derision of Sir Walter Scott and his admirers<sup>5</sup>, are entirely discounted by the flippant spirit in

<sup>1</sup> It is instructive to compare with this skit on the 'Romantic hero' Eugenio de Ochoa's ideal of Romanticism expressed in the *Artista* of 1835 (Vol. I, p. 36): 'Contemple sin ceño nuestro romántico; mire en su frente árida por el estudio y la meditación; en su grave y melancólica fisonomía, donde brilla la llama del genio....Contemple, decimos, no un hereje, ni un Antecristo, sino un joven cuya alma, llena de brillantes ilusiones, quisiera ver reproducidas en nuestro siglo las santas creencias, las virtudes, la poesía de los tiempos caballerescos; cuya imaginación se entusiasma, más que con las hazañas de los griegos, con las proezas de los antiguos españoles; que prefiere Jimena a Dido, el Cid a Eneas, Calderón a Voltaire y Cervantes a Boileau, para quien las cristianas catedrales encierran mas poesía que los templos del paganismo; para quien los hombres del siglo XIX no son menos capaces de sentir pasiones que los del tiempo de Aristóteles.' In the same number is an engraving purporting to represent a typical Romantic. (See also Azorin, *Rivas y Larra*, p. 65.)

<sup>2</sup> Vol. III (1835), p. 272.

<sup>3</sup> Vol. III, p. 167.

<sup>4</sup> Vol. II, pp. 3 ff.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*: 'Vaya, donde hay una novela de Walter-Scott calle todo el mundo. Verdad es que las hay muy pesadas, muy monótonas y que nada dicen bueno ni nuevo; pero el nombre del autor las recomienda y esto basta y basta de tal modo que he visto yo mismo en una tertulia elogiar mucho *El Invanhoe* (sic) a quien me constaba que no lo había leído.'



which the article which contains both is begun. 'Unless we occasionally write about something important,' is the gist of the opening paragraph, 'it will be said that we are empty vessels. So while I was reflecting about a subject, the idea of the modern novel came into my mind'!

It is but a step from this to the very interesting preliminary notice of *Don Álvaro* which describes the forthcoming masterpiece as 'románticamente romántico<sup>1</sup>,' apparently because of its numerous characters, its changes of scene and its varieties of metre.

We have now some idea of the qualities associated with pure and with exaggerated Romanticism by the fashionable public of 1834-5. When the public of such a non-scholarly journal was masculine instead of feminine, the same tendencies are more strongly marked, and for irony and satire we have abuse. The *Estrella* of 1833-4—a weekly, principally political but partly literary—is particularly violent. In two articles, one on Romanticism in general (a leader)<sup>2</sup> and the other on contemporary French literature (under the heading 'Varieties')<sup>3</sup>, a writer<sup>4</sup> who leaves his work unsigned, deplores the 'point of degradation' to which French literature has sunk in the past twelve years. 'Without any doubt Romanticism is largely to blame—that is to say, the rebellion against all principles and laws which experience and the study of antiquity have dictated in matters of literary composition<sup>5</sup>.' We suspect that the inspiration of this definition is rather gallophobia than anti-Romanticism until we read that, though the Romantics in their 'monstrous literature,' 'give way to the caprices of their infirm imagination,' Scribe and his comrades in drama are exempted from the general curse, and Chateaubriand is mentioned with less venom<sup>6</sup>. Then it becomes clear that the foe is Liberalism, and perhaps no more roundly conservative judgment could well be found in a Spanish critic than a phrase which seems to sum up the author's position: 'Para nosotros, es clásico todo lo bueno.'

<sup>1</sup> Vol. III, p. 87: 'Según la corta idea que tenemos de su argumento no hay duda en que será románticamente romántico. Los personajes son muchos, los lugares de la escena varios, los géneros distintos de metros en que está escrito, tantos acaso como pueden salir de la acreditada pluma del Sr. Duque. Pronosticamos desde luego que esta producción causará grande efecto, y sabemos que igual pronóstico han hecho oráculos más fidedignos que nosotros.'

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.*, No. 56 (Jan. 25, 1834). 'Del Romanticismo.'

<sup>3</sup> *Op. cit.*, No. 52. 'Sobre el estado de la literatura en Francia.'

<sup>4</sup> For it is surely impossible that *two* such writers could be found!

<sup>5</sup> 'Sin duda tiene gran parte de culpa en esto el romanticismo, es decir, la rebelión ominosa contra todos los principios y leyes que han dictado la experiencia y el estudio de la antigüedad en materia de composiciones literarias.' The italics in the translation are mine.

<sup>6</sup> The works of these dramatists 'tienen entre otras el mérito de no poder ser infestadas por el nuevo estilo y lenguaje románticos adoptados por los franceses; parodia chavacana e inoportuna de Chateaubriand.'



By 1835 the idea of Romanticism as 'lawlessness' has reached such a point that it is enshrined in a single sentence as a commonplace definition. 'Se ataca,' we read in the *Revista Española* of Apr. 12, 1835, 'Se ataca el romanticismo o la regla de ausencia de reglas que así se llama y las faltas que más se critican en la pieza son faltas no de inadvertencia sino cometidas a sabiendas y con la firme creencia de que no son faltas' (italics mine).

### III.

And what, in conclusion, were representative views of the foremost Romantics themselves at this time? To Alcalá Galiano, as in 1833 he penned the preface to Rivas' *Moro Expósito*, Romantic drama meant on the one hand disregard of the unities, and on the other the admixture of tragic and comic, the use of mediæval sources, the modern, the Christian, and especially the chivalric colouring which we find in that romance<sup>1</sup>. If he would not dub the *Moro Expósito* 'romantic,' it could have been but from a fear of the name<sup>2</sup>. He certainly knew his *Préface de Cromwell*.

So we have 'C. A.' (Campo Alange?), that zealous defender of the new school, in the *Artista*, shewing how the attitude of Romanticism towards the 'rules' has been misinterpreted and expounding its constructive principles almost in the words of Victor Hugo<sup>3</sup>, and Eugenio de Ochoa turning the tables on the typical abusive Classicist, 'esencialmente intolerante, testarudo y atrabiliario<sup>4</sup>.' It would be, in fact, to the *Artista* that one would naturally turn for a comprehensive idea of what Romanticism meant in 1835, not to one man, but to a group of contributors so distinguished that, if the names of Ochoa, Espronceda,

<sup>1</sup> He is speaking of the older Romantic Spanish drama but, as the next note shews, he conceives the new movement as a return to the old: 'Porque no observa las unidades, con poca razón creídas reglas fundamentales de los dramas griegos; porque no rehusa mezclar trozos de estilo cómico y festivo con otros en tono trágico o elevado; porque a veces trata asuntos de las edades medias, y siempre da a los argumentos griegos y romanos, y hasta a los mitológicos, cierto color moderno y caballeresco, bien hay razón para darle el nombre de *romántica* y para considerarla como sujeta a las condiciones del actual romanticismo.'

<sup>2</sup> 'No ha pretendido hacerlo *clásico* ni *romántico*,' says Alcalá Galiano of Rivas, 'divisiones arbitrarias en cuya existencia no cree.' But he gives as aims of the author: 'Ha elegido un asunto de la historia de España, y de los siglos medios....Ha adoptado una versificación rara o ninguna vez usada en obras largas....Ha procurado dar a su composición el colorido que le conviene....Ha mezclado...las burlas con las veras...páginas de estilo elevado con otras en estilo llano, imágenes triviales con otras nobles, y pinturas de la vida real con otras ideales.' That is to say, he has done exactly what the dramatists did who (by Galiano's own account) were Romantics in the modern sense of the term. The inference is obvious.

<sup>3</sup> *Artista*, Vol. I, 1835, pp. 52-5, 67-71.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 36 ff.: 'Un *romántico*,' from which the passage cited on p. 293 (note), is a quotation which supplies the constructive complement to this attack.

Zorrilla, Pastor Díaz, Trueba y Cosío, Pacheco and Ventura de la Vega are cited as examples, the selection is almost at random. Articles like those of 'C. A.' and Ochoa; Romantic tales introducing the mediæval, the Oriental and the grotesque; reviews of foreign masterpieces; translations from Byron, Dumas and Hugo; *romances* and prose narratives in a similar style; resuscitations of forgotten authors,—each contributes its quota to the many-sided conception of Romanticism which had at last found its way into Spain.

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## ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS AND ADAPTATIONS OF SCHILLER'S 'ROBBERS.'

ALTHOUGH we possess several studies of the influence of Schiller's *Robbers* on English literature<sup>1</sup>, there exists as yet no trustworthy account of the English translations from which this influence proceeded<sup>2</sup>. This paper aims at remedying in some measure this defect.

The first notice of *The Robbers* having reached England was a much-quoted critical review by Henry Mackenzie (the famous author of the *Man of Feeling*) in a paper entitled 'Account of the German Theatre,' which he read before the Royal Society of Edinburgh on 21 April, 1788. Mackenzie, who knew no German, based his account on a French version by Friedel and De Bonneville which had appeared but shortly before in their collection of German plays, *Le Théâtre Allemand*, and was based on the stage version. In spite of these two serious drawbacks, *Les Voleurs* made a great impression on Mackenzie, who was attracted especially by the sublimity of the sentiment and the eloquence of the language<sup>3</sup>. His enthusiasm was sufficiently strong, in any case, to communicate itself to his audience, and soon afterwards a class was formed in Edinburgh, which included Walter Scott and a rising young lawyer, A. F. Tytler, with the definite object of studying the works of this newly discovered German literature.

The first fruits of these studies was the translation of *The Robbers* which appeared four years after Mackenzie's paper by the said Alexander Fraser Tytler, who was later to obtain fame both as a judge and an historian as Lord Woodhouselee. In 1792 he published *The Robbers, A Tragedy translated from the German of Frederick Schiller*, London.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. especially Margaret W. Cooke, *Schiller's Robbers in England*, in *Modern Language Review*, 1915, vol. xi, pp. 156 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Thomas Rea, *Schiller's Dramas and Poems in England*, London, 1906, in his all too cursory account of the English translations of *The Robbers* is both incomplete and inaccurate. He dismisses each in a few words, without any attempt to bring evidence for the blame he metes out so lavishly. Indeed, his judgment on *The Robbers* loses much of its force when we find him (p. 15) criticising William Taylor of Norwich adversely for making Karl Moor deliver himself up to a 'poor officer,' which, of course, he does in the stage version! Cf. the reviews by F. W. C. Lieder in *Journal of English and German Philology*, 1909, viii, p. 267; by A. Leitzmann in *Euphorion*, 1910, xvii, p. 705; and by Köster in *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, Sept. 29, 1906. Rea's chapter on *The Robbers* had appeared previously in *Studien zur vergleichenden Literaturgeschichte*, 1905 (Ergänzungsheft: Schiller), pp. 162 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*, 1790, vol. ii, Part ii, pp. 180 ff. The article was reprinted in several of the leading magazines of the day.



Robinsons. A second edition appeared in 1795, a third in 1797 and a fourth in 1800<sup>1</sup>. The first three editions, as was the case with so many works of the day, also appeared in Dublin<sup>2</sup>; the fourth, pirated, at Perth in 1800<sup>3</sup>.

The translation was prefaced by an 'Advertisement' concerning the 'Author of the Tragedy, Mr. Schiller,' and a 'Preface by the Translator' with a critical appreciation of 'this most extraordinary production,' very largely based on the above mentioned paper of Mackenzie's. From the second edition onwards the translation claims to have been 'corrected and improved.' A brief comparison of the texts bears out this statement, although the revision was neither very thorough nor complete<sup>4</sup>. It is noteworthy, however, that the information in the second edition concerning Schiller is much fuller: besides *Fiesco* and *Cabal and Love*, the translator now knows of the *Ghost-Seer*, 'written with the view of exposing to contempt and detestation the artifices of those impostors in Germany, who distinguished themselves, and their disciples, or dupes, by the epithet of The Illuminated.' But in the fourth edition he is still uncertain whether *Don Carlos* 'is finished or not,' although in the third he had definitely stated that it was. The chief interest of the fourth over the previous editions (it bears on the title-page the assertion 'the original translation') are two additions, one from the Publishers, warning the Reader against the pretended new translation of Render, who they aver (and rightly too, as we shall see):

servilely copied the work of another, in every paragraph, and in every line, (veiling his theft only by the thin disguise of transposing the order of the words, here and there exchanging one word for another synonymous, and often substituting nonsense for sense).

The second addition is a Postscript from the Translator who has in the meanwhile been convinced by a careful perusal of Miss Hannah More's *Strictures on Female Education*<sup>5</sup> that the German drama in general 'is hostile alike to the principles of Religion and Morality,' but would nevertheless, with the usual fondness of parents for their erring child, except his *Robbers* from this general condemnation:

<sup>1</sup> All anonymous. The current opinion was apparently that the translation was executed by Mackenzie himself (so Taylor still in the *Historic Survey*, p. 173), but Carlyle in 1831 (cf. his article in *Fraser's Magazine*, III, p. 135 note) knew that the translator was a 'Lord of Session in Edinburgh, otherwise not unknown in Literature.' Owing to the kindness of Mr A. E. Turner who placed his valuable library of Anglo-German translations at my disposal, I was able to obtain a first hand knowledge of these various texts.

<sup>2</sup> See the 'Advertisement from the Publishers' in the fourth edition.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Bohn, p. vii of the Preface to his translation.

<sup>4</sup> See below, p. 300, note 5.

<sup>5</sup> *Strictures on the Modern System of Female Education*, 2 vols., London, 1799. Cf. especially vol. I, pp. 39 ff.

He wishes earnestly, therefore, that he had *left undone* what he *has done*: as that man would wish, who had given wine to his friend, who in the frenzy of intoxication had committed murder.—But still; it is some alleviation of this unavailing regret, that he cannot, upon the strictest revision of this particular piece, and the most attentive consideration of its scope and tendency, judge it in any degree subversive either of *Religion* or of *Morality*....If the *German Theatre* had inculcated no lessons of morality more faulty, no pictures more corrupting than those of the *Tragedy of the Robbers*, its Translator should have no cause at this day to lament that any labour of his should have promoted the taste for its productions.

As is evident from these numerous editions its success was very great and, to a large extent, deserved. It was reviewed at considerable length by two of the most important journals of the day. The article in *The Monthly Review*<sup>1</sup> consists mainly of copious quotations from the Preface and the play itself, and even reproduces several scenes in extenso. The critic, whoever he was, does not inspire great confidence:

The reader will see, from the passages which we have extracted, that the poet possesses the means of exciting both our pity and our fears; his tender scenes we always read with pleasure, but his scenes of terror are too horrible; and his frequent and solemn appeals to the Almighty, his shocking imprecations, and the curses which, as commissioned from the Deity, he denounces, make us shudder with dread instead of inspiring us with awe.

*The Critical Review*<sup>2</sup>, on the other hand, takes its task much more seriously. Not only are we treated with an historical sketch of the development of the German drama, but parallels, fairly obvious, it is true, are drawn with Shakespeare or Ossian, whilst in the appreciation of the characters, or in the discussion of the plot, our reviewer shows sound common sense:

Terror, without doubt, is the most striking feature in this drama, but many scenes are exquisitely pathetic. To the defects of the performance we are not insensible. The scenes of horror are sometimes too diffuse, too sedulously laboured, and often so highly improbable, that our minds will not assent to the delusion. They revolt particularly, at the idea of the amiable and noble-spirited Amelia falling in love with Charles, on the supposition of his being another person. That Francis rather than Amelia should discover him through his disguise...is highly incredible. It is still more improbable if we consider that she had not only been informed that Charles, long supposed to be dead, still lived and loved her, and that he himself had intimated to her who he really was, in the most obvious manner....

The translation is not so carefully executed as we could have wished, and the tragedy deserved. It is not in general defective in spirit and energy, but too often so in elegance and purity of diction.

Still another notice appeared in the Norwich revolutionary magazine *The Cabinet*<sup>3</sup> entitled *Desultory Observations on The Robbers*. The article was by William Taylor and was used later for the account in the *Survey*:

It would not be doing justice to the translator, were we not to acknowledge the spirit he has displayed and the energy he has exerted; some few inaccuracies may be

<sup>1</sup> Vol. ix, 1792, pp. 266–275.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. vi, 1792, pp. 209–217.

<sup>3</sup> By a Society of Gentlemen, 1795, vol. i, p. 153. Only three numbers of the magazine ever appeared.



discovered, but too inconsiderable to be noticed. Let us hope, therefore, that the production of a Schiller will not be confined to the forests of Bohemia, if the translator of *The Robbers* be in existence.

The above criticisms<sup>1</sup>, however, refer rather to the play by Schiller than to the translation by Tytler. A careful examination of the latter and a comparison with the source<sup>2</sup> reveal the following characteristics.

The translation is certainly not free from mistakes<sup>3</sup>. Some are mere inaccuracies<sup>4</sup>, others are more serious<sup>5</sup>. Tytler is particularly unfortunate in his rendering of the stage directions<sup>6</sup>, which he occasionally leaves out altogether<sup>7</sup>, or he curtails them<sup>8</sup>, but at times introduces an explanatory direction of his own<sup>9</sup>. Sometimes he is forced to admit himself beaten<sup>10</sup>, but as often as not omits without any such confession of failure<sup>11</sup>, or if he does not omit the whole passage, he shortens it very considerably<sup>12</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> The translation was noticed also in Germany by the *Gothaische Gelehrte Zeitungen, Ausländische Literatur*, 1793, 1. Mai as follows: 'Die mildern sanftern Züge des Originals finden allgemein Beyfall; aber die Scenen des Schreckens, der Furcht, der Verzweiflung u.s.w. sind für den Engländer zu schauerhaft.' *The Neue Bibliothek der Schönen Wissenschaften und der freyen Künste*, Leipzig, 1793, 50. Band, 1. St., p. 358 quotes largely from Tytler's Introduction and describes the work as 'eine treue und schöne Uebersetzung der Schillerschen *Räuber*.' Both reviews quoted by J. W. Braun, *Schiller und Goethe im Urtheile ihrer Zeitgenossen*, Leipzig, 1882, vol. i, pp. 382, 395.

<sup>2</sup> The edition used by Tytler was, so he tells us, that 'printed at Manheim, by C. F. Schwan and G. C. Goetz, 1786,' containing *The Robbers, Fiesco and Cabal and Love* in one volume. See 'Advertisement,' p. vi. Goedeke does not record such an edition either in the *Grundriss*, v, 163, or in the *Werke*, ii, 207. Can 1786 be a mistake for 1788?

<sup>3</sup> I have counted no less than seventy-five instances, in which the translator comes more or less to grief.

<sup>4</sup> In the following *a, b, c, d* stand respectively for the first, second, third and fourth edition. P. 86 the steeple: der Turm (i.e. der Pulverturm); p. 6 the spirit of fire: der feurige Geist (i.e. ardent spirit); p. 18 ungenerous: unmenschlich; p. 197 handcuffed: Ketten schleifend.

<sup>5</sup> P. 3 live then for me! : so lebt wohl! (omitted *b, c, d*); p. 3 My son, you wish to spare this grey head: du ersparst mir die Krücke (It is enough—Stop there my son, *b, c, d*); p. 45 drinks of my heart's blood: mir zutrinkt; p. 49 by this man's right hand: bei dieser männlichen Rechte; p. 92 wherever the main force is: fechten im Gedränge; p. 148 Can there be love beneath a garb like that?: Liebt denn unter diesem Himmelsstrich jemand?; p. 166 a murmuring noise, like those who groan in sleep: als hört ich ein Schnarchen; p. 218 with a woman's breath: beim Todesröcheln eines Weibes.

<sup>6</sup> P. 35 the rest keep silence for awhile and look at each other: Alle fahren auf; p. 49 walks aside dissatisfied: geht wüthend auf und nieder; p. 73 coming back: zurückrufend; p. 81 quite breathless: in Athem.

<sup>7</sup> P. 73 hin und her taumelnd bis sie hinsinkt; p. 74 wüthet wider sich selber.

<sup>8</sup> P. 75 he sinks down: voll Verzweiflung hin und her geworfen im Sessel.

<sup>9</sup> P. 108 pointing to the sun.

<sup>10</sup> P. 3 he relegates the German to a foot-note, and again, p. 170, he confesses: 'Das heißt, ein todter Hund liegt in meiner Väter Gruft.' A dead dog lies in my father's tomb. An expression of which the Translator does not see the force and therefore has omitted it. (Amended, however, in *b, c, d* to: 'but in my room they laid a dog within my father's sepulchre.')

<sup>11</sup> P. 60 und in dem Eingeweid ihres Schützen wüthen; p. 97 und den traurenden Patrioten von seiner Thüre stieß; p. 112 traure mit mir Natur!; p. 216 vorüber an all den Zauberhunden meines Feindes Verhängnis.

<sup>12</sup> P. 95 Shall I cut his throat?: Soll ich hingehen, und diesem abgerichteten Schäferhund die Gurgel zusammenschnüren, daß ihm der rote Saft aus allen Schweißblöchern sprudelt?; p. 105 like the hound of hell: gleich dem verzauberten Hunde, der auf unterirdischen Goldkästen liegt.



He paraphrases so freely that it is often impossible to tell whether he has understood or not<sup>1</sup>, whilst he now and again degenerates into mere wordiness<sup>2</sup>. There is noticeable in his style the tendency, so common in English, to use parallel expressions<sup>3</sup>. It is obvious that at times he is aiming less at literal correctness than at idiomatic English<sup>4</sup>; his sense of style even leads him to make additions drawn from literary or Biblical reminiscences<sup>5</sup>. Nor, apparently, was he averse to the youthful exaggerations of the 'Sturm und Drang,' and even outdoes Schiller in colloquial language<sup>6</sup>. But his native modesty induces him to water down still further the already much diluted stage version<sup>7</sup>. Finally it is noticeable that he has anglicised the German names as far as possible<sup>8</sup>.

From the above exposition it is apparent that, though not by any means a perfect translation, Tytler's work is yet on the whole an adequate and literary rendering of the stage version by a man full of enthusiasm for his task. And its merits were recognised by all subsequent translators, inasmuch as they one and all made copious use of Tytler's version when, indeed, they did not transcribe it word for word<sup>9</sup>.

The next 'rendering'<sup>10</sup> was by the Reverend William Render, 'teacher of German in the University of Cambridge'<sup>11</sup>, who in 1799 published

<sup>1</sup> P. 96 Shall I cut down the fellow like a cabbage? : Soll ich diesen Kerl das oberst zu unternt unterm Firmament wie eine Kegel aufsetzen?

<sup>2</sup> P. 16 while his son, his noble son—the paragon of all that's amiable, that's great—wants the bare necessities of life : während sein großer, herrlicher Sohn darbt; p. 98 you shall be purified in the waters of regeneration, the road of salvation shall be open to you, and every one of you shall get—posts and places : und jedem unter euch soll der Weg zu einem Ehrenamt offen stehen.

<sup>3</sup> P. 51 surfeits himself and regorges his meal : überfrißt sich so gern (corrected in *b, c, d* to : 'surfeits himself too soon—and loathes his unfinished meal'); p. 87 the scum, the dregs : der Bodensatz.

<sup>4</sup> P. 8 nor shall there be in nature a tie so strong, a bond so sacred, as not to yield to that first of duties, the preservation, the comfort of that precious life : keine Pflicht ist mir so heilig, die ich nicht zu brechen bereit bin, wenn's um Euer kostbares Leben zu tun ist.

<sup>5</sup> P. 7 that stock, that wooden puppet, so frigid, so insensible : der kalte, trockne, hölzerne Franz; p. 47 I would fall down and worship him : Ich will ihn anbeten; p. 55 God-a-mercy on my sins; p. 178 and pour the vials of his wrath.

<sup>6</sup> P. 29 the old hunks : den alten Filzen (corrected *b, c, d* to 'miser'); p. 71 Impostor! Villain, base, hired, perfidious villain! : feiler, bestochener Betrüger!; p. 87 chucked him : warf's; p. 150 Young woman, that is false! : Du lügst Mädchen!

<sup>7</sup> When he first came into life, when my arms sustained for the first time his infant limbs : da ihn die Wehmutter mir brachte; p. 87 babies in leading strings (*b, c, d* add : 'mere bantlings') : Wickelkinder, die ihre Laken vergolden; p. 175 the foul air : die faule Luft meines Unrats.

<sup>8</sup> Count de Moor (leaves out 'regierender'); Switzer, Razman, Kozinski, Herman, Francis, Charles. Cf., too, p. 216 : was it not sweet, my Emily?

<sup>9</sup> It certainly did not deserve the harsh censure of Carlyle who, when he refers to Tytler's translation as 'one of the washiest' (*Fraser's Magazine*, III, 1831, p. 135 note), was evidently animated by the same ungenerous spirit which failed to give to other workers in the field of German literature (*i.e.* William Taylor of Norwich or Charles de Vœux) their proper due.

<sup>10</sup> I disclaim all responsibility for this pun which is that of the *Anti-Jacobin*! See p. 192 of the 1799 reprint.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

*The Robbers, a tragedy by Frederick Schiller, translated from the German*, London, H. D. Symonds etc. William Render was a native of Germany who, after acting as travelling tutor to several English gentlemen, came to England about 1790 and made a living by teaching his native language in London, Cambridge, Oxford and Edinburgh. He had previously entered the Lutheran ministry. Render was the author of numerous translations from the German including *Count Benyowsky*, *Don Carlos*, *Maria Stuart*, *The Armenian*, *The Sorrows of Werther* and, in 1801, also published an account in two volumes of *A Tour through Germany*.

That Render made use of Tytler's translation we know already from the protest of the latter's publishers. Their assertion is borne out by a close comparison of the texts which show a series of common mistakes<sup>1</sup>. But although his path had been thus made smooth for him, yet Render's performance is pedantic<sup>2</sup> and literal<sup>3</sup>, the work of a schoolmaster<sup>4</sup>, devoid of any merit, save of fidelity to the original, and, in spite of the translator's official position, not free from occasional lapses<sup>5</sup>, whilst he has the usual fear of calling a spade a spade<sup>6</sup>.

Another version was also published in that same year, 1799, by the

<sup>1</sup> Tytler p. 23 When taking me with him to that grove; Render p. 20 When he took me with him to that grove: da er mich mit sich in jene Laube nahm. Tytler p. 58 will soon give up his estates to him; Render p. 51 will very soon resign to him his estates: ihm bald die Herrschaft abtreten. Tytler p. 67, Render p. 66 Dead! quite Dead!: Tot! alles tot! Tytler p. 131, Render p. 118 of thy happy dependents: (der Abgott) deines Volkes. Tytler p. 188 He cut off one of his grey locks and threw it from him; Render p. 168 He cut off one of his venerable silver locks, and threw it away from him—away: er schnitt eine Locke von seinem silbernen Haupthaar, warf sie hin—hin (i.e. into the scale of the balance). Other examples are quoted p. vi of the fourth edition of Tytler.

<sup>2</sup> P. 42 into an arm chair: im Sessel; p. 106 where Render makes the calculation that 'dreißig Meilen' are more than 200 English miles!

<sup>3</sup> P. 28 thou wouldst have chased the Turks through a button hole!: du hättest die Türken durch ein Knopfloch gejagt!; p. 31 His wits are whirling round like a wheel: Sein Verstand geht im Ring herum; p. 128 Oh! how these Beelzebubs refine!: O wie fein die Beelzebub raffinieren. On p. 100 he cannot even translate 'der verlorene Sohn' by its proper Biblical term but writes 'the lost son!' The foreigner betrays himself here.

<sup>4</sup> On p. 46 he has an explanatory note on 'Haar auf der Zunge,' which he translates: an insinuating rogue; on p. 49 on 'She gave thee a basket' (Sie gab dir einen Korb); p. 72 we have an historical note; p. 73 he takes care to tell us that 'Rappen' is a black horse; Bohn, in the Preface to his translation (see below) p. vii, terms Render's translation 'a schoolboy performance'!

<sup>5</sup> P. 32 This must be fine news for us: Das müssen schöne Neuigkeiten seyn; p. 33 Why just so much will carry thy mare to the stable: Und damit treibt deine Mähre zum Stalle; p. 73 by the fiery fork of Pluto: bei der Feueresse des Plutos; p. 89 Your crimes shall be pardoned till the day of retribution: so soll euch die Strafe euer Grueel bis auf das letzte Andenken erlassen sein (although Tytler has here the correct translation); p. 105 as if he sat on the ruins of Carthage: wie er saß auf den Ruinen von Karthago, where not only the meaning is wrongly given but the classical allusion entirely missed; p. 128 I fatten upon your infamy: Ich mäste eure Schande; p. 139 became faithful to the living: wird treulos dem Lebendigen (he misses the whole point of the passage!); p. 162 The angel of destruction attends us: Schweizers Würgengel kommt; p. 186 your premeditated curse: dein vermeinter Fluch.

<sup>6</sup> P. 138 Away with thee, Love!: Fahr' in die Hölle Liebe!; p. 191 Takes off Amelia's handkerchief, and exposes her neck: und entblößt ihr den Busen.



Margravine of Anspach<sup>1</sup> entitled *The Robbers, A Tragedy in Five Acts. Translated and altered from the German as it was performed at Brandenburg-House Theatre; MDCCXCVII. With a Preface, Prologue and Epilogue*, written by her Serene Highness, The Margravine of Anspach, London, 1799.

The Margravine, who apparently enjoyed a literary reputation as the prototype of Lady Milford in *Kabale und Liebe*<sup>2</sup>, was a typical adventuress of the eighteenth century, and one of the most beautiful women of the day. After an unhappy marriage with her first husband, Lord Craven, she separated from him and went abroad. In 1783 she settled at Versailles where her manner of life seems to have caused general scandal and incurred the disapproval of Marie Antoinette. Amongst her visitors was the Margrave of Anspach, the son of Frederick the Great's sister, Wilhelmine, whom she had already met in England. Eventually the Lady Craven agreed to follow the Margrave to Germany, where she soon succeeded in displacing his former mistress, a French actress. During the next four years she ruled both sovereign and people. Her chief pastime was the theatre at Triersdorf: she wrote plays of her own and formed a company of the nobility to play them. She enjoyed a kindlier fate, however, than her prototype, Lady Milford, for when both she and the Margrave were set free by the death of their respective

<sup>1</sup> Cf. H. Ley, *Die literarische Tätigkeit der Lady Craven, der letzten Markgräfin von Anspach-Bayreuth*, in *Erlanger Beiträge zur englischen Philologie*, xvi, Erlangen, 1904. Ley's treatment of the Margravine's *Robbers* is inadequate and incorrect. He knows nothing of Tytler and the fact that this version formed the groundwork of the above edition, and has apparently never read Schiller's stage version, or he would not (p. 33) blame the Margravine for causing Franz to fall alive into his brother's hands! A very painstaking and attractive book is that by A. M. Broadley and Lewis Melville, *The Beautiful Lady Craven*, London, 1914.

<sup>2</sup> The statement appears, on what foundations I do not know, in the *Memoirs and Letters of the Right Hon. Sir Robert Morier, G.C.B. from 1826 to 1876*, by his daughter Mrs Rosslyn Wemyss, London, 1911, vol. II, p. 300. Sir Robert Morier, who from 1872 was our chargé d'affaires in Munich, interested himself in a protracted law-suit brought by the heirs of the Margravine against the Bavarian government for some of the monies owing them from the purchase by Bavaria of the former Margraviate. 'The original heroine,' writes Lady Wemyss, 'had been the mistress of the Margrave of Bayreuth at the end of the eighteenth century, and had furnished the prototype for the heroine of Schiller's *Kabale und Liebe*.' At first sight this hypothesis appears very plausible, especially in consideration of the following extracts from the Margravine's *Memoirs*. Broadley and Melville, *l.c.*, II, p. 33: 'After we had quitted Berlin, we stayed at Bereith, which place the Margrave disliked. I had been there before with him to a great review of troops, and where he was for the purpose of being near Sept, a town on the Maine, in order to embark fifteen hundred men for Holland,' and again p. 75: 'The Margrave had dismissed M. Seckendorff, a Minister of Finance—but the cause of the dismissal of the Minister of Finance was, that when he was sent to England by the Margrave, to receive the money due to his troops which he had sent to America, he had converted a large sum of money to his own use instead of paying it into the coffers of the state.' Unfortunately, the fact that Lady Craven did not arrive at Anspach as the Margrave's mistress until 1787, whilst *Kabale und Liebe* was completed already by July 1783, disposes definitely of this attractive hypothesis. But in those days of 'Maitressenwirtschaft' Schiller can have had no lack of models.



consorts, the Margrave in 1791 made her his lawful wife. Soon afterwards, mainly at her instigation, the Margrave disposed of his principality to Prussia for a large sum, and settled down in Hammersmith at Brandenburg House. The Court and the greater part of society declined to countenance the Margravine and she solaced herself with adapting and writing plays for her amateur theatre. She died in 1828 in Naples aged 77, having just failed to play a similar rôle with the king, Ferdinand IV, as she had done formerly with the ruler of Anspach!

She published *The Robbers*, so the Preface informs us,

as it was performed at Brandenburg House, in order that any persons who may have read the exact Translations of it from the German, may be enabled to judge of the ungenerous and false aspersions of Newspaper Writers, who have, by various paragraphs, insinuated that it was played there with all the Jacobinical Speeches that abound in the Original<sup>1</sup>.

The actual adapter of the play was not, however, as is generally assumed, the Margravine herself, but her son the Honourable Keppel Craven, as appears quite clearly from the following inspired notice in the *Morning Herald* for June 4, 1798:

We are authorised to say the account in one of the Morning papers of the theatricals at Brandenburg House is not correct. The play of the 'Robbers,' was pruned of all the passages offensive to loyal minds by the Honourable Keppel Craven, the Margravine's youngest son; and the only sentence left, relative to state affairs, is recommending, by Young Moor to his friends, the offering of their services to a king who wages war to vindicate the rights of humanity. We are likewise authorised to say, the above-mentioned young Nobleman had the sole management and direction of the 'Robbers,' which, being a tragedy, is a species of entertainment to which the Margravine has objections which were only conquered by the repeated requests of a beloved son, to whom she never refused any amusement, where his talent and mind could be employed. Her Highness let him cut and arrange it all himself, and only added the Epilogue, which we hope to lay before our readers, together with an accurate account of the theatricals.

<sup>1</sup> The comments of the leading journals of the day are instructive and amusing: *The Morning Chronicle* for Thursday, May 31, 1798, after giving a list of the dramatis personae, adds the following: 'The Democratic points of this heavy play were mostly cut out, but the tendency remains.' *The Morning Post and Gazetteer* for Friday, June 2, 1798 has the most unkindest cut of all: 'It would be difficult to account for the Margravine's passion for private theatricals if we did not recollect past events. If Countesses, Duchesses and Princesses do not visit her highness at least she can enjoy their mimic company on the stage.' And again on June 11: '*The Robbers* attract a full house at the Brandenburg theatre, but, terrified by the name, the audience think fit, before they go, to take care of their pockets.' An account reached the *Journal des Luxus und der Moden*, Weimar, October 1798, p. 576, quoted by Braun, *l.c.*, II, p. 340: 'Die vormalige Lady Craven, jetzige Markgräfin von Anspach, gab den 1. und 7. Juny in ihrem Geschmackvollen Privattheater die Vorstellung der *Räuber* von Schiller, wobey die bekannte englische Uebersetzung dieses Stückes zum Grunde lag, die aber wie die öffentlichen Nachrichten sagen, von der Markgräfin selbst beträchtlich vorher verbessert worden war...Man spricht davon, daß in diesem Sommer noch die *Verschwörung des Fiesko* von Schiller auf eben diesem Theater aufgeführt werden solle.' Hannah More also heard of the performance and could not forbear from the expression of her serious disapproval that 'persons of quality' should act in such 'distorted and unprincipled compositions which unite the taste of the Goths with the morals of Bagshot.' See her *Strictures*, *l.c.*, p. 40.

This version differs from all the others inasmuch as it is not a translation proper (it is doubtful whether Keppel Craven knew any German), but an adaptation of Tytler's rendering, 'die bekannte englische Übersetzung<sup>1</sup>.' Mr Craven's 'pruning' was, indeed, most thorough and calculated to satisfy even the most conservative of newspapers. Not only does he leave out the 'Jacobinical' speeches of Karl Moor, but harmless phrases like 'Death or liberty!' (p. 52), or 'What a damn'd inequality in the lot of mankind!' (p. 17), and, of course, the tirade against peace. He is even more anxious than Tytler or Render to avoid offence to chaste ears; not only are the physiological disquisitions of Franz omitted or expurgated (he no longer threatens to make Amelia his mistress, 'wanton' is changed to 'woman'), but Spiegelberg's arguments and sophistries are very much shortened. Mr Craven considers, apparently, that the relation by the 'Commissary' of Moor's treatment of the 'Count of Empire' is derogatory to the dignity of the nobility, and leaves it out. It would be wanting in respect to the head of the family unless the expression of Franz 'my good dotard' were omitted. And naturally all oaths or allusions to sacred things are most rigorously excised<sup>2</sup>. The most radical change, however, was to make Amelia fly to a convent<sup>3</sup>. After driving Francis away at the point of the sword she gives vent to the following rant (p. 56):

Yes! hear me heaven, and you blessed spirits that sit above: spirits of those who truly lov'd on earth, hear me! This heart, like yours, was devoted to one mortal: He is dead! and Heaven alone...Yes, Heaven and a future state, can that sad heart look up to...that has lost all joy on earth (kneels) Oh, Father of Mercies! that made this heart so passionate and faithful, have mercy on me!...Mercy!—And, if I'm doomed to drag on yet on earth some years of misery, may this passion turn to real devotion...may my youth and sex plead my pardon! (rises up) This night, when all mankind are buried in sleep, I will fly this horrid castle; and, in a convent, try to forget the name of Moor...myself!—and learn...alas, alas, I have lived a martyr!...in a convent, like a saint, I'll learn to die (exit in despair).

As a consequence, there is a general jumble of the succeeding scenes which now teem with contradictions and abrupt transitions. We have first the scene from the fourth act between Herman and Francis, then the scene on the banks of the Danube, with the complete omission of the Kosinski episode; this marks the end of the third act. Act IV begins with the forest by moonlight, leaving out, then, all the episodes

<sup>1</sup> The expression of the *Journal des Luxus und der Moden*; see note, p. 304 above. It will be noticed, too, that the title-page only claims the Margravine's actual authorship for the Preface, Prologue and Epilogue.

<sup>2</sup> P. 9 where 'God' is changed to 'Heaven forbid!'; and the omission, p. 42, of 'Sodom and Gomorrah,' and 'Lot's wife' and 'that infernal psalm singing.'

<sup>3</sup> This course obviously suggested by the words of Franz and Amelia, Act III, Scene 2; and the stage direction of Act IV, Scene 1: 'Ein Nonnengewand liegt auf dem Tisch.'



with Amelia, who, having departed to a convent, naturally appears no more, and consequently cannot be killed by her lover's sword. The fifth act is, with this important alteration, the same as in Tytler.

Occasionally Craven's alterations are improvements as, for instance, when he omits the melodramatic and most incredible episode of the writing on the sword, or the passage where Amelia tears off her jewels and tramples them under foot. In a general way, however, this adaptation is devoid of any literary value and can be of interest only to the literary historian for a chapter on 'Schiller in England.'

Although not actually responsible, as we have seen, for *The Robbers*, the Margravine was so strongly impressed, that she was induced to write an adaptation entitled *The Gauntlet*, which was also produced on the stage of Brandenburgh House. Amongst the prominent-amateurs who appeared in the cast was the fencing-master, Henry Angelo, who has left us an amusing record of the performance in his *Reminiscences*<sup>1</sup>.

A more independent version was published by Benjamin Thompson<sup>2</sup> in his *German Theatre* (1800-01). Intended for the law, Thompson during a stay in Germany became enamoured of Kotzebue, whose chief interpreter he was to be in England. *The Stranger*, which he sent over to Drury Lane, took the town by storm. After a further stay of some years in Germany, Thompson definitely renounced the law, returned to England, and eventually settled down to married life in Nottingham. He translated no less than twenty-one German plays, mainly by Kotzebue, but including *Emilia Galotti*, *Stella*, *Don Carlos* and *The Robbers*.

Thompson was more enterprising than his predecessors and sought to enlist the cooperation of his German authors in his venture. On October 10, 1800, he addressed to Schiller, c/o Messrs Cotta, Tübingen, the copy of a letter<sup>3</sup> he had already sent to Kotzebue, in which he maintains that he 'has not undertaken the German Theatre with a view to emolument, but actuated by a sincere veneration for the talents of several German authors.' And he continues:

I hope you will not accuse me of vanity when I also state that it was my wish to rescue works, which do honour to Germany, from the mutilating gripe of needy and ignorant translators who have seized them and, with unblushing effrontery, have drawn down on the original writer that critical severity, which ought to have been exercised against themselves.

He concludes with the request that they will send him a biographical

<sup>1</sup> *The Reminiscences of Henry Angelo*, with an introduction by Lord Howard de Walden and Notes and Memoir by H. Lavers Smith, London, 1904. Cf. vol. II, p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> See the article on Thompson in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. L. Urlichs, *Briefe an Schiller*, Stuttgart, 1877, p. 392.



sketch of themselves: 'such an account of yourself as you wish to appear.' But he also has an eye to business:

If you could at the same time favour me with the lives of any other dramatic writers I shall be most grateful for them....Allow me to add that I very much wish to possess a good portrait of you. If you will favour me with one, I will provide payment for it in Hamburg or London as is most agreeable to yourself.

A postscript adds the laconic information: 'Your "Robbers" has appeared.'

The main interest of Thompson's *Robbers* is that, although founded primarily on the usual stage version, the translator also had before him the 'Schauspiel' from which, on several occasions, he borrows a few lines<sup>1</sup>. Such arbitrary dealing is characteristic of this translation which has been revised and cut entirely for the exigencies of the stage. It is only on this assumption that the numerous omissions can be accounted for<sup>2</sup>. No doubt in some cases this may have seemed to him the easiest way of evading a difficulty<sup>3</sup>, for although Thompson probably knew German better than any of his predecessors<sup>4</sup> yet he is not infrequently inaccurate<sup>5</sup> and at times even blunders, though not very badly<sup>6</sup>. His renderings are occasionally so arbitrary that they successfully disguise a probable misunderstanding<sup>7</sup>. It cannot, of course, be expected that his style should equal the vigour of the original<sup>8</sup>, and it would have been all the better without some of

<sup>1</sup> E.g. pp. 6, 28, 71. The latter passage is entirely wanting in the 'Theaterausgabe' but will be found in the 'Schauspiel' (*Werke*, II, p. 151, line 160): 'She is—because she loves me. How if I were an assassin? How if, for every kiss bestowed by her, I could recount a murder? Would not my Amelia, then, be unfortunate?'

<sup>2</sup> I have noticed some 44 instances of the omission of whole sentences or passages, the latter occasionally of considerable length.

<sup>3</sup> P. 8 dem lieben Gott von manchem lästigen Kostgänger helfen; p. 36 (eine Todesfackel) die ihnen den Buckel braun und blau brennen soll; p. 63 Mich zu eurem Bärnhäuter zu verdingen um einen Schilling; p. 77 er war abgekartet, etc., etc.

<sup>4</sup> He knows, for instance, that 'Ich rieche den Braten' is 'I smell a rat.'

<sup>5</sup> P. 25 a love-sick girl: ein schwindsüchtiges Mädchen; p. 33 calls to him in a broken voice: zurückrufend; p. 61 that his features shall become the mirror of his conscience: daß sein getroffenes Gewissen mitten durch die Larve erblassen soll; p. 74 Be what thou wilt if I but take my soul: Bleibt mir nur dieses mein selbst getreu; p. 85 from the bowels of the mountain: aus den Wettern des Berges.

<sup>6</sup> P. 2 I pity you sincerely: ich schone eurer; p. 12 all contests are forbidden: alle Fehden bei Todesstrafe verboten; p. 34 the dotard will survive the attack: meine ganze Kunst erliegt an dem Starrkopf (really refers to Amelia and not to Old Moor); p. 41 Damn blue stockings, they have betrayed us: Der höllische Blaustrumpf muß ihnen verkrätscht haben.

<sup>7</sup> P. 37 was safe in the stone jug: liege tüchtig im Salz; p. 44 let me split his skull, and manure the earth with his brains, if he has got any!: Soll ich diesen Kerl das oberst zu unterst unterm Firmament wie eine Kegel aufsetzen?; p. 94 ask me no more questions: dein vermeynter Fluch.

<sup>8</sup> P. 13 Let him enjoy his hoards of wealth, while I enjoy my bottle: Er soll nur drauf los schaben und scharren, du wollest dir dafür die Gurgel absaufen; p. 17 if you be not poltroons: Hasen, Krüppel, lahme Hunde seid ihr alle; p. 21 Away from me instantly: Aus meinen Augen du mit dem Menschengesicht; p. 82 follow me comrades: Schweizers Würgengel kommt; p. 96 men of blood: Schüler des Henkers.

the explanatory additions which render it rather diffuse<sup>1</sup>, but of all the early successors of Tytler, there is no doubt that he was the most successful and certainly the most accurate. Whether he knew and used Tytler's version cannot be definitely asserted, but the evidence available goes to prove that he did<sup>2</sup>.

The scene which apparently most impressed English readers as an example of the 'material sublime'<sup>3</sup> was the Dream of Francis. M. G. Lewis copied it in his *Castle Spectre*<sup>4</sup> and it was the scene chosen in illustration by W. Taylor for the *Survey*<sup>5</sup>. It was even quoted as an example of the sublime in a learned work on philology<sup>6</sup>, by the Reverend Walter Whiter, 'a man fond of tongues'<sup>7</sup>, who attempted an independent translation:

In the *Robbers* of Schiller, the Dream of Francis exhibits the most solemn narrative that can well be presented to the feelings of an audience. It is the Day of Judgment in all its terrors, from the mouth of guilt in the moment of delirium. 'Methought' (exclaims the Dreamer) 'I held a princely banquet, and all beat bliss about my heart!—and I laid me down in my Gardens of Pleasure, deep drunken with delights; and suddenly!—suddenly!—a monstrous thunder struck on my astonished ear—I staggered trembling up; and behold! methought I saw the whole Horizon out-flaming in a fiery blaze; and Mountains and Cities and Woods all melting as wax before a furnace; and a howling Wind-storm swept before it the Seas, the Heavens and the Earth.

In the meanwhile, as the reader will already have gathered from the apology with which almost every translator prefaced his work, the German drama in general and *The Robbers* in particular, were becoming more and

<sup>1</sup> P. 39 what a cursed explosion did it make; p. 48 I admire your sentiments, Amelia; p. 60 Let me return to that dread station which Fate has appointed me to fill: Nein ich geh in mein Elend zurück; p. 91 The tortures of hell await thee as a son—as a brother I forgive thee: Fahr in die Hölle Rabensohn! Ich vergebe dir Bruder.

<sup>2</sup> Tytler p. 40, Thompson p. 18 pestilence, famine and plague; Tytler p. 41, Thompson p. 19 with the sweet birds in concert around you...are the food of worms: woselbst die unvernünftigen Vögel des Himmels herbeigeloct, ihr himmlisches Konzert musizieren...von Motten und Würmern verzehrt worden. Tytler p. 117 a noble fellow for our troop: Thompson p. 54 A noble fellow for the band: Ein ganzer Mordbruder für unsere Bande. Tytler p. 117 Here there's no game at bowls, no tennis play: Thompson p. 54 Here thou wilt find no tennis to amuse thee: Hier wirst du nicht Bälle werfen oder Kegelkugeln schieben.

<sup>3</sup> Coleridge, *Table Talk*, Bohn's Standard Library, 1884, p. 15.

<sup>4</sup> See below p. 314, note 3.

<sup>5</sup> See below p. 309.

<sup>6</sup> The *Etymologicon Magnum*, Cambridge, 1800, Part I (the only one to appear), p. 402. My attention was drawn to this work by an anonymous publication entitled *Nubilia in search of a husband, including sketches of Modern Society*, London, 1809, a patent imitation of the *Caelebs* of Hannah More. Chapter xviii contains an instructive criticism of German authors of repute: cf. p. 406 seq., 'I think,' said Mr Carson, 'he never excelled the *Robbers*. From the first page of this work to the last, the reader's heart is chained to his pen, and moves at its command.' And the author goes on to praise the sublimity of the dream scene: 'I will tell you where you may read this passage with little loss of its effect; in the *Etymologicon Magnum* of the Rev. Mr. Whiter, who has rendered it with an energy and force little inferior to the original. As for the other translations they have been performed by men who had no other qualifications for the task than a knowledge of the German language; and not always that.'

<sup>7</sup> Borrow introduced him into *Lavengro* (Chapter xxiv). See *Dictionary of National Biography*.



more unpopular in certain circles. It was considered not only subversive of all religion and morality but also, in view of the ever increasing bogey of French aggression, as dangerous politically. By some critics it was traced back to the machinations of those dark and mysterious plotters against order and society, the so-called 'Illuminati,' in which certain conservative sections of the community affected to believe<sup>1</sup>. The loose morality of some of Kotzebue's plays and of Goethe's *Stella* offered a fair target to the shafts of the moralists. *The Robbers*, by its very contents, seemed to encourage an attack on privileges and property and to emulate the worst excesses of the French Jacobins. And so its opponents had an easy task to make it appear corrupt and dangerous, and witty parodies like those of Frere and Canning in *The Anti-Jacobin* and *The Meteors* in 1799–1800<sup>2</sup>, backed by the aesthetic condemnation of the poet William Preston in his *Reflections on the Peculiarities of Style and Manner in the late German Writers*, Dublin, 1801<sup>3</sup>, and the moral objections of Hannah More<sup>4</sup>, destroyed its vogue for many a long day. There is at least no further mention of *The Robbers* until 1821 when that indefatigable pioneer of German literature in England, William Taylor of Norwich, wrote an article in *The Monthly Review*, criticising the play in rather an unfriendly spirit. The essay was reprinted with but few alterations in his *Historic Survey of German Poetry*<sup>5</sup>. His criticism is still based on Tytler's translation, but, like Thompson, he occasionally harks back to the edition of 1781. On pp. 174 ff. of the *Survey* he illustrates his review by a specimen of his translation taken from the famous dream scene between Franz and Daniel. Even Taylor is not immune from occasional mistakes<sup>6</sup>, but he usually catches the sense:

He did not forgive me. The scale swelled to a mountain: and for awhile the precious blood of redemption flowed into the other, and kept it even. At last came an old man, bent down with sorrow, who had bitten the flesh from his own arm with

<sup>1</sup> To judge from two widely read books which appeared simultaneously in London in 1797, the one by John Robison, with the instructive title *Proofs of a Conspiracy against all the Religions and Governments of Europe carried on in the secret meetings of Free Masons, Illuminati and Reading Societies*, and the other by the Abbé Barruel, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire du Jacobinisme*, which was soon translated into English and went through numerous editions.

<sup>2</sup> A convenient reprint is that of H. Morley, *Parodies and other Burlesques by George Canning, George Ellis and John Hookham Frere*, London, 1890. Cf. A. Brandl, *Die Aufnahme von Goethes Jugendwerken in England*, in *Goethe-Jahrbuch*, III, 1882, p. 27; and W. Rullmann, *Die Bearbeitungen, Fortsetzungen und Nachahmungen von Schillers 'Räubern' (1782–1802)*, Berlin, 1910, in *Schriften der Gesellschaft für Theatergeschichte*, vol. xv.

<sup>3</sup> *The Reflections* were reprinted in the *Edinburgh Magazine*, 1802, xx, pp. 353, 406; 1803, xxi, pp. 9, 91.

<sup>4</sup> In her *Strictures on Female Education*, l.c.

<sup>5</sup> London, 1830, vol. III, pp. 171 ff.

<sup>6</sup> P. 178, 3 laugh me in the face aloud: lache mich derb aus; p. 178, 5 my heart was full of good things: mein Herz wär guter Dinge; p. 178, 15 and the naked ground began to crack: und das nackte Gefild begann zu kreißen.



raging hunger, and all eyes turned away with horror. I knew the man. He plucked a grey lock from his temples, and cast it into the scale of guilt, which at once sank to the abyss: and the other kicked the beam, and scattered in the air the squandered blood of redemption. Then I heard a voice issue from the smoke of the mountain: 'Mercy and forgiveness to all sinners of the earth, thou only art rejected' (p. 176).

Carlyle, in the *Edinburgh Review*, fell foul of Taylor. In his *Life of Schiller* (1825) he had written the first adequate review in English and thus fixed what is still the general attitude to the play in this country.

The articles of Taylor and Carlyle no doubt stimulated the public interest in the original version of 1781. In 1841 a translation, the first complete one, was made by a young medical student of King's College, London, named Christopher Wharton Mann, and printed in the *College Magazine* for 1842<sup>1</sup>. It was reprinted by Henry Morley, Mann's friend and former fellow student as late as 1889, in his volume of *Schiller's Poems and Plays*. In the Introduction (p. xi) Morley tells the genesis of the translation:

I have preferred to give a version of *The Robbers* made in 1841 by a writer unknown to the world, whose age when he made the translation was that of Schiller when he wrote the play, who with his whole heart loved the poets, and who had all the stir of young enthusiasm for those who could put the soul of life into their work. He and I were then medical students at King's College, London, who worked with the doctors and lived with the poets. We set up a *College Magazine*, which grew into two substantial octavo volumes, and it is from one of these that I reprint Christopher Wharton Mann's translation of *The Robbers*. The translator passed from this world many years ago, but this little piece of his work will, I hope, live on in pleasant alliance with the work of others whose labours of love have helped to give to English literature an English Schiller.

It is doubtful, however, whether with all his enthusiasm for the poets, the young translator was adequately equipped for the task. Not only must his knowledge of the language have been very elementary to judge by the numerous ludicrous blunders of translation that occur on every hand<sup>2</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> F. W. C. Lieder first referred to this translation in the above-mentioned review of Rea's book in the *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, viii, p. 273. I am indebted to Professor H. G. Fiedler for the loan of the magazine, to which the quoted extracts refer. H. Bohn appears to have Mann's version in mind when writing as follows on p. vii of the 'Preface' to his own translation (see below): 'Only one translation of the play, as Schiller wrote it, and as it now stands printed in all editions of his works, has been attempted in English previous to the present, and that is so exceedingly faulty as scarcely to require a more particular indication.'

<sup>2</sup> P. 22, 19 Soll der Vater das ihm anvertraute Pfand auf ewig zu Grund richten? : Shall the father for ever bury in the ground the pledge that hath been entrusted to him?; p. 25, 3 feeling minds: Erfindungsgeist; p. 29, 22 They revile the shoe-black, if he gets in their way: belecken den Schupputzer, daß er sie vertrete bei Ihro Gnaden; p. 44, 14 there is an unction in my heart: Es ist ein Aufstreich in meinem Kopf; p. 48, 14 Oh I will make a fearful scattering: Oh ich will mir eine fürchterliche Zerstreuung machen; p. 60, 8 a hairy man: Haar auf der Zunge; p. 71, 4 looks hard at him: faßt ihn hart an; p. 82, 10 but for a rogue you must have grain: aber zu einem Spitzbuben wills Grüz; p. 125, 5 I smell roast meat already: ich rieche den Braten schon; p. 126, 11 And he didn't fight: Und er kriegte nichts; p. 127, 6 Up, to France: Auf! nach Franken; p. 150, 24 the moon scorched his bare head!: der Mittag sengt sein entblößtes Haupt; p. 172, 23 I will make thee a king, at the peril of my life: ich will sie einem Könige mit Gefahr meines Lebens stehlen; p. 173, 5 Schweitzer's destroying angel cometh: Schweizers Würgengel kommt!; p. 177, 14 Is there not one witness among you?: so gebt doch nur eine Urkund von euch.

but he actually misreads and confuses the German characters<sup>1</sup>! Moreover the translation reads very wooden: in its endeavour to be literal it is too frequently un-English<sup>2</sup>, and with its attempts to soften the Storm and Stress of Schiller's language, its style is often mawkish and feeble<sup>3</sup>.

The last and best translation is that by H. G. Bohn, first published in *Bohn's Standard Library* in 1849, and many times reprinted since<sup>4</sup>.

Whatever opinion may be entertained of his labour, readers may at least rest assured that they now have, for the first time in English, *The Robbers* as Schiller wrote it with all its faults and exceptionable passages, and with all its beauties, so far as the translator has proved competent to transfuse them into his own language. (Preface, p. viii.)

With regard to the above assertion that this translation is complete, this is not quite true: several of 'the exceptionable passages' have, as a matter of fact, been omitted<sup>5</sup>, but with this reservation the translation is as scholarly and accurate a piece of work as one could wish<sup>6</sup>. It contains moreover a valuable Preface in which previous English translations are passed in review with severity, it is true, but sound literary judgment.

The centenary of the poet's birth did not call forth in England any-

<sup>1</sup> P. 49, 17 cushions of cedar: Kissen von Eider; p. 67, 25 Amelia! my beauteous one!: Amalia! schone meiner!; p. 113, 2 Curses on this place: Fleuch, auf der Stelle!

<sup>2</sup> P. 19, 21 he will one day die between his landmarks: der wird einmal zwischen seinen Grenzsteinen sterben; p. 23, 16 do you not think he will take it for a pardon already?: glaubt Ihr nicht, daß er das schon für Verzeihung nehmen werde; p. 25, 19 keep fools in respect, and the mob under the slipper: die Narren im Respekt und den Pöbel unter dem Pantoffel zu halten; p. 39, 13 it will owe his head, at the least: den Kopf wirds wenigstens kosten; p. 45, 23 without the Moor: ohne den Moor; p. 64, 18 we paint the holy: wie man die Heiligen malt; p. 104, 17 to raise a blue mist before him: demjenigen einen blauen Dunst vorzumachen.

<sup>3</sup> P. 28, 7 of this paltry age: vor diesem Tintenklecksenden Sekulum; p. 61, 1 Storms!: Wetter Element! Other passages offended the modesty of the medical student and are either omitted: p. 28, 15 und studieren sich das Mark aus dem Schädel was das für ein Ding sei, das er in seinen Hoden geführt hat; p. 31, 5 Du willst die Vorhaut aus der Mode bringen; p. 95, 16 und hochschwangere Weiber; or modified: p. 29, 1 after the slightest excess: wenn sie einen Buben gemacht haben; p. 29, 14 this weak and sinewless age: das schlappe Kastraten-Jahrhundert, etc., etc.

<sup>4</sup> The last reprint (1917) now published by G. Bell and Sons.

<sup>5</sup> P. 32 du seyst zwischen dem Rindfleisch und Meerrettig gemacht worden; p. 45 the most revolting passages of the nunnery episode are left out; p. 56 with defenceless nuns: bei nackten Nonnen; p. 84 and burning thirst make you suck your own blood: dein eigenes Wasser wiederzusaufen; and a few others.

<sup>6</sup> In spite of a close scrutiny I have been able to discover only some half dozen inaccuracies in the course of 150 pages: p. 8 Just as if she had spurned me from her refuse: als ob sie bei meiner Geburt einen Rest gesetzt hätte; p. 9 which men have devised to keep up what is called the social compact: die Pulse des Weltzirkels zu treiben; p. 11 gymnasiums: Gymnasien; screwed: geschraubt; beat hemp until you are bailed by the last trumpet: zusammenschmurren bis man zum jüngsten Tag posaunt; p. 21 rotted upon the gallows: auf dem Schindanger verfault; p. 30 convulsive sensations: gichterische Empfindungen; p. 31 to call thee smooth-tongued: Haar auf der Zunge; p. 53 our fellows had the extra treat of being able to plunder worse than the old emperor: nebenher hatten unser Kerls noch das gefundene Fressen, über den alten Kaiser zu plündern; p. 58 masterly guesses thus far: meisterlich geraten bis hierher; p. 60 who flatter them while they pretend to hate flatterers: wenn man ihnen schmeichelt, daß sie die Schmeichelei hassent. On p. 33 we seem to have a Protestant objection to crucifixes: I'll strangle him at the altar first: Ich will ihn am Kruzifix erwürgen; and again p. 58 Pater tritt auf: Father Dominic, why Dominic?



thing that was worth the writing. A certain Friedrich Werner, however, Lecturer on the German Language and Literature at the Queen's College, Liverpool, apparently delivered a public lecture on Schiller's Dramas<sup>1</sup> which included a short account of *The Robbers*, 'the most stimulating tragedy extant in German literature,' illustrated by quotations from scenes 1 and 4 of the fourth act. Their very shortness makes further comment unnecessary.

The history of *The Robbers* in America is the record of American reprints of English editions<sup>2</sup>. The first introduction to Schiller in the United States was the reprint of Tytler's translation by Samuel Campbell in New York in 1793; Benjamin Thompson's *Robbers* was reprinted in 1802 in Baltimore. Its continued popularity is attested by a fourth and fifth edition printed respectively in 1808 and 1821<sup>3</sup>. The last appeared in 1854 as vol. XIII of the *Modern Standard Drama*. The text, based on Tytler, has been adapted to the American stage and represents the acting version of the play performed at Bowery Street Theatre, New York, in 1853<sup>4</sup>. The text has undergone severe alterations, mainly in the form of 'cuts' for stage purposes<sup>5</sup>; what is left, however, is almost literally the text of Tytler, with but the slightest of amendments<sup>6</sup>. The chief change was the new *dénouement*: Schufterle, Judas-like, betrays

<sup>1</sup> *The Characteristics of Schiller's Dramas*, with preliminary notes on the poet's life, by Friedrich Werner, Late of the Royal College, Berlin, Lecturer on the German Language and Literature, Queen's College, Liverpool, London and Liverpool, 1859. This lecture was shamelessly reprinted word for word, without acknowledgment of any kind, as the first part of a *Centenary Lecture upon the Life and Genius of Friedrich von Schiller*, by Alfred Newsom Niblett, F.S.A., M.R.S.L., Assistant Master at the Collegiate School, Sheffield, London and Edinburgh, 1860.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. E. C. Parry, *Friedrich Schiller in America*, Philadelphia, 1905 (reprinted from *German American Annals*, vol. III), and F. E. Wilkens, *Early influence of German Literature in America* (reprint from *Americana Germanica*); M. D. Learned, *Schillers literarische Stellung in Amerika*, and O. C. Schneider, *Schiller als Bannerträger des deutschen Gedankens in Amerika*, both in *Marbacher Schillerbuch*, Stuttgart und Berlin, 1905, pp. 247, 257.

<sup>3</sup> Both these editions are based on Tytler's 1793 edition, although that of 1808 claims to have been 'revised and corrected from the various translations.'

<sup>4</sup> An English reprint of this version appeared as no. 332 of *Dick's Standard Plays* and was sold for the very modest sum of one penny. This version, a proper acting edition which 'can be performed without risk of infringing any rights,' has an additional interest in that it contains a specification of the costumes required: Charles de Moor, 1st Dress: Green tunic and tights—buff vest—hat to match—russet Hessian boots—wide shirt collar—loose pink kerchief round the neck. 2nd Dress: Dark brown slashed tunic, with brass ornaments up the front—breast plate—large brown cloak—fleshings—russet brown boots—brown hat and black feathers. Amelia, 1st Dress: Handsome embroidered blue satin dress. 2nd Dress: Black velvet gown trimmed with point lace—gray satin petticoat—black hood.

<sup>5</sup> Spiegelberg's speech is much curtailed, many incidents are omitted altogether: the story of painting Karl's portrait, the writing on the sword, the whole of the Kosinski episode (which does not prevent the adapter making Moor, in the last act, leave him a share of his earldom!), the incidents with Count Brand.

<sup>6</sup> Spiegelberg will be your 'tutor,' instead of 'master' (Tytler); 'Listen to us Moor,' instead of, 'Let us but speak to you,' etc.



Moor to the authorities; he leads a party of soldiers to apprehend him who, on his resistance, shoot him down :

(Enter Schufferle and a party of soldiers on bridge.) SCHUF. Now yield thee, Moor! MOOR. Never! your master in life, so will I be in death. SCHUF. Fire! (They fire. Moor falls. Exclaims) Farewell world! (Dies.)

Curtain.

Finally the full text was published by I. Kohler at Philadelphia in 1861, in the first edition in English of Schiller's *Complete Works*.

Besides the actual English translations of Schiller's *Robbers* discussed above, the popularity of the play is testified still further by the various adaptations which were made of its chief characters and incidents. Mention has already been made of *The Gauntlet* by the Margravine of Anspach, but the chief adaptation was by J. G. Holman, *The Red Cross Knights*, London, 1801<sup>1</sup>. Descended from an old Oxfordshire family Holman was tempted by the allurements of the stage to forsake an academic career at Queen's College, Oxford, which was full of brilliant promise. He met, however, with considerable success both as an actor and manager, and achieved some literary reputation with several plays which were generally very favourably received. He relates in the 'Advertisement' to *The Red Cross Knights* how he first came to consider the adaptation of *The Robbers* :

Captivated by its beauties, I had no other plan when I first undertook to prepare the work for the Stage, than to make curtailments, and such variations as most dramas require that are not native productions. When completed agreeably to this design, its performance was prohibited by the licenser....On a more dispassionate investigation of the play, I found much to justify the licenser's decision....Still unwilling wholly to abandon a favourite object, I determined on forming a Play, which should retain as much of the original, with the omission of all that could be deemed objectionable.

In order to achieve this object Holman has changed the scene from the Germany of Maximilian to the Spain of Alphonso of Castile, and the libertine Robbers of Schiller to Knights of the Red Cross in continual crusade against the Moors. Roderic and Ferdinand are two hostile brothers who both claim Eugenia as their bride. The whole is interspersed with songs and choruses and the fooling of the comic character Popoli. It is obvious that there is little space amidst all this excitement and bustle for the text of *The Robbers*: yet scenes are taken wholesale from the German play and—this is worthy of special notice—are based with very few alterations on the text of Tytler<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> On Holman cf. *The Dictionary of National Biography*.

<sup>2</sup> For an account of the play and of the performance at the Haymarket in which C. Kemble took the leading part cf. Genest, *Some account of the English Stage from the Restoration in 1660 to 1830*, Bath, 1832, vii, p. 454, and also *The Dramatic Censor*, 1800, i, p. 77, and *The Monthly Mirror*, 1799, viii, p. 173. Genest l.c. has a characteristic and

We know how greater men than Holman, how Wordsworth, Campbell, Southey, Byron and Coleridge, were all attracted by the genius of Schiller<sup>1</sup>, without, however, exploiting him to a like extent. A tragedy by the Reverend C. Maturin entitled *Bertram* (1816) owes much to *The Robbers*<sup>2</sup>, whilst both Sir Walter Scott and Lord Lytton borrowed some of its characters for their novels. Monk Lewis' melodrama *The Castle Spectre* which was performed at Drury Lane on 14th December, 1797, and ran for sixty nights, owed the famous dream scene, by Lewis' own confession<sup>3</sup>, to Schiller's inspiration.

The last off-shoot of *The Robbers* in England appears to be a play by Edward Gandy, *Lorenzo the Outcast Son*, a tragic Drama, founded on *The Robbers* of Frederick Schiller, London, 1823.

This work originated in the usual captivation which befalls young minds on the perusal of Schiller's *Robbers*. It was written about the year 1815 with an immediate view to publication... suffice it to say that the changes are manifold, perhaps not ill judged.... The adapter proceeded into the thick of alterations according to his own inclination and fancy, taking care however to mar as few as possible of Schiller's striking beauties, while he endeavoured to string them together like goodly jewels upon a thread of his own Muse's spinning.... The little added experience of a few years, which teaches how much in all things wisdom consists in moderation, tells him that the character of Schiller's tragedy, with all its beauty, is extravagant, and it is also deficient in some of the higher attributes of the drama, though the story possesses a degree of interest which rivets the attention.

It is fairly obvious that any translator or adapter approaching Schiller in that patronising spirit would not be likely to succeed in his task, and few are the critics who would care to say much in favour of *Lorenzo the Outcast Son*.

The scene, this time, is changed to Italy at the end of the Thirty Years' War. Instead of Old Moor and his sons we have the count Tibaldi

amusing criticism of Schiller's *Robbers*: 'On the whole, this celebrated Tragedy is grand, horrid, and disgusting—it was at one time intended to bring it out at Drury Lane for the sake of Keen's playing of Charles de Moor—if this intention had been put into execution, it is to be hoped that no English audience would have tolerated such an exhibition.'

<sup>1</sup> Cf. M. W. Cooke, *l.c.*; T. Rea, *l.c.*; and A. H. Thorndyke, *Tragedy*, London, 1908, p. 327 seq.; H. A. Beers, *A history of English Romanticism in the Eighteenth Century*, London, 1899 (especially the chapter: 'The German Tributary,' p. 374 seq.); F. E. Schelling, *The English Drama*, London and Toronto, 1914.

<sup>2</sup> A review of Maturin's play attracted Goethe's notice, who characterised its contents very aptly as containing: 'deutsche Originalelemente, Schillersche Moors und Kotzebuische Kinder!' *Werke*, XLII<sup>2</sup>, p. 38. Goethe even attempted the translation of two fragments from Act II, Scene 3, *Werke*, XI, p. 358.

<sup>3</sup> P. 69 note: 'This scene will doubtless have reminded the reader of Clarence's Dream, Richard's Dream, etc. But it bears a much closer resemblance to the Dream of Francis in Schiller's *Robbers*, which, in my opinion, is surpassed by no vision ever related upon the stage. Were I asked to produce an instance of the terrific and sublime, I should name the Parricide's confession—"Ich kannte den Mann!"' In spite of its title, another play of Lewis, *Adelmorn the Outlaw*, has little or no connection with *The Robbers*; nor has *The Battle of Hexham* (1789) by George Colman (the younger), besides the robber motive. An interesting parallel to the German prose romances founded on Schiller's *Räuber* is a novel by Sarah Wilkinson, *The Castle Spectre*, an Ancient Baronial Romance, founded on the original drama of M. G. Lewis, Esq., London (no date).

and Lorenzo and Francesco; Amelia has been rebaptized Teresa. Other recognisable characters are Gonzalvi (Hermann), Pietro (Daniel), Albert (Schweitzer) and Muralto (Spiegelberg). The only character left with his original name is Roller. Apart from the Italian colouring, the plot is that of *The Robbers*: Francesco plays the same rôle as Franz Moor. At the instigation of Muralto-Spiegelberg a robber band is formed among the Apennines. Suddenly, without rhyme or reason, Lorenzo assumes the name of Moor:

for my revenge  
Shall be most terrible—it shall—it shall !—  
Henceforth my name be called The Robber Moor.

As in Schiller, Francesco is ordered to be cast down into the dungeon in which he has confined his father, but the final solution is different: whilst he is led away, Francesco falls purposely on a robber's sword. Lorenzo refuses either to lead or follow the robbers any further; they remind him of his oath; he is obdurate; they shoot him down. Lorenzo has still breath enough to make the following appeal to his father before he dies:

LORENZO. Live—'tis your lost Lorenzo's last request;—  
Live,—and be still a father to Teresa.—  
Poor, poor Teresa,—dost thou hold me now:—  
—Mine eyes grow dim: Oh, be thou near me still,  
And make it precious happiness to die.—  
—Albert,—when I am dead, rejoin the band;—  
Say I forgave them,—that I prayed for them—  
Say that their dying leader's latest breath  
Bade them return to virtue's peaceful ways.—  
—Have mercy, heaven !—Oh blot out all my sins,—  
And take these wretched mourners to your care !—

(Expires.—The Count and Albert bend sorrowfully over the body.—Teresa gazes awhile in vacant, motionless grief, till it relieves itself in audible sobs.—Gonzalvi and Servants, with torches, appear on the bridge, as following the Robbers—and then the curtain falls.)

Enough has been quoted of 'his own Muse's spinning' to show the extravagant, pretentious production it is. *Lorenzo the Outcast Son* has preserved little of the Schiller spirit and does not merit a better fate than the general oblivion into which it has fallen.

L. A. WILLOUGHBY.

SHEFFIELD.



## MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

### THE 'ANCREN RIWLE' AND KILBURN PRIORY.

In the *Modern Language Review* for October, 1920, the Rev. Vincent MacNabb, O.P., restated his theory that the *Ancren Riwle* was written by a member of his own order (v. *ibid.*, January, 1916), and attacked my theory that it was written for the three women who were the nucleus of Kilburn Priory (v. *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*, October, 1918, and the review by Mr G. G. Coulton in the *Modern Language Review* of January, 1920). In a short rejoinder I cannot discuss fully the unsatisfactory character of Father MacNabb's account of my hypothesis, and I must hope that anyone who is interested will turn to my original article. I must here, however, comment briefly on a few points.

(1) Father MacNabb writes: 'It is quite true that the Priory of Kilburn was granted to three young women. But there is not any evidence that these three were sisters of one father and of one mother' (p. 406).

To give a complete and accurate statement of the coincidences with the *Riwle*, Father MacNabb should have admitted that the three young women of Kilburn were (like those of the treatise) *inclusae*, young, noble, richly endowed, beadswomen, living under a master, and that we have no reason to believe that they were not sisters. Except for one detail (added by Prior Flete of Westminster), we owe our information as to the circumstances of the Kilburn *inclusae* to charters, in which so familiar a detail as their relationship would hardly be included. Since they went to live together in a secluded hermitage, it would be natural that they should be friends, and perhaps sisters.

(2) Father MacNabb evidently finds it difficult to believe that the Benedictine Abbey of Westminster ever could have supported religious women not formally Benedictine. He cites Gervase of Canterbury's mention of the nuns of Kilburn as 'Moniales Nigrae' without acknowledging that this reference was first brought forward by me (p. 490, n. 23). This indefinite classification was the only mediaeval authority supporting a Benedictine connexion for Kilburn, and the circumstances under which it occurs are such as to make it a very uncertain weapon in argument. Gervase is giving a summary catalogue of all the religious

houses of England, and it would be very unlikely that in the case of an obscure nunnery of peculiar situation he would give the special investigation necessary to inform him that the cell could not be classed with the patron. Lately I have found a Papal letter of 1391 calling Kilburn Benedictine (*Papal letters relating to England*, IV).

Father MacNabb calls the later Augustinian connexion of Kilburn 'not proven' (p. 407), but he neglects to state that (as first pointed out by Park, in his *History of Hampstead*) the nuns of Kilburn are specifically called Augustinian in a formal appropriation granted them by the Bishop of Rochester in 1377, as well as in a Patent Roll of 26 Ed. III (p. 340; see my article pp. 489—92). Moreover, Prior Flete of Westminster calls them 'canonesses,' and no one would know their status better than he, for, according to the arrangements made in 1231 (see my article, p. 495), the Prior of Westminster was to be the official visitor at Kilburn in the absence of the Abbot. Thus we have practically three English official references to the house as Augustinian, against one official foreign one calling it Benedictine. There was every motive for guessing that it was Benedictine, and the three official native authorities which give the unexpected title seem to me almost certainly accurate.

It seems to me quite clear from the records that the trio of women who were put into Kilburn hermitage, c. 1134, were *inclusae*, unattached to any order (as *inclusae* often were). I have pointed out cases (pp. 536, n. 96, 539, n. 101) in which Benedictine monasteries took female recluses under their protection, apparently without bringing them into the Benedictine order. For example, in the abbacy of Anselm three women lived as recluses under the protection of Bec, and of these one was the mother of Abbot Crispin of Westminster—whose corrody was one of those granted by St Peter's to the three women at Kilburn.

Since the establishment at Kilburn was perpetuated and enlarged, it was natural that in time it became regularised. I have quoted (p. 491, n. 25) the Papal decree of 1148 urging women of unorganised religious life to attach themselves to the Rule of St Benedict or to that of St Augustine; as well as the union by the Pope in 1244 of various communities of hermits under the Rule of St Augustine. Doubtless there were other efforts at various times to regularise indefinite religious organisations, and Father MacNabb (p. 407) has mentioned one when he notes that 'St Dominic had been commissioned by the Pope to gather the anchoresses of Rome into one Convent under one Rule.' Various considerations probably dictated the choice of one of the two great rules rather than another, but Dr Frere points out (as I note, p. 492) that the Augustinian Rule was



an indefinite one which could be assumed without altering local custom: 'The Rule,' he remarks (*op. cit.*, p. 213), 'as compiled out of St Augustine's letter, does not enter into details nor prescribe *minutiae*, as does the Rule of St Benedict, which is a real Rule.' Perhaps because it did not change their regimen, it was adopted by many old houses. When Kilburn Priory, the cell of a Benedictine house, became regularised, it would certainly be natural that it should have come into the order of its patron, and the fact that it did not may hint at some unusually well-established local custom, which it was desirable to preserve, though it could not be reconciled with the Benedictine Rule. If the *Ancren Riwle* had been written for this house, we can imagine that when Kilburn became regularised it would choose the rule which would allow it to continue the manner of life laid down in the treatise, and this would be possible only under the Rule of St Augustine. A powerful motive would thus be given for rejecting the rule of the patron abbey, and one which we can imagine that Westminster would honour.

I do not see that it is in the least 'fatal to my thesis' that we do not know when the regularising influence reached Kilburn and made it Augustinian. Father MacNabb's opinion that it is seems due to the misinterpretation which he gives to the following words of mine: 'The Rev. Vincent MacNabb...has made the interesting discovery that the Rule of St Augustine was used in the *Ancren Riwle*' (p. 492). This apparently gives rise to the following, in his second article: 'Miss Allen agrees with us in thinking that the *Ancren Riwle* is quite definitely Augustinian' (p. 407). He believes evidently therefore that the treatise can only be attached to a house certainly Augustinian from its foundation.

I do not for a moment believe that the use of the Augustinian Rule in the treatise made the *Riwle* 'Augustinian'—if by that is meant written for or by persons of that order. Father MacNabb neglects to note (what is highly significant for the dating of the work) that I have pointed out the quotation *verbatim* of a considerable section of the Carthusian Customs, as well as unmistakable reminiscences of the apology for the Cluniacs against the Cistercians made by Peter the Venerable (*v.* pp. 488 f., 515—33). If the Augustinian influence on the treatise makes it Augustinian, then the Carthusian influence makes it Carthusian, and the Cluniac influence makes it Cluniac. The truth is that we find reflected in the *Ancren Riwle* an unsectarian, eclectic spirit akin to that which, in the same decade in which Kilburn was founded, produced the Gilbertine order. The Gilbertine men were Augustinian, the women Benedictine, and the lay-brothers Cistercian. The middle of the twelfth century was



a rare age, in which the sectarian distinctions insisted on by Father MacNabb were sometimes ignored. The author of the *Riwe* shows a peculiarly strong sympathy with the party which ignored them—the older Benedictines, the patrons of Kilburn.

(3) Father MacNabb writes: 'But the circumstances of the three sisters which is supposed to be fatal to the Dominican authorship of the Rule is especially detailed in Codex N (Morton's text). Now it is precisely this text which gives the paragraph of the lay-brother's office of Pater Nosters....Miss Allen dismisses this passage as an interpolation of N; not as an omission by the other MSS. The only grounds we can discover for Miss Allen's canon of rejection is that it is demanded by her theory' (p. 407).

The grounds for my rejection at this point can be found discussed in my article pp. 539—41.

(4) Father MacNabb, as in his first article, brings forward (p. 407) to support his theory of Dominican authorship the mention of friars in MS. B and the French (which includes some of the elaborate new material found in B). He seems hardly to realise where this lands his argument. MS. B has substituted for the description of the circumstances of the three sisters (entirely absent here) an extended description of 'twenty recluses and more,' to whom the work is addressed in this copy. How can Father MacNabb accept from N the passages as to the lay-brothers and the three sisters, and from B, as if equally part of the original text, the passages as to friars—at the same time rejecting from the latter manuscript the passage as to the twenty recluses as well as (inevitably) many others?

In his strictures on my article just quoted he has implied that no evidence is sufficient to justify a critic in accepting some and rejecting other variations of a single manuscript, yet he has made his own comprehensive discrimination entirely without explanation. He does not mention the fact that some of the new material introduced by B is indisputably interpolation, and that probably all of it is. He also neglects to note that I have pointed out (pp. 492 ff.) that this matter, which Mr Macaulay shows must have been added about 1230, can be connected with the reorganisation of Kilburn which took place under a Papal Commission about 1231. It may be noted, as a highly significant detail, that Mr Macaulay had thought it 'interesting to note' that the new material specially gives directions for a bishop's visit, and the most important innovation brought about in 1231 at Kilburn was that henceforth the Bishop of London was to have the right of visitation.

(5) Father MacNabb concludes his account of my hypothesis as follows:

'We are quite willing to admit, as a mere possibility, that the *Riwle* was written for Kilburn; provided that it is agreed that its author was a Friar-Priester' (p. 407). How can this be? The Kilburn connexion of the treatise, if it exists at all, is only valid during the years immediately following 1134, when three young women were inhabiting the hermitage whose circumstances strikingly correspond with those described in the *Ancren Riwele*. This was, of course, nearly a century before the beginning of the Dominican order.

In conclusion Father MacNabb adds what he believes to be four new items of evidence for his hypothesis.

(1) What he calls (p. 408) a 'very definite form of saying the Officium Beatae Mariae Virginis' appears to me a custom likely to be initiated by anyone so fond of using the Pater Noster and Ave Maria as was the author of the *Ancren Riwele*. A miracle dated at 1257 is said to attach it to the Dominicans exclusively (see H. Leclercq, *Histoire des Conciles*, Paris, 1913, v, 2nd part, App. iv, p. 1747, n. 10), but Durandus in 1286 seems to make it a general usage (see J. J. Bourassi, *Summa Aurea De Laudibus B. V. M.*, ed. Migne, Paris, 1862, iv, p. 267). Father Thurston has shown that in the case of the Rosary a miracle has appeared to give the Dominicans an exclusive claim to a custom that was rooted long before their time (see the *Month*, 1900—1 *passim*). The miracle attaching the present custom exclusively to the Dominican order may not be conclusive proof of origin, and so natural a procedure may have been sporadically practised during the twelfth century, as was the Rosary. In any case, since Father MacNabb gives no references for his assertions at this point, his evidence cannot be taken very seriously.

(2) The evidence drawn from the Oxford Dictionary again appears to be of the sort which might be illustrative, but cannot be conclusive.

(3) Father MacNabb quotes at length from the *Riwle* to show 'the frequent use of the Ave Maria as a prayer,' 'which makes it impossible to assign the *Ancren Riwele* to a date earlier than c. 1230' (p. 408). He gives no authorities for his categorical statement, and neglects to note that I have taken up this subject at some length (pp. 534—5), and cited authorities proving that 'among ascetics this custom goes back very far.' For example I note that 'Aves make part of the devotion of the "Five Psalms of the Virgin," first pointed out in the treatise by Father MacNabb, and this devotion can be carried back to the middle of the 12th century with the Aves as it is found in the *Riwle* (the form used by

Jordan of Saxony, noted by Father MacNabb, does not contain the Aves.) At this, and numerous other points, I convict Father MacNabb's first article of incomplete information, but he passes over these items in his second without comment, and still (p. 407) speaks of his 'multiple series of identifications and triangulations,' his 'almost countless verification' (p. 408).

(4) 'A further identification of the *Ancren Riwle* with a Dominican writer is to be found in MS. B...and in the French....Fr. Thurston, S.J., was the first to recognise in this passage the earliest form of the Rosary. But to deal sufficiently with this most interesting point would need a further article' (p. 409).

Considering the results of Father Thurston's researches on the origin of the Rosary (*v. supra*), it is not strange that Father MacNabb leaves this point undeveloped.

To recapitulate for controversial purposes has been the unfortunate enterprise of the present paper, but it will not have been useless if it succeeds in enlisting new interest in the theory of the connexion of the *Ancren Riwle* with Kilburn Priory. This theory derives its material from legal documents, and, if accepted, would anchor the treatise to a date, a place, and a group, with consequent great effect on the study of history, of literature, and of liturgy. Verification sufficient to convince the doubter may come from any quarter, and in view of the wide implications it is desirable that the hypothesis should be given the widest possible publicity, in the hope of gaining the widest possible cooperation.

Since writing the above I have come across Dr Joseph Hall's *Selections from Early Middle English* (Oxford, 1920) in which he makes a conjecture as to the origin of the *Ancren Riwle* and the connected pieces which is somewhat similar to my own. He believes that these works are 'the product of the Gilbertine movement' (p. 505), and even goes so far as to conjecture (p. 376) that they were all composed by St Gilbert himself, who, according to his contemporary biographer, was a prolific writer.

In an article in the *Romanic Review*, April—June, 1918 (pp. 154—193), and in my article on the *Ancren Riwle*, I have expressed opinions somewhat similar to the first and more general part of Dr Hall's theory. In the latter (p. 536) I wrote as follows: 'We have evidence from the historical side of a religious revival in England during the reign of Stephen, of which the spirit expressed in the mystical English works earlier grouped together is exactly characteristic. Passages quoted in



my earlier article in which St Aelred describes the devotion of Gilbertine nuns should be put side by side with the "Katherine group," or the ecstatic rhapsodies, for example, to show how likely it is that these pieces...should have emanated from the same environment....It may be that some of the English mystical works written in Southern speech originated in the Gilbertine houses of the North Midlands. Perhaps they were written by Gilbert himself, who, as we are told by his contemporary biographer, "wrote books."

In making the statement just quoted I did not mean to imply that the *Ancren Riwe* could have been written by St Gilbert, though I believe that other works of the group may have been. I believe that the author of the *Riwe* wrote at a time of many strong religious influences, one of which was the Gilbertine. He was sensitive to all, but he did not give the zeal of a partisan to any. He shows, however, a sympathy not untouched with heat for the liberal-Benedictine movement of his day—which was the cause of Westminster, the patron of Kilburn. He was probably a congenial friend of St Gilbert and of St Aelred, but he certainly found his closest affiliation with Peter the Venerable, the apologist for the older Benedictines. In the case of the other works of the group there is nothing to show a similar state of mind in their author. There is nothing to show that he was detached from organisations, or had sympathy for one rather than another. Therefore, though they may have been composed by members of any of the several orders which were then in an active state of germination,—by St Gilbert, or by St Aelred,—it would be difficult to fix their authorship. It would be equally difficult to fix the general circumstances of their origin, for none of them furnishes the explicit personal details found in the *Ancren Riwe*. Those details of the treatise offer an opportunity for definite confirmation of origin probably unexampled in mediaeval literary history, and they are all unanimous in supporting the connexion with Kilburn.

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#### CHAUCER'S TRIPLE ROUNDEL, 'MERCILES BEAUTE.'

In the *Modern Language Review*, Vol. I, p. 36, Prof. J. L. Lowe relates the Chaucerian triple roundel *Merciles Beaute* to three poems of Deschamps. The *réponse* of the Duc de Berry to the authors of the *Cent Ballades*<sup>1</sup> has as its first line:

Puiz qu'a Amours suis si gras eschapé

<sup>1</sup> Ed. by Gaston Raynaud : Société des Anciens Textes Français : Paris, 1905, p. 213.

to which Chaucer's refrain to the third roundel is precisely parallel :

Sin I fro Love escaped am so fat.

The roundel bears little relation to the Duc de Berry's ballade, beyond the first couplet :

Puiz qu'a Amours suis si gras eschapé  
Que moult petit me peuent jamais nuire...

but it is little more than a comic embroidery on the *donnée* of this line, whose quaintness may well have caught the humour of the poet who so willingly made a jest of his own plump figure.

M. Gaston Raynaud puts the 'publication' of the *Cent Ballades* at the year 1389.

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'BENGEMENES JOHNSONES SHARE.'

I hardly think that the facts are susceptible of the interpretation proposed by Mr Alwin Thaler (*Modern Language Review*, xvi, 61). We now know with tolerable certainty from documents, to which Professor Wallace and Mr E. K. Chambers have called attention, that Jonson was the actor in and part-author of the *Isle of Dogs* who was imprisoned some time before 15 August, 1597, and that the offending play was performed not by the Admiral's but by Pembroke's men. Jonson cannot, therefore, have held a share in the Admiral's company on 28 July, 1597, which was most likely the day of or following his arrest. Jonson possibly joined Pembroke's company on its formation in the preceding February, but is not known to have held any share in it.

Another explanation is possible. Jonson may have previously held some share in the Admiral's company and been entitled to payment when he left to join Pembroke's. In the state of the company's finances it is very unlikely that he received money down; he may, six months later, have been still receiving small instalments, and these Henslowe may have impounded in satisfaction of his private debts when his arrest made his personal security worthless.

There is, however, no evidence that Jonson ever had any share in the Admiral's company, and Mr Chambers suggests to me that Henslowe may have been receiving, or rather have arranged to receive, certain money out of what was due to Jonson as a sharer in Pembroke's company. This would account for the sudden termination of the receipts on the inhibition. The loan of £4 the same day was no doubt for expenses in connexion with Jonson's arrest.

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## CYRIL TOURNEUR: 'ATHEIST'S TRAGEDY,' ACT IV, SC. I.

Cataplasma's speech :

—This is a sweet strain and thou finger'st it beastly. Mi is a laerg there, and the prick that stands before mi a long ; always halfe your note.

J. A. Symonds (Mermaid ed.) commenting on 'laerg' says : ' This is obscure, but it probably refers to the Italian music phrase *largo*.' Here he is following a suggestion made by Churton Collins in his edition ; but both are quite on the wrong track. Collins, however, mentions that the eighteenth century reprint of the play reads 'large' and, in this instance at any rate, this much reviled reprint has corrected an obvious misprint of the original. I notice, however, that Fleay, in his copy of Collins' edition, has restored the reading 'large' in the margin of the text.

In the old musical notation the large (or *maxim*—in contrast to the still-used *minim*) was twice the length of the long, which, in its turn, was equal to two breves. The 'prick' mentioned would nowadays be called a dot—which is to 'halve the note' ; that is, Cataplasma is impatient with Sebastian for not keeping time in that he fails to give a dotted large its full time value. Why the 'prick' should be spoken of as coming 'before' mi rather than after the previous large is also explainable by reference to the old notation. Nowadays, when a note occurring at the end of a bar is to be sustained it is printed afresh in the next bar and connected with the other by a tie. But in Elizabethan music the bar-line could intervene between the note and the dot so that it would seem to belong rather to the note after it than the one before it.

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## THE VERBAL ENDING 'S' OF THE THIRD PERSON SINGULAR.

Professor H. C. Wyld in his recent *History of Modern Colloquial English* (p. 336) is inclined to think that the verbal ending *-s* of the third person singular present indicative did not come into Standard English from a regional dialect, but that 'the extremely common Auxiliary *is* may have provided the model.' There are grounds for continuing to hold that this ending traces back ultimately to the Northern dialect, but it cannot be doubted that the general adoption of *-s* with the consequent displacement of *-th* was due chiefly to the analogy of *is*, which had previously displaced *bith*. Though Professor Wyld has not brought the facts into relation, he has shown (pp. 332—34, 355) that *is* had displaced *bith* long before *-th* yielded to *-s* in other verbs ; accordingly, the



potent analogy of *is* had long been operative before *-s* became established as the normal ending in the third person singular. At an earlier stage of the language the analogy of *to be* had similarly influenced the form of other verbs. In an article published in *Modern Philology* for January 1921 I have presented evidence to show that on the one hand the currency of *-n* plurals of *to be*—*sindon*, *aron*, *bipon*—with the disuse of *bēoþ* in later Anglian, and on the other, the complete displacement of *-n* forms by *bēoþ*, *bēþ* in the South were the determining factors in the development of the characteristic Midland present plural indicative in *-n* and in the retention of the Southern plural in *-þ(th)*. To this, the later displacement of the Midland and Southern ending of the third person singular through the analogy of *is* would be closely parallel.

Professor Wyld apparently considers the use of *is* and *was* with plural subjects, which appeared from the sixteenth into the eighteenth century (pp. 356—57), as resulting merely from a tendency to reduce both the singular and the plural of verbs generally to a common form. In the case of *was*, which was thus used much more frequently than *is* a secondary, if not the primary, cause must have been the normal speech habit which reduced the originally distinct preterite singular and preterite plural of strong verbs to one form, usually that of the singular. It is probable, too, that the use of *is* with a plural subject was furthered by the analogy of the other auxiliary verbs, *shall*, *can*, *may*, etc.—originally preterite-presents—the singular form of which was gradually extended into and displaced the plural.

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‘RAS’ IN ‘LE MYSTÈRE D’ADAM,’ 482.

In the explanatory notes of his recent edition of this text<sup>1</sup> Professor Paul Studer draws attention to the word *ras* occurring in the following passage (481-4):

Tu son talon aguaiteras  
Cele te sachera le *ras* ;  
Ta teste ferra d’itel mail  
Qui te ferra mult grant travail.

What is the meaning of *ras* and what is its derivation? The word is, I believe, a *hapax legomenon* and no serious attempt has been made, as far as I am aware, to answer these questions. There is no reason to take Palustre’s word for it that *ras* is the translation of *caput* in Genesis

<sup>1</sup> Manchester University Press, 1918.

iii, 15. On the other hand, those critics who deny Palustre's authority and to whom the word remains obscure show a tendency to entirely reject the MS. reading in this place and propose emendations which, in some cases, affect almost every word in 482. I cannot see that the corrections proposed by Foerster would be of any assistance in elucidating the meaning of the word and an emendation such as suggested by Professor Baker (*cele te marchera sanz gas*) could hardly be entertained at all except after all efforts to explain without doing violence to the readings of the MS. have failed. Professor Studer is evidently of the same opinion, for, to throw light on the meaning of *ras*, he turns to Greban's *Mystère de la Passion* where we read in the same context :

et t'espyra de l'esguillion (788).

The reference is a very suggestive one and I would take it as a starting point in the discussion of this obscure noun.

Among the animals provided with an offensive or defensive weapon in the form of a spike or sting we find, apart from insects, certain birds and fishes.

Pliny speaks of the sting in or above the tail of a fish—supposedly the ray—as *radius*<sup>1</sup> and denotes by the same word the spur of certain birds, especially the cock<sup>2</sup>. I have found no instance where *radius* is used in connection with the serpent or dragon, but that mediaeval artists represented these as provided with a formidable sting in the tail is apparent from the miniature in the 'Psautier d'or' of St Gallen (Lavis, *Histoire de France*, II, 1, p. 282).

Forcellini defines *radius* as : 'spina eminens super caudam trygonis, seu pastinacae piscis, quincunciali magnitudine, quae arbores infixae radici necat, arma, ut telum, perforat, vi ferri et veneni malo,' and the same lexicographer, commenting upon 'letalis trigon' (Auson. ep. 4, 6) says : 'Letalem dicit, quia aculeum seu *radius* in cauda dicitur, qua letalia vulnera infligit.'

Ducange's statement<sup>3</sup> that '*radius* vocatur instrumentum chirurgicorum, stilus, tenta; et illud quo medicinae in oculis ponuntur' (*Glossar. medic. MS. Simon. Januens. ex Cod. reg. 6959*) indicates that this noun was used to denote a sharply pointed instrument and one from which a liquid issues.

Littre and Diez<sup>4</sup> mention the following Romance forms of *radius* :

<sup>1</sup> Pliny, *N. H.*, ed. Teubner, 1909, II, p. 208, 9 § 155 [c. 48 (72)], and V, p. 57, 32 § 25 [c. 2 (12)]. <sup>2</sup> *O. c.* II, p. 367, 11 § 256 [c. 47 (107)].

<sup>3</sup> *Gloss. med. et infim. lat. ed. nova*, 1886, V, Radius 4.

<sup>4</sup> Diez-Scheler, *Etym. Wb. d. Rom. Spr.*, 5th ed., 1887.

Fr. *rai*; Wal. *ret* (d'une roue); Prov. *rai*, *raig*, *rait*, *rah*, *rach*; Sp. and Port. *rayo*, *radio*; Ital. *raggio*, *razzo*. The latter adds: 'Die ital. form mit z kennt schon ein glossar des 8—9 jh. *razus*, "speicha" Graff, VI, 325.' I am not in a position to verify this reference, but it seems to me an important one.

OHG. *speicha*, MHG. *speiche*, OE. *spaca*, E. *spoke*, Du. *speek*, on the one hand, and Icel., Swed., ME. *spik*, E. *spike*, Du. *spijker*, Dan. *spiger*, on the other, are all related to, if not derived from, L. *spica*, ear of corn, point, spike.

If, therefore, *ras* in our text represents L. *radius* we should be amply justified in translating it by *spike* or *sting*.

In establishing the identity of this noun we are, however, immediately faced by the difficulties which the phonological and morphological aspect of the word presents. The regular evolution of the tonic vowel in *radius* is  $\hat{a}i > \hat{e}i > e$ . Even if we were to suppose that, for the sake of the rhyme the poet has deliberately substituted a for e, *ras* could not represent anything but *radius*. That a nominative should have been used instead of an accusative is in the highest degree improbable in view of the marked manner in which the accusative is preferred to the nominative throughout the text. We therefore put, for the moment, *radius* aside and look in another direction for the solution of the difficulty. In consulting Ducange<sup>1</sup> I have come across two passages in Mediaeval Latin where *radius* and *rasus* are used to express exactly the same idea. I quote: '*Ad Radium* tinae, Id est ad plenam tinam seu vas vinarium, quod tinam vocabant....Chartul. S. Vict. Massil.: "Dictus Petrus dare tenetur singulis annis duas metretas vini *ad Radium* tinae." Alia apud Gariel. in Hist. episc. Magalon. part. 2, fol. 175: "Instituit quod prior et sacrista collegiatae (S. Annae Montispeis.) teneatur dare singulis annis et solvere...duo modia vini boni et puri et mercatilis...*ad Radium* tinae." Galli diceremus "*a ras de tine*."'

Turning to *rasus* we read: '*Ad Rasum*, de mensura rasa et opposita cumulatae passim legitur in Chartis. Antiquae Recogn. Claromont. in Triviis Dalph. ex Regesto Probus: "Guillelma Taschiere, .debet in anno 1<sup>o</sup> aver. frum. ad cumulum et alio anno *ad Rasum*." Litterae Officialis Rem. ann. 1238 e Tabulario Compendiensi: "Pro CC. sextariis bladi persolvendis, scilicet blado *ad Rasum* et avena ad comblum." Statuta Vercell. lib. 1, fol. 23, v.: "Potestas Vercellarum...fieri faciat...unum quartaronum de ligno, ita magnum, quod teneat commodè *ad Rasum*.... Ibidem recurrit et alibi non semel."'

<sup>1</sup> O.c. Radius 3.



The noun *rasus* which denoted the action of grating, scraping, scratching (Varr. *de L. L.* c. 31) came by metonymy to denote the subject of the action, that which scrapes, as well as the result of the action. The fact that *ad radium* and *ad rasum* in the foregoing quotations express precisely the same idea leads me to suggest that the two nouns were confused by popular etymology in Vulgar Latin which substituted *rasus* for *radius* on account of the similarity both in sound and in sense. The form *razus* recorded by Diez points to this. It matters not whether its equivalent in OHG., *speicha*, represents the E. *spoke* or the E. *spike*, since L. *radius* has both meanings. It is to this influence of popular etymology, I believe, that we must ascribe the absence of several meanings of *rai* in OFr. and Mod. Fr. which we find recorded for *radius*. According to Forcellini, *radius* denotes :

1. a strickle. Ducange (v. *rasus* and *rasa*) does not know *radius* in this sense. OFr. *rasel* (v. Godefroy) points to the diminutive *rasellum*. There existed also *radoire* rasitoria and *ratoire* raditoria<sup>1</sup>.

2. the weapon of a fish supposed to be the ray.

3. a cock's spur. The existence of *rasus* of which I have not found a single instance seems to me to be attested by *ras* in our text. *Radius* is rare in Cl. Latin and has left no traces in Old or Modern French.

4. *radius virilis*, ῥαδίαλλος (Cael. Aurel. *de Acut.* lib. 3, cap. 14). Of this metaphorical use of *radius* I have found no instance in French. The verb *rasetter*, 'violer' (Bonnard et Salmon, *Lexique de l'ancien français*) seems to me to point to *rasus*. The metaphor itself is, of course, not unusual in modern argot (*riper* etc.)<sup>2</sup>. In all these cases a connection between *radius* and *rasus* (*radere*) readily suggests itself.

5. measuring rod. Ducange records *rasus* with this meaning. OFr. *rased*, mesure de pré (v. Godefroy).

6. the radius or lesser bone of the arm. Mod. Fr. *rayon* in this sense is rarely used. In OFr. I find no record of any other form than *rasette*, petit os du bras et de la jambe (v. Godefroy).

7. a weaver's shuttle. Derivatives of *radius* are absent in Fr. I wonder if *ras* (filière par laquelle on fait passer le lingot qui sort de l'argue) recorded by Littré, could have any connection with *rasus*?

8. the spoke of a wheel. OFr. *rai*, Mod. Fr. *rai*, *rayon*.

9. a ray of light, beam. OFr. *rai*, Mod. Fr. *rai(s)*, *rayon*. Could the faulty orthography *rais* which has persisted so long be due to the influence of *rasus*?

<sup>1</sup> Discussed by A. Thomas, *Essais de philologie française*, Paris, 1898, pp. 367—371.

<sup>2</sup> Aristide Bruant, *Dictionnaire Français-Argot*, Paris, 1905, v. Violenter.

As will be seen, in seven out of nine cases no direct derivatives of *radius* or of a diminutive of this noun exist either in OFr. or in Mod. Fr., while for six of those seven Mediaeval Latin or O. French has words of the same meaning as those recorded for *radius* which all point more or less directly to *rasus* or a diminutive of that noun. Whatever the degree of plausibility of my suggestion, a search, which I hope to undertake shortly, of the commentaries on Genesis, of homilies and sermons on the Fall contained in the Latin series of Migne's *Patrologia* may perhaps result in the discovery of a paraphrase identical with the one found in the *Mystère d'Adam* and in which not *radius*, but the far more common *aculeum* is used. In that case, any doubt as to an affirmative answer to Professor Studer's query: ' Might not *Cele'te sachera le ras* have the same meaning as Greban's *et t'espyra de l'esguillion?* ' would be entirely removed.

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## REVIEWS.

*Old English Ballads, 1553-1625, chiefly from Manuscripts.* Edited by HYDER E. ROLLINS. Cambridge, at the University Press, 1920. 8vo. pp. xxxi + 423. 18s. 6d.

'Ballads' of the Tudor and earlier Stuart period are about as heterogeneous a class of literature as could well be; indeed, their chief apparent unity lies in the not very essential fact that they are pieces of verse printed on single sheets of paper and hawked about the country by pedlars, and are therefore now exceedingly rare. In subject they range from the forerunners of the booklets that Pepys was to call 'Penny Godlinesses' and 'Penny Merriments' to those of modern journalism, effusions upon the rebellion, the execution, or the monstrosity of the moment. But ballads, however diverse, have a more important unity than that of their form in the fact that they were popular; for only popular literature attains the honours of broadside publication. And here lies their value to us. Considered as literature they are almost universally negligible; but for understanding the thoughts and feelings of a period which had no journalism they are the best guide we can have.

Three large collections survive: (1) the Helmingham-Daniel-Huth-British Museum; (2) the Helmingham-Heber-Britwell-Huntington; and (3) the Society of Antiquaries. They have all been described, and the first two have been reprinted, though the reprints are not very accessible. We are still waiting for a description of those in the Pepys collection, which may prove to be like the Roxburghe Ballads, almost entirely later than those we are now considering. But of the earlier ballads, i.e. those up to about 1620, there are also a considerable number extant in printed sheets and MS. volumes in the Museum, the Bodleian, and other libraries. If all that survive were reprinted in one chronological series (or even thoroughly catalogued with generous extracts and notes such as those in the British Museum Catalogue of the Huth Bequest, Mr H. H. Collmann's Roxburghe Club *Ballads and Broad-sides*, Mr Andrew Clark's *Shirburn Ballads*, or the volume before us), there would result a notable addition to our knowledge of the period.

Professor Rollins has attempted nothing of this kind. Not that that would be a fair criticism if he had selected some definite section of ballad-territory, and worked it thoroughly. But this is just what he has not done, with the result that the learning and industry which are everywhere apparent in his book bear far less fruit than they might. From the hundreds of ballads that are extant he has selected 75, upon no apparent principle. Most (and this is a real merit) are from in-



edited MS. sources, but some (such as 'the Marygold') are printed elsewhere. Nor do they belong to any one class, historical, religious or other. Add. MS. 15,225, however, which is here reprinted practically entire, is a collection of Catholic ballads. Professor Rollins rightly sees in them 'the chief interest of this volume'; and it may be added that the section of the Introduction which deals with them is much the most valuable. They are a real addition to accessible ballad-texts, and afford a striking contrast to the triumphant Protestant ballad-writers, such as Elderton, Deloney and Parker, shewing once again that poetry flourishes best in adversity, like Euphues' camomile, which 'the more it is trodden and pressed down, the more it spreadeth.' Unfortunately these Catholic ballads occupy but a small part of the book.

Much of any collection of early ballads is bound to be very dull and pedestrian; the exceptions are correspondingly welcome. We are glad to see again Forrest's 'Marygold,' and the celebrated 'Querister's song of York,' or 'Hierusalem, my happy home'; with these may be welcomed 'Who is my love? I shall you tell,' and a few more, which have not been printed before.

Professor Rollins' introductory notes shew much reading and care. No doubt some points have escaped him. For example, he notices that there is a version of 'The happy end exceedeth all' (no. 39, pt 2) in *The Paradise of Dainty Devices*, but does not add that this refrain is originally the last line of a fine eight-line poem by an unknown author in *Tottel's Miscellany* (ed. Arber, p. 177). Again, in no. 43, 'Why should not mortal men awake?' by R. D., stanza 8 relates the story of the daughter of a merchant of Italy,

Whose ruffles to sett none plesed her sight,  
She was so Coye a dame,  
Tyll Satan had her for his right,  
Unto her parents shame.

Professor Rollins might well have referred to the delectable version of this story, told at length by Philip Stubbes in *The Anatomy of Abuses* (ed. Furnivall, New Sh. Soc., pt i, pp. 71-3).

On the other hand, many of the notes, such as those explaining St. Laurence's gridiron, and interpreting such archaic spellings as 'the' (= 'thee') 'filde' (= 'filled'), which the context renders obvious, and still more 'deathes,' are gratuitous. And too much of the Introduction is given up to rather elementary reflections on the spirit of religious persecution illustrated by the ballads. If this volume is intended for those who are familiar with the period, all this is unnecessary; if for the general reader, the poor fellow would need far more commentary than he gets here.

I should be unwilling to end on a carping note. Professor Rollins (as I have reason to know from some notes and extracts on the vogue of *Troilus* which he has kindly communicated to the Chaucer Society) has read Elizabethan literature with extraordinary thoroughness, and his accuracy is hardly less remarkable. He has clearly got the whole ballad literature of the century from 1540 to 1640 at his fingers' ends in the

course of adding this rather haphazard selection to our store of printed texts. Will he not take the desideratum expressed above, of a ballad-corpus, as a friendly challenge? I do not know anyone who could do it better.

ARUNDELL ESDAILE.

LONDON.

*English Madrigal Verse 1588-1632.* Edited from the Original Song Books by E. H. FELLOWES. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1920. 8vo. pp. xx + 640. 12s. 6d.

The collection is divided into two parts: I. The Madrigalists, II. The Lutenists. The Editor's task in transcribing this enormous mass of songs from the song-books and reducing them to something like their original form has been a very arduous one: and our gratitude is due to him for the vast number of practically unknown lyrics, some of very fine quality, which he has made at last accessible to all.

A song as it appears in the song-books follows the music. The composer has for his own purposes omitted a word or phrase here, and added one there: he is fond of repetition. That it is not easy to recover the true form of the lyric as written may be shown in the case of the first madrigal in Thomas Morley's *Canzonets* (1593), which Dr W. Bolle gives as follows:

See, myne owne sweet iewell,  
What I have for my darling:  
A Robin red brest and a Starling.  
These I give both in hope to move thee,  
And yet thou sayst, I doe not love thee.

This is Mr Fellowes' version:

See, see what I have for mine own sweet darling,  
A little robin redbreast and a starling!  
Both these I give in hope at length to move thee,  
And yet thou sayest that I do not love thee.

Our gratitude to Mr Fellowes is therefore hardly diminished, when on turning his pages we find poems given in a form which we suspect not to have been the author's. Where the lyric is otherwise known to us, we may find that the musician whom Mr Fellowes follows has corrupted the text, or used a text already corrupted. In other cases, error has arisen very naturally from some misunderstanding or inadvertence on Mr Fellowes' part. A few examples will make these remarks clearer:

p. 20, XVI, l. 2. 'Tear up thoughts, tomb a numbed heart.' Query 'Tear up thought's tomb, a numbed heart.'

p. 26, xv, l. 6. 'Infernal cares.' Query 'Infernal caves.'

p. 40, XVII, l. 10. 'Scorning after reason to follow will.' Query 'Scorning their master reason' etc.

p. 52, XII, l. 7. 'for' should be 'far.' (Bolle has 'farre.')

p. 57, XXXIII, l. 8. 'Though' seems to be a corruption of 'Through.' 'Through my parting' is still a variant of the text 'After parting.' Cp. p. 456 'By thy absence.'

- p. 64, XII, l. 3. (See note.) Query 'Glad Philomela tunes' etc.
- p. 68, II, l. 11. Mr Fellowes has gone wrong in changing 'lone' (loan) to 'love.'
- p. 70, IX-X, l. 13. For 'Oëtean' read 'Cetean.'
- p. 93, III, l. 3. Mr Fellowes has turned 'For Corine' [= Corydon] into 'For Corinna' and spoilt the sense. The poem is related to one in *Tottel's Miscellany* 'Harpelus complaynt' etc. attributed in *Englands Helicon* to Lord Surrey. See Padelford, *Poems of H. Howard, Earl of Surrey*, p. 235.
- p. 98, IX appears with slight variants in p. 201, XVIII, while p. 401, II would seem to be another translation of the same original. Probably a great number of these poems will be found to have Italian originals.
- p. 99, XII, l. 7. For 'though blest I be,' query 'through-blessed be.'
- p. 101, v, l. 3. Query 'he said In time!'
- p. 102, IX, l. 2. 'If ne'er it be not stuck away.' Query 'If near it be not stuck a bay.'
- p. 106, v. The lines appear in Sloane MS. 1792, fo. 11 as follows:  
'Love, if a god thou art,  
Thou ever must  
Be merciful and just.  
If thou be just, then wherefore doth thy dart  
Wound me alone and not my mistress' heart?'
- p. 116, II, l. 1. 'seek' here and p. 465, XVII should be 'look.' Cp. p. 514, IV.
- p. 125, XXIII, ll. 3, 4. Query  
'He is a fool—that lovers prove—  
That leaves to sing' etc.
- p. 129, XVIII, l. 9. Read 'You come too far, I say, in.'
- p. 136, XII, l. 3. 'My hopeless' seems Morley's error for 'By hopeless.'
- p. 140, XI, l. 1. The sense is lost by the change of spelling. Morley's text 'My Nymph, the deere and her my deere I follow,' implies that the nymph is hunting.
- p. 140, XI, l. 5. 'O love, the world sweet maker,' should be 'O love, the world's sweet maker.'
- p. 140, XI, l. 6. The words 'Change her mood and' seem like a musician's addition to the text.
- p. 145, VI, l. 3. Query 'face-lamps' (=eyes).
- p. 154, XIII, l. 7. Mr Fellowes should not have altered 'prest' to 'pressed.'
- p. 159, IV, l. 1. 'fill me' should perhaps be 'fill thee,' as it appears in Harl. MS. 6910, fo. 154.
- p. 169, x, l. 12. Read 'Innocence' betraying.' Grosart's text has 'Innocents.'
- p. 169, XI, l. 7. For 'flect' explained as 'small village,' read 'flesh' with Grosart.
- p. 170, XIII, l. 5. 'The child-thoughts of wisdom' (riming with 'grown'). Grosart gives 'the child-thoughts of mine own.'
- p. 170, XIII, l. 10. 'Calliaes' should be 'Cælica's.'
- p. 170, XIV, ll. 3, 4. 'With blear-eyed opinion learn to see  
Truth's feeble pity here.'
- Grosart has: 'With whose blear eyes opinion learns to see  
Truth's feeble party here.'
- p. 172, XX, l. 11. 'near' should be 'were' (Grosart).
- p. 172, XXI, ll. 7, 8. 'to sit And fix Conclusion's...race' should be 'to fit And fix Confusion's...race' (Grosart).
- p. 173, III, l. 6. Query 'cease of your tears.'
- p. 175, XIII, l. 6. Read 'curse, curse.'
- p. 220, x, l. 5. 'Whose save bright (query 'sun-bright') beams.' The Editor informs us that 'save' is an adj. meaning 'health-giving.' He is a little apt to talk about the English language as though he were the *Oxford Dictionary*.
- p. 242, XIX. This is a translation of Boethius, *de Cons. Phil.* III, Met. 7.
- p. 244, XXVIII, l. 4. 'flydeth' (query 'slydeth'). The Editor has other views.
- p. 247, VIII, l. 2. 'flower...flower.' Jonson however wrote 'slower.'
- p. 311, I, l. 8. 'life.' Query 'love.'
- p. 311, I, l. 12 needs some correction. Perhaps 'how is' should be 'within.'
- p. 311, II, l. 11. 'through.' Query 'thoughts.'



- p. 313, iv, l. 6. 'skill.' Query 'still.'
- p. 313, iv, l. 21. 'flowers of Spain.' Query 'flowers of spine.'
- p. 315, vii, ll. 14, 15. There should be no note of interrogation after 'grow,' but a comma after 'plaints.' Cp. Harl. MS. 6910, fo. 168 b ('But of all plaints').
- p. 317, iv, l. 2. 'seeth.' Query 'sigheth.'
- p. 317, v, l. 8. 'too-torn.' Perhaps 'to-torn.'
- p. 320, viii, l. 26. 'in number With that sweet tongue'='in unison with.'
- p. 321, x, l. 34. Delete comma.
- p. 322, xii, l. 18. 'shines.' Query 'shine.'
- p. 323, xiii, l. 15. Should 'moved' be 'marked' or 'heard'?
- pp. 325 *et seq.* In his transcriptions of the poems of Campion (whom he very needlessly calls Campian), Mr Fellowes is apparently less successful than was Mr Vivian in giving the right readings and punctuation.
- p. 334, xviii, l. 3. 'nigh.' Vivian, 'high.'
- p. 335, xx, l. 15. 'And their pleasure.' Viv. 'All' etc.
- p. 339, v, l. 17. 'praise.' Viv. 'prayers.'
- p. 340, vi, l. 16. 'most recure.' Mr Fellowes informs us *more suo* that 'recure' is 'a rare obsolete adjective meaning *beyond hope of recovery*.' Vivian gives us 'past recure,' and the rare obsolete adjective vanishes into space.
- p. 340, vii, l. 8. Mr Fellowes defends 'smelling lips.' But 'swelling' is surely necessary.
- p. 341, vii, l. 13. For 'bound' read 'not bound' (Vivian).
- p. 347, xvii, l. 3. 'sights.' Read 'fights' (Vivian).
- p. 351, v, l. 8. 'once more heat of love.' Read 'once heat of joy' (Vivian).
- p. 354, xii, l. 10. 'wait in.' Read 'wait on' (Vivian).
- p. 364, v, l. 3. 'a simple task.' Read 'a simple look' (Vivian).
- p. 365, viii, l. 10. 'wrapped.' Read 'rapt' (Vivian).
- p. 371, xix, l. 3. 'praised.' Read 'pray'd' (Vivian).
- p. 371, xix, l. 12. 'a white wind.' Read 'a whirl-wind' (Vivian).
- p. 373, xxiii, l. 2. 'Calm it with sweet love.' Query 'Calm it, sweet, with love.'
- p. 374, xxiv, l. 5. 'praised.' Read 'pray'd' (Vivian).
- p. 376, vi, l. 9. 'Love hath no fire yet is mine; only lust' etc. Read 'Love hath no fire: it is mine only lust' etc. A poem analogous to this, as though both were translations of the same original, is found in Add. MS. 23229, fo. 122 b. This poem has
- 'His flames are naught but my too hot desires...'
- The last hardly intelligible lines
- 'This god whom we so much adore  
Of manners strange doth find as strange a feat'
- appear in the MS.:
- 'For my part I me resolv'd that hee that can  
Thinke him a God is himselfe lesse than Man.'
- In l. 18 for 'ignorant' query 'ignorant's.'
- p. 382, xxvi, l. 6. 'eye.' Query 'ear.'
- p. 387, iv, l. 6. 'Love.' Query 'Jove.' Vivian follows an old corrector in reading 'fate.'
- p. 387, iv, l. 12. 'embarked.' Query 'embraced' (Vivian).
- p. 388, vi, l. 8. 'fall.' Query 'fate' (Vivian).
- p. 388, vii, l. 5. 'O heavenly.' 'Of heavenly' (Vivian).
- p. 391, vi. A variant version in Harl. MS. 6917, fo. 31 v.
- p. 392, x, l. 7. 'vor one.' Query 'vor love.'
- p. 392, x, l. 11. 'I borne.' Query 'i-borne.'
- p. 397, vii, alternative version l. 3. 'soil.' Query 'foil.'
- p. 400, xiv, ll. 1, 2. Read 'Call back.....maid!'
- p. 415, xiii, ll. 2, 4. In Harl. MS. 3511, fo. 1, the words 'diseased' and 'displeased' are interchanged.
- p. 415, xiii, l. 11. 'moves sighing.' Harl. MS. 'I sorrowe.'
- p. 418, xvii *ad fin.* 'By sighs.' Query 'My sighs.'
- p. 419, xx, l. 8. 'black-fast'='blackfaced.'

- p. 423, x, l. 16. 'Her.' Query 'Here.'
- p. 428, xviii, l. 13 etc. Query 'This discord it begot, | Atheists that honour not | Nature, thought good' etc. Cp. Grosart's text.
- p. 430, xxi, l. 6. 'thought.' Query 'though.'
- p. 430, xxi, l. 12. 'she.' Query 'shed.'
- p. 432, ii, l. 7. Should not the line end 'attend on her'?
- p. 439, xv, l. 13. 'when fair.' Query 'when foul.'
- p. 441, xviii, l. 15. Harl. MS. 6910, fo. 167: 'In which each fruitless fly may find a friend.'
- p. 441, xx. Is this poem suggested by Biron's speech in *Love's Labour's Lost*?
- p. 441, xx, l. 17. 'try.' Query 'cry.'
- p. 455, iv, l. 10. 'measure's.' Query 'mischief's' (Grosart).
- p. 457, vii. This version of Sidney's song, when compared with Grosart's text or Harl. MS. 6910, has some obvious errors; e.g. l. 16 'rejected' for 'reflected,' l. 27 'see' for 'set,' l. 52 'from me ne'er' for 'for me may.'
- p. 460, i. Harl. MS. 6910, fo. 139 b has l. 1 'in pensive place obscure,' l. 4 'shall ever find me out.'
- p. 465, xvi, l. 9. 'a strange' should be 'a strong.' Cp. p. 520, xiv.
- p. 471, vi, l. 15. 'in distinguished.' Query 'indistinguished.'
- p. 474, xi, l. 3. 'Desire.' Query 'Desire's.'
- p. 487, ii. Cp. Add. MS. 22603, fo. 53.
- p. 487, ii, l. 28. 'laughing.' Add. MS. has 'longyngs.'
- p. 490, vi, l. 3. 'that look.' Bolle's text gives 'thou look,' which is clearly required.
- p. 492, viii, l. 19. 'Love.' Bolle has 'Jove,' which is clearly right.
- p. 492, ix, l. 1. 'and time.' Bolle 'on time.'
- p. 492, ix, l. 8. 'but they.' Bolle 'yet they.'
- p. 493, xi. A variant version in Harl. MS. 6057, fo. 7 b.
- p. 494, xii, l. 5. 'There may be.' Bolle has 'There be.'
- p. 499, i, l. 12. 'they be.' Query 'they lie.'
- p. 501, iv, l. 15. 'through.' Query 'thorough.'
- p. 506, xi. Harl. MS. 3511, fo. 74 b has this poem.
- p. 506, xi, l. 2. 'her tears.' Harl. 'theire.'
- p. 506, xi, l. 9. 'the sound to.' Harl. 'the sound of.'
- p. 506, xi, l. 16. 'the waters.' Harl. 'the writer.'
- Mr Fellowes refers to the Grosart reprint of the *Arcadia* poem, but does not indicate the bad readings of Robert Jones' text.
- p. 509, xvii. The poem occurs in Add. MS. 30012, fo. 143.
- p. 509, xvii, l. 1. 'babel.' MS. 'bauble.'
- p. 509, xvii, l. 8. 'sable.' MS. 'saddle.'
- p. 509, xvii, l. 25. 'debtor.' MS. 'better.'
- p. 515, v, l. 3. 'if I must.' Query 'if I mist (missed).'
- p. 516, vi, l. 16. 'Yet that.' Query 'If that.'
- p. 529, vi, l. 16. 'my measure.' Query 'by measure.'
- p. 529, vii, l. 3. 'like a love.' Query 'like a lout.'
- p. 529, vii, l. 4. Query 'when he should be doing, reason.'
- p. 531, ix, l. 11. '(till it be) hard.' Query 'heard.'
- p. 549, xvi, l. 5. Query 'If she did [ill] to prove....'
- p. 549, xvii, l. 3. This line is repeated from the first stanza. The lost line may have been 'Thy words no more my reason moved.'
- p. 549, xvii, l. 26. 'Tie my hair your captive solly.' Query 'Tie me, hair, your captive solely.' Mr Fellowes says that *solly* is 'a variant of *selly*, sc. a *marvel*: used here no doubt as a term of endearment.'
- p. 550, xviii, l. 8. 'thy Creator's piety.' Apparently means 'thy father's love.'
- p. 551, xix, l. 12. 'A goddess' look,' as given in the song-book, is better than Mr Fellowes' correction 'A goddess' look.'
- p. 569, xiii, l. 4. 'Catch love, down fall'th, heart appalling.' This strange line is probably to be read 'Catch low downfall, th' heart appalling.'
- p. 577, vi, l. 4. 'witness.' Query 'whiteness.'



- p. 577, VII, l. 2. 'On.' Query 'One.'  
 p. 578, IX. The poem with variants in Sloane MS. 1446, fo. 84.  
 p. 578, XII. This in Sloane MS. 1446, fo. 76 b, where line 3 runs 'Render me myne againe or lend thyne owne.'  
 p. 579, XIV. The poem in Add. MS. 25707, fo. 151 b, where 'pearl-eyed' (l. 3) is 'pearled,' 'swan' (l. 19) is 'swayne.'  
 p. 581, XVIII found in same MS. fo. 58.  
 p. 586, IV, last line. 'proved' should be 'proud,' as Vivian has it.  
 p. 604, XX, l. 9. 'Time hath a while' (? a 'wheel').

Mr Fellowes professes to give his text in modern spelling. One does not see therefore why he keeps old forms such as Orianaes (Oriana's) (p. 15), Dianaes (p. 55), Calliaes (p. 117), Tulliaes, Ledaes (p. 229).

The word 'forwhy' seems to be considered by Mr Fellowes as always interrogative. In most places where it occurs the note of interrogation after it should be deleted, as the word merely means 'because': e.g. p. 33, IX, l. 7; p. 34, XI *ad fin.*; p. 36, XIV, l. 12; p. 107, IX, l. 6; p. 128, XV, l. 2.

It is noticeable that 'Fa la la' rimes with 'play' etc. p. 100, II, p. 105, II, apparently as we say 'hooray.' The superlative 'the beautiest of the beauties,' p. 147, XI, 4 is interesting.

G. C. MOORE SMITH.

SHEFFIELD.

*The Poems of Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey.* Edited by FREDERICK MORGAN PADELFORD. (University of Washington Publications, I). Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1920. 8vo. 238 pp. 2 dol.

Both general and specialist students of English Literature have cause to thank Prof. Padelford for this much needed book. The Aldine edition with its modernised text has long been out of date for teachers and students, and since the beginning of the twentieth century much work upon Surrey's sources and metres has appeared in English and German scholarly periodicals, the results of which needed to be sifted and presented in more generally accessible form. It was time, in fact, that someone should do for Surrey what Miss Foxwell has done for Wyatt.

Prof. Padelford aims not only at giving us a satisfactory text of the poems of Surrey (following wherever possible MS., in preference to printed, authority) but also at 'furnishing a human approach' to his subject. With this end in view he rearranges and renames the poems and includes an Introductory essay (following mainly Bapst, *Deux Gentilshommes: Poètes de la Cour de Henry VIII*) on the 'Dramatic career' of Surrey as an Aristotelian tragic hero, written with a glowing sympathy which precludes emphasis on the ironic relationship of the Court of Henry VIII to our first Petrarchan love-poetry.

It is, perhaps, this sympathy, a New-World enthusiasm for the subject, which results in a modernisation of the hero in the passage referring to his Continental 'trip.' It may be doubted whether even an unusually imaginative youth in 1532 could have our eye for 'the old and picturesque civilization that lay along the Mediterranean,' or would look with ecstasy



upon that sea as 'the waters which had borne Odysseus and Jason and Æneas, whose waves had washed immemorially the magic shores of Italy and Greece and Carthage.' Certainly, as Prof. Padelford notices, Surrey gives no hint of this reaction—nor had Wyatt done so, who, in his poetry refers a little more fully to his travels. It is not to be found even in the work of Marlowe, where, if anywhere in the sixteenth century, we should look for it. Marlowe with the mind's eye seeks and finds beauty in the Mediterranean and other shores, but it appears in his verse as the formal beauty of syllables, not the 'romantic' beauty of association and suggestion, consciously recognised as inhering in places.

On the more scholarly side the edition is completed by a brief essay summarising 'Surrey's Contributions to English Verse,' by full apparatus of textual and critical notes, by a Bibliography (including a brief description of the MSS.) and a Glossary. Students of this phase of our literature will welcome the passages in essay and notes in which Prof. Padelford shows that he considers the form of Surrey as legitimately a type of its own, and not merely a stage. For there can be no doubt that Wyatt and Surrey had different aims and standards from those of the schools which succeeded them; it is not only the immaturity of their art which accounts for their lacking the regularity of Gascoigne or the fluency of Spenser. Perhaps not everyone would subscribe in full to Prof. Padelford's statement of the difference in metrical aim and practice between Wyatt and Surrey. In effect it amounts to saying that Wyatt adopts a purely metrical accent (which may, but frequently does not, coincide with word- and sentence-accent) and that he was led to this partly by older English tradition. 'Wyatt had a sensitive ear, and modern readers regard his verse as rough largely because, expecting correspondence between the metrical accent and the thought and word accents, they do not read the verses as Wyatt read them' (notes to Introduction, p. 167). The prosodic reform which resulted in the establishment of the English decasyllabic iambic line as we have it was initiated by Surrey, whose conception was the more limited, inasmuch as it discarded something of the 'intellectual liteness' of which Wyatt's line was susceptible, and the more English and effective, inasmuch as it took into account the strongly accentual character of our language. 'Surrey's outstanding contribution to prosody was his insistence that metrical accent should be coincident with sentence stress and word accent.' There are, of course, some violations of this rule. Prof. Padelford gives examples, one or two of which are susceptible of other explanations—*envye* (like *exile*) is so regularly given 'Romance-accent' by sixteenth century poets that there is no need to regard it as a specially poetic licence, and substitution of trochees (in the blank verse) should perhaps be more generally allowed for.

But it is not altogether clear that his 'continental models' in the Romance languages would have conduced so strongly as Prof. Padelford implies to impress upon Surrey the crime of 'wresting the accent' (as it came later to be called) in English verse. And it is less clear how far we are justified in imputing to poets of this date anything in the nature

of prosodic theory, especially any theory involving an understanding of current phonetic conditions. This is not to say that Wyatt and Surrey composed blindly; they had the poets' guides—ear, instinct, imitation, experiment—but the remarks and still more the experiments of Ascham twenty years later on the subject of 'trew versifying' show that he at least had no clear conception of the rôle of accent in English verse<sup>1</sup>, though the question of the rival merits of English and classical metres had been discussed for some years. And the various utterances provoked by the 'Hexameter-controversy' demonstrate how slowly ideas clarified themselves on the subject of accent and how little capable the prosodists were of understanding the phonetic conditions of their own language. Accordingly, when Prof. Padelford finds amphibrachs, etc. in Surrey's verse it is not to be taken as meaning that Surrey, as a matter of prosodic theory, had thought out accentual equivalents of the various classical feet. Amphibrachs, pyrrhic feet, and the numerous substituted trochees are merely symptoms of a pre-Gascoigne stage before English rhythms were levelled under 'the old Iambick stroak.' They are names which we give to legitimate variations upon the rising rhythm of our staple metres. They have in Surrey their tentative side, but they are also signs of a liberty and fulness which Spenser and Shakespeare had to rediscover.

It is especially welcome to come across Prof. Padelford's appreciation of Surrey's conception of blank verse (notes to Introduction, p. 167). It is a subject upon which many mutually incompatible statements could be collected from histories of literature and prosody. Various causes have contributed to this divergence of opinion, of which the chief is the overlooking of one of Surrey's chief claims to distinction—his recognition that blank verse is not merely heroic couplets without rhyme, but a genuinely new metre. The 'blank' line has a liberty, a run, a movement, which make it distinct from the rhyming line<sup>2</sup>. In the mid-sixteenth century the essential difference between the structure and cadence of the unrhymed and the rhymed decasyllable was forgotten—hence the wooden verse 'gaping for rhyme' of Gascoigne's *Steele Glas*. In this respect, as in some others, the later mid-century marked a retrogression from the standard reached in 1547. But those who took blank verse straight from Surrey's hands, as it were, Nicholas Grimald and Turberville (*Heroical Epistles*), conscientiously wrote it as they would never have written rhymed verse.

Detailed investigations of metre and diction<sup>3</sup> are, of course, beyond the scope of a single-volumed edition such as the present, but any fellow-student of Surrey will notice that in what he says on these subjects Prof. Padelford takes up what will appear the correct and just attitude

<sup>1</sup> Cf. his remarks on Surrey's new metre 'standing upon number only...and not distinct by trew quantity of syllables.' His hexameters are professedly quantitative, but actually accentual.

<sup>2</sup> This may easily be seen by comparing the 'blank' lines with the couplets in any play of Shakespeare's. It becomes obvious that the latter belong to rhyming verse before the end of the line is reached.

<sup>3</sup> The significance of the abandonment of 'aureation' might form the subject of one such discussion.



towards Surrey as a man who has a right to his method, whose work is interesting and significant in itself as well as a fruitful field for the student of literary origins. Prof. Padelford has performed a signal service in what he has done to open up this field.

G. D. WILLCOCK.

ENGLEFIELD GREEN, SURREY.

*The Text of Henry V.* By HEReward T. PRICE. Newcastle under Lyme : Mandley and Unett. n. d. 55 pp. 2s. 6d.

Mr Hereward Price's paper on *The Text of Henry V* is based on so much honest spade-work and presents its case so temperately that, although it is largely devoted to the destruction of the theories of Mr Dover Wilson and myself, I hope it will find many readers. The case which Mr Price attacks, as it was set forth in the Literary Supplement of the *Times*, is that the pirated Quarto of *Henry V* (1600), in common with the pirated Quartos of *Romeo and Juliet* (1597), the *Merry Wives of Windsor* (1602) and *Hamlet* (1603), was based on the manuscript of an abridged version of an earlier text of the play, eked out with the help of a minor actor in the play as finally staged, partly from memory, partly from his own manuscript 'parts.' Mr Price's case is that the Folio text of *Henry V* was written as a single whole by Shakespeare for performance at the Globe in 1599, and that the Quarto text is the work of two pirates, a pirate in the audience present at an abridged performance of the play who used the system of short-hand set forth by Timothy Bright in his *Characterie* in 1588, and a pirate-actor, who supplied transcripts of his 'parts' of Essex (probably), Gower and the Governor of Harfleur, much as Mr Wilson and I suppose. The main differences between us are thus: (i) that Mr Price brings in a pirate in the audience to take the place of the abridged manuscript which forms part of the rival hypothesis, (ii) that he regards the play as written all of a piece, whereas Mr Wilson and I think it had existed before 1599 in a different form.

The first of these two differences is not fundamental. A publisher who would employ a pirate-actor might well employ a short-hand writer in the audience, if he thought the sale of the book would bear the double expense. Mr Price's main evidence for the use of a short-hand writer is that in Bright's system synonyms would tend to be confused, and that we can thus explain the numerous variants between Quarto and Folio, such as *graue* and *tombe*, *hurt* and *harm'd*, *check* and *chide*, *reckoning* and *estimation*, etc. He himself, however, is careful to warn his readers that his list 'is not so convincing as it looks,' as similar substitutions of one synonym for another are found where there is no question of piracy. I think his evidence for a pirate in the audience will be found weak, and lest this belief should appear somewhat less than impartial, I will balance it by admitting that in the case of *Henry V* the evidence that the publisher had got hold of a playhouse manuscript



of an abridged version is weak also, unless the much stronger evidence that this was so in the other three piracies is admitted to support it.

In support of his more important contention that Shakespeare wrote *Henry V*, as it stands in the Folio, all of a piece, Mr Price has done a valuable bit of spade-work, which enables him to claim that in numerous instances the Folio is nearer to Holinshed than the Quarto and must therefore be regarded not as a revision, but as the earlier version. He himself regards this evidence as decisive, but its relevance largely depends on how we imagine an Elizabethan dramatist worked, when called in to make an old play more attractive. Sometimes, no doubt, a dramatist would rewrite an old play as a whole; more often, it may be submitted, he rewrote only certain scenes, or parts of scenes. Now it is precisely where *Henry V* follows Holinshed most closely that I find it difficult to believe that Shakespeare wrote it about the time that he was writing *Julius Caesar*. On the other hand all that relates to Falstaff and Pistol *must* be of about this date. In the Pirated Quarto the process of abridging and transcribing would take the text farther from Holinshed than is the Folio, in which the historical verse need not have been touched; the prose humours on the other hand are simple piracies. If, as seems clear, the incredibly lame couplet which ends the Prologue to Act II,

But till the King come forth and not till then  
Vnto Southampton do we shift our scene,

is an addition to explain the insertion of two London scenes in an Act which the rest of the Prologue places wholly in Southampton and France, then there must have been an earlier version of the play to correspond with the Prologue in its original form. Mr Price passes over this point in silence, and thereby weakens his case. But his pamphlet is a very able one, which no one interested in the play can afford to neglect, and for which I am personally very grateful.

LONDON.

A. W. POLLARD.

*Philip Massinger.* By A. H. CRUICKSHANK. Oxford: Basil Blackwell. 1920. 228 pp. 15s.

In view of the light that has been thrown upon his writings since the days of Gifford, Hartley Coleridge and Cunningham, an adequate modern monograph on Massinger has long been needed. The want still remains to be supplied, for Professor Cruickshank's study of the dramatist is disappointingly incomplete and superficial. It contains no systematic discussion either of the dates of Massinger's plays or of the sources whence he derived his plots, nor (a more serious omission) is any attempt made to bring within the critical survey of the dramatist's work, the large bulk of that work (unrecognized by Gifford and the earlier critics) contained in the 'Beaumont and Fletcher' folios, and this although Professor Cruickshank is conscious of the injustice that has been done to Massinger through the tacit acceptance of the early uncritical attribution to Beaumont and Fletcher of some of the best of his work.

The author seems at first to have planned a dissertation on very modest lines. His design, he tells us, 'first widened as it went on, and then contracted.' His text still retains traces of the alteration of his plans that it would have been well to have removed; for instance, although on page 23 we are told that 'it would take us too far from our subject' to enter in detail on the problems presented by *Henry VIII* and *The Two Noble Kinsmen*, later in the book twenty pages are devoted to them. Professor Cruickshank, with perfect fairness and impartiality, discusses the arguments in favour of Massinger's participation in both plays, and comes to the conclusion that he had no hand in either. But it does not seem unfair to suggest that, if Massinger's hand were present, he would not be able to detect it. Far from being competent to distinguish Massinger's style from Shakespeare's, he cannot even distinguish it from Fletcher's. To show 'how tender Massinger is at his best,' he quotes Antonio's speech in iv, iii, of *A Very Woman*, beginning:

Not far from where my father lives, a lady,  
A neighbour by, blest with as great a beauty  
As nature durst bestow without undoing  
Dwelt, and most happily, as I thought then  
And bless'd the house a thousand times she dwelt in...

If this speech, with its end-stopped lines and double endings, is not Fletcher's, then all the critics who have devoted their attention to the authorship of the Massinger-Fletcher plays are mistaken<sup>1</sup>.

The Appendix in which the collaborated plays are dealt with clearly shows that Professor Cruickshank lacks the intimate acquaintance with his author's metre and diction which could alone give value to his pronouncements as to their authorship. He cannot find Massinger's hand in plays where it is so evident as in *The Double Marriage*, *The Beggars' Bush* and *Love's Cure*. And he is not always careful in his comments on the views of previous critics. Of *The Custom of the Country* he observes 'This play owes very little to Massinger. Boyle, in attributing Act II to him, must have been guided solely by metrical considerations.' This is not the case, as a reference to Boyle's paper on Beaumont, Fletcher and Massinger in *The New Shakspere Society's Transactions* would have shown. 'There is not a trace of Massinger's style in the Act,' adds Professor Cruickshank. But indeed there is. These lines for instance (from one of Duarte's speeches in the first scene)—

if [I were] a physician,  
So oft I would restore death-wounded men  
That where I liv'd Galen should not be nam'd  
And he that join'd again the scatter'd limbs  
Of torn Hippolytus, should be forgotten

<sup>1</sup> Through an unfortunate clerical error in Boyle's article on Massinger in the *D.N.B.*, Professor Cruickshank (pp. 129, 157) has been led to believe that Boyle was of opinion that Massinger wrote this scene of *A Very Woman*. For 'iv, 1, 3,' in the *D.N.B.* ['Massinger's share is i, ii, 1, 2 and 3 (to "enter Pedro"), iv, 1, 3'] we should read 'iv, 2 and v.' See Boyle's paper in *The New Sh. Soc. Transactions*, 1880-6, pp. 614-5, and the evidence there cited.



are very much in the style of this passage (which Professor Cruickshank quotes in another connexion) from Sforza's appeal to the doctors in *The Duke of Milan*:

O you earthly gods,  
You second natures, that from your great master  
Who join'd the limbs of torn Hippolytus,  
And drew upon himself the Thunderer's envy,  
Are taught those hidden secrets that restore  
To life death-wounded men!

To one whose ear is attuned to Massinger's verse, and is familiar with his stock phrases and rhetorical peculiarities, there can be no doubt of his responsibility for the parts of the play attributed to him by Boyle, Bullen and Macaulay.

Neither this Appendix nor the one that follows it argues close acquaintance with Massinger's works. The latter contains passages from Shakespeare and Massinger chosen to illustrate Shakespeare's influence on Massinger. Many of the parallels are extremely weak. It is hard upon Massinger that he should be unable to write

And I, to make all know I am not shallow,  
Will have my points of cochineal and yellow

without arousing a suspicion that he was indebted to *Twelfth Night* ('Remember who commended thy yellow stockings') or that it should be assumed that

It continuing doubtful  
Upon whose tents plum'd Victory would take  
Her constant stand

was suggested by Othello's

Farewell the plum'd troops, and the big wars  
That make ambition virtue.

The extent of Massinger's indebtedness to Shakespeare has sometimes been exaggerated, but Professor Cruickshank has left unnoticed numbers of passages in his plays, containing indisputable echoes of Shakespeare, more worthy of record than these.

The book nevertheless contains some sound criticism and not a little information that is not to be found in any edition of Massinger's works. Particularly worthy of notice are the careful collations of the MSS. of *Believe as You List* and *The Parliament of Love*, and the excellent facsimiles of a portion of the former MS. and of Field, Daborne and Massinger's joint appeal to Henslowe. Still more valuable are the reprints of the two poems by Massinger ('The copie of a Letter written upon occasion to the Earle of Pembroke' and the 'New Yeare's Guift' to the Countess of Chesterfield) preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, hitherto unpublished in this country. The first, addressed to William Herbert, third Earl of Pembroke, is of great interest, since not only does it contain what appears to be a clear reference by the dramatist to his early unacknowledged dramatic work in collaboration with Fletcher and others, but also first hand evidence that Massinger, at any rate during the earlier part of his career, was an actor. Professor



Cruickshank hesitates to draw this conclusion, but it seems impossible to put any other construction on Massinger's words. After a reference to the contemptible behaviour of many of the poets of his time who lavished praise upon their patrons only so long as they were paid for it, he continues :

Lett them write well that doo this and in grace  
 I would not for a pension or a place  
 Part soe w<sup>th</sup> myne owne candor, lett me rather  
 Live poorely on those toyes I would not father  
 Not knowne beyond a Player or a Man  
 That does pursue the course that I have ran  
 Ere soe grow famous.

The modest reference to his dramatic works as 'toys' is characteristic of Massinger. He speaks of them in the same way in the poem *Sero sed serio* addressed to the fourth Earl of Pembroke in 1635, on the death of his son Charles, Lord Herbert. The Dublin poem must have been written some time after 1615 when the third Earl became Lord Chamberlain, and presumably before 1622, when Massinger's name first appears (with Dekker's) on the title-page of a drama. The word 'player' can mean nothing but an actor, a performer in stage plays. There is no support in the Oxford dictionary for the supposition that it was ever used in the sense of 'playwright,' and in any event it is impossible that it should have that meaning here. Since Massinger takes credit to himself for not acknowledging his literary productions, he cannot intend to convey to the Earl of Pembroke that it is his desire to be known as a dramatist.

Professor Cruickshank writes in a pleasant, scholarly style, and the book is carefully printed and produced. Two small errors call for notice. On page 9 the assertion that we find in Massinger's plays 'constant references to...the slave market' is insufficiently authenticated by a single reference to a scene in *A Very Woman* which the author himself (page 129) attributes to Fletcher; and in the quotation from the Dublin poem on page 6 (correctly reproduced in the Appendix) 'mine own candour' is misprinted 'over-candour.'

H. DUGDALE SYKES.

ENFIELD.

*Les Doctrines Médiévales chez Donne, le poète métaphysicien de l'Angleterre* (1573—1631). By MARY PATON RAMSAY. Oxford: University Press. 1917. 8vo. xi + 338 pp. 7s. 6d.

*La Pensée de Milton*. Par DENIS SAURAT. Paris: Librairie Félix Alcan. 1920. 8vo. 362 pp. 20 fr.

*Milton und das Licht: Die Geschichte einer Seelenerkrankung*. Von HEINRICH MUTSCHMANN. Halle: Max Niemeyer. 1920. pp. vi + 36. 3 M.

The two former works are characteristic products of the deeper and more meticulous study of English authors which is traceable to the place

assigned in recent years to the study of English Literature in our own Universities and not least in the Universities of France. The study of a poet's metaphysic, supposing him to have had an articulate metaphysic, may or may not yield results of positive interest for the student and lover of his poetry. The metaphysics are not the poetry. They may enter into his poetry if and so far as they have quickened his imagination and been woven into the concrete and musical texture of his poetry; their value as poetry has no direct relation to their logical consistency and soundness but to their power to move and delight us. But if the poet has thus transmuted his ideas it becomes necessary to study them as it is necessary to study the myths or the history by which a poet has been inspired, not for their own sake, but to appreciate more finely the poet's use of them. Every poet's appeal to his readers depends on, takes for granted, a certain common background uniting them, the intelligibility and not only the intelligibility but the appreciation of his allusions, a common knowledge of and common feeling for the mythology, the history, the scenery, the literature to which he refers. If this background is, as in the case of Lucretius or Dante, metaphysical, that metaphysic must be understood. This has been clearly recognised in the case of Dante. Indeed Signor Croce is justified in protesting that the poetry of Dante has been sometimes sacrificed to the study of his cosmology, theology and allegory. Milton's thought has received scanty consideration even since the *De Doctrina Christiana* was unearthed. Professor Masson did something, but his interests were historical rather than metaphysical. As the great Biblical poet, the great Puritan poet, Milton continued to be thought of by readers who little realised how boldly Milton interpreted Scripture, how different his temper on one side was from that of such Puritans as Rutherford or Cromwell or Bunyan. Sir Walter Raleigh decides that 'there is no metaphysic, nothing spiritual, nothing mysterious, except in name throughout the whole poem' and he has given little consideration to Milton's articulated philosophy. Professor Saurat's is a bold attempt to show that Milton was a daring thinker whose metaphysic colours the whole texture of his poetry.

In their articulate thought Donne and Milton stand at opposite poles from one another. The work of Miss Ramsay has been to show that Donne's thought is throughout mediaeval, that all his doctrines can be traced to the scholastic philosophy whose roots are to be found even less in Aristotle than in the Neo-Platonism of Plotinus. For the study of Donne's poetry the analysis of his thought has the interest rather of curiosity than illumination. His use of scholastic doctrines in the love poems is more playful than serious, more perverse than reverent. He employs them not for their own sake but as a means to give witty or poetic expression to his subtly passionate or perverse moods. The interest of his love poems is poetic and psychological rather than philosophical, and the same is true of the best of his religious poems. It is in the great sermons that Donne develops most fully the doctrines he has embraced and endeavours most eloquently to assay their value. Miss



Ramsay's work is mainly a study of the doctrinal element in these and in his theological essays.

To his acute interest in theological questions Donne was driven by his upbringing as a Catholic and the position in which he found himself as he approached manhood. Miss Ramsay hardly gives weight enough to this when she speaks of his first interest in theology as no more 'que celui d'un intellectuel qui veut se guider selon la raison, et d'un étudiant à la recherche de connaissance.' What forced him to an independent study of theology as early as 1592 was doubtless the prudential and patriotic necessity of deciding what was to be his attitude towards the Church of his country. Was he as a Catholic to cut himself off from all advancement, or seek preferment abroad? He found escape from the quandary by the way of 'enlightenment,' by attaining to the view that all Churches are 'virtual beams of one sun.' But Miss Ramsay has well brought out the tragedy of Donne's position, the source (far more so than any acute consciousness of the divorce which was beginning between traditional theology and the new science—Donne often touches on this, but with a tendency to suspect knowledge rather than revelation) of his undecided attitude towards the ministry. An enlightened tolerance made it possible for him to enter the Anglican Church, and then he discovered that this was not enough. He must become an active champion of that Church and the apologist of persecution. It is the invariable lot of the man of open mind. To be a good party man one must be guided by tradition, prejudice and self-interest, keeping the open mind for other fields. Patriotism and perhaps personal feelings made him the sincere enemy of the Jesuits, against whom he directed the brilliant and coarse satire of *Ignatius his Conclave*. But the *Pseudo-Martyr* is a laboured and unconvincing piece of task work.

When Donne escaped from the barren field of controversy and became a great and edifying preacher he carried with him the main body of Catholic theology. Miss Ramsay's chief work in the chapters which follow those on his life has been to show that the views, which he discusses or defends, on the creation of the world, on our knowledge of God, on angels, their substance and functions, on the human soul and its connection with the body, on ecstasy, have behind them a long tradition of discussions and definitions scholastic and Neo-Platonic. Setting aside one or two doctrines which represented to the Anglicans the errors of Rome—Transubstantiation, the Papacy, Purgatory, the Worship of the Virgin and Saints—Donne finds in the definitions of Catholic theology the answer to endless questions raised by the restless wit of man given by reason, 'the philosopher,' controlled by the appeal to Scripture and the Christian consciousness. The view, for example, on which Donne insists in poems and sermons alike, of the relation of mind and body, his refusal to depreciate the body, is not so individual as a hazy idea of mediaeval asceticism might suggest. It is the reasoned conclusion of St Augustine, the greatest shaper of mediaeval theology. Donne's aim as a preacher is to define and illuminate by his learning and his imagination the great Catholic doctrines of God and Man, of sin and redemption,



of death and the resurrection, not to cut out a path of his own; and he is happier and more eloquent when so employed than when denouncing Romish errors. The spirit in which he works, too, is neither mystical nor rationalist but the spirit of the great Catholic theologians who have always taken reason as the portal to faith, as not contradicted but transcended by revelation. The scepticism of Donne, on which modern criticism insists, was not the rationalist, dogmatic scepticism of the later deists and sceptics. It was that profounder, temperamental and spiritual, scepticism which torments the soul that realises too vividly the contradictions besetting all human speculation, the uncertainty of human values, the inextricable interweaving of good and evil—evil begetting good, good begetting evil:

There's nothing simply good nor ill alone:  
Of every quality comparison  
The only measure is, and judge opinion.

It was a mood, as Donne says, to be overcome, not reasoned with.

Milton had far more of the temper of the new rationalism, the dogmatism of the great individual system-builders from Descartes and Spinoza to Hegel. The Catholic tradition to which Donne always rallies is rejected by Milton without compunction. As M. Saurat says, 'On trouve dans tout le *Traité de la doctrine*...une sorte de joie féroce d'iconoclaste, presque une jubilation juvénile derrière les termes raides et compassés et les textes accumulés, dans la destruction des idées orthodoxes.' Most of the great doctrines which Donne accepts as the orthodox finding of the Christian Church—the possibility of attaining to a knowledge of God by reason, the Trinity, the creation of the world from nothing, the origin of the individual soul—Milton flatly rejects. God the Infinite is unknowable. He has 'expressed himself' in the Son, but the Son is not God, is separated from God by the gulf which parts the finite and the infinite. The world was not created from nothing but from God, of whose substance matter is, therefore, a part. Matter and spirit are not distinct. The one passes as it grows finer into the other:

one first matter all  
Indu'd with various forms, various degrees  
Of substance, and in things that live of life:  
But more refin'd, more spiritous and pure  
As nearer to Him plac'd, or nearer tending.

At the centre of all Milton's thought lies the determination to establish the freedom of man's will as for him the sole ultimate vindication of the justice of God. That justification of God's ways to men which *Paradise Lost* was to make luminous is wholly contained in the speech in the third book where God divests himself of responsibility for the free actions of angels and men (III, 95 f.). Milton's metaphysics are the endeavour to find a secure basis for this entire freedom. Hence his theory of creation which M. Saurat has for the first time fully emphasised, the doctrine of God's 'retreat' or 'retirement.' The source of all finite, individual being is God's withdrawal of his controlling will from a

portion of his own being. 'Les parties de Dieu ainsi libérées de sa volonté deviennent les êtres' (II, 1, p. 134):

Boundless the deep, because I am who fill  
 Infinitude, nor vacuous the space,  
 Though I, uncircumscribed myself, retire  
 And put not forth my goodness, which is free  
 To act or not, Necessity and Chance  
 Approach me not, and what I will is Fate. VII, 168.

It is a strange theory and the word 'retreat' as incomprehensible as 'procession of the Holy Ghost.' It even suggests that the created universe is a bad dream of God when he relaxed his complete self-control. But Milton's underlying motive is obvious. It is a desperate endeavour to reconcile finite freedom with infinite power, Fate and Freedom. God's predestination is no predetermination, according to Milton. He foresees how free beings will use their freedom and lays his plans accordingly. He does not decree their actions:

Freely they stood who stood and fell who fell.  
 Not free what proof could they have giv'n sincere  
 Of true allegiance, constant Faith or Love,  
 Where only what they needs must do appear'd,  
 Not what they would? What praise could they receive?  
 What pleasure I from such obedience paid?

The same requirement of freedom, reasonable choice, determines Milton's view of individual redemption. He will not accept the orthodox doctrine that after the fall man's freedom perished, his nature became so entirely corrupt that it was no longer in him to will or to do any good thing. Man must retain sufficient freedom of will to choose whether he will seek to return to God or not. Grace is given to *strengthen* not to *create* that will, otherwise man were again an automaton. For Milton, as M. Saurat has insisted throughout, the Christian doctrine of man's fall and redemption is not only, perhaps not principally, an account of historic events but a description of what happens in every individual, the conflict between freedom and passion, the victory of passion (*Paradise Lost*), or of reason (*Paradise Regained*), or the recovery of lost freedom by the reassertion of reason (*Samson Agonistes*).

It is impossible to follow M. Saurat in his close and interesting analysis of the relation between Milton's thought and work and between the incidents of his life and both his metaphysics and poetry. The shock of his first marriage, he says, and the controversy on divorce were the fountain head of all the later currents of his thought and feeling. The one important question for us is, did Milton's metaphysics make him more or less of a great poet? M. Saurat has no doubt. 'C'est sa plus grande originalité—et c'est une originalité très rare—d'avoir construit un système cohérent de philosophie et d'avoir en même temps transposé ce système dans une œuvre artistique de première ordre. We confess that a careful study of M. Saurat's last chapters suggests to us rather that Milton failed to transpose his philosophical system—such as it is, daring and full of great truths if as a whole dogmatic and incom-



prehensible—into a great poem; and that a close study of Milton's metaphysics is interesting chiefly because it explains why, despite its wonderful art, its passionate lyrical strain, the noble ethical tone of the reflective and didactic passages, *Paradise Lost* has ceased to be classed as a great religious, a great spiritual poem justifying the ways of God to men. To vindicate this view at length is here impossible. It must suffice to state shortly (1) that, as M. Saurat himself admits, much of *Paradise Lost* is no rendering of Milton's specific ideas but myth which he has accepted and retains as a poet. M. Saurat perhaps even exaggerates the degree to which Milton uses the Bible stories without believing them. The question is a very open one. At any rate, what is greatest in the poem is just his management of the myth, the great episodes and great characters, their actions and their dramatic speeches, into which little or nothing of Milton's specific doctrines enters. These find their place chiefly in the didactic portions of the poem, where 'God the Father turns a school divine,' and it is the pressure of his metaphysics which turns *Paradise Lost*, as it develops, from a great epic into more and more of a didactic poem. *Paradise Regained* is purely didactic, but in *Samson Agonistes* Milton swings passionately back to the dramatic and lyric. (2) Milton's handling of the myth produced an effect quite different from that which he was aiming at metaphysically. He has not justified the ways of God to men but left with every thoughtful reader, including Blake and M. Saurat, a deep impression of divine aloofness, arbitrariness, injustice. M. Saurat escapes from this difficulty in an interesting and ingenious way. The counterpart to Satan, the great champion of righteousness against passion, is, he declares, not God or Messiah, but Milton himself. 'C'est Milton et non Dieu ou le Fils qui, en analysant Satan, le terrasse.' That describes well the impression which the poem leaves. 'Satan and Milton—two parts of Milton's own soul—these are the vital characters. But this is just to say again that Milton has not woven his teaching into the mythical texture of his poem. The argumentative portion is adventitious. It is as if Shakespeare had told the story of Othello in such a way as to enlist our sympathies for the superhuman cunning of Iago and thought to save the situation by choral odes or monologues in which he denounced Iago. There is only one way in which Milton could counter his picture of Satan's splendid courage and power of resistance, his pride touched with sympathy; and that was to show over against it the love and goodness of God. Shylock, like Satan, runs away with at any rate modern sympathies, but for a moment Shakespeare annuls that impression when Portia pleads the beauty and the power of mercy. There is only one thing stronger than strength, physical, intellectual or passionate, and that is disinterested goodness and love-illumined wisdom. But Milton, M. Saurat justly says, 'n'était pas sentimental et n'était mystique.' That is to say he was not a great religious poet.

In *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes* M. Saurat finds proof that Milton's mind emancipating itself more and more from dogma found the essence of Christianity in the moral history of every individual in



whom the conflict is waged between reason and passion. Christ has become for Milton a man. The myth of the Temptation is kept for poetical purposes. Essentially the poem is a drama of the victory of reason over passion, as the greater poem had set forth mythically the surrender of rational freedom to passion. This represents, doubtless, the trend of Milton's thought, for whom the ethical aspect of religion overshadows the doctrinal, mystical and institutional. But it is dangerous to read Milton's three great poems as though they were Kant's three *Kritiks*. They are poems not dogmatic treatises. It is not clear that Milton definitely rejected historical Christianity though he interprets its ethical significance in his own way. It is not quite accurate to say that of the Crucifixion Milton 'parle très peu dans le *Paradis perdu* et pas du tout dans le *Paradis reconquis*' (p. 191). The lines which M. Saurat quotes at p. 189 contradict this:

But first I mean  
To exercise Him in the wilderness;  
There He shall first lay down the rudiments  
Of His great warfare, ere I send Him forth  
To conquer Sin and Death, the two grand foes,  
By humiliation and strong sufferance.

The Temptation is the preparation for the Passion; but the significance of the latter is historical, it is the penalty paid for Adam's sin (*P. L.* III, 203). Of the Temptation the significance is ethical and practical. In it Christ reestablished man's freedom, that power to resist passion which his grace communicates to those who seek it. Christ is indeed man in his words and deeds, but he is the Son of God in a sense that other men are not:

thou art no Son of mortal man;  
Though men esteem thee low of parentage,  
Thy Father is the Eternal King who rules  
All Heaven and Earth, etc. I, 234 f.

That Milton took all this as myth, and through it adumbrated a purely ethical reading of Christianity, is at least not proven. He was after all a poet, not a metaphysician, and chose those portions and aspects of the Bible story which lent themselves to his peculiar gifts. In *Paradise Regained* he found the opportunity of portraying his ideal of heroic wisdom and self-control in an epic after the condensed style of the *Book of Job* which he had indicated in 1641 (*Reason of Church Government*) as an alternative form to the classical. One must not infer too much from what he did not do.

Nor is it quite safe to regard *Samson Agonistes* as the third chapter in a series of religious and metaphysical adumbrations of his beliefs. It is a dramatic and lyrical poem. M. Saurat wonders that there is no reference to original sin. 'Il a abandonné la théorie du péché originel.' There is no reference to it in the Bible story. It is enough that man is capable of sin, the wisest prone to err. 'Milton renonce aussi à l'idée du rachat par le Christ.' This again is an inference from negatives. The Catholic poet Vondel in his dramatically miserable *Samson of Heilige*

*Wraeck* (1660) finds the chief interest of the story in its forecast of a greater champion:

Who in dying shall deal a deadly blow to death.

Milton follows the Biblical story more closely and his interest is dramatic and personal, not doctrinal. It is as risky to judge of Milton's final views by the wandering cries of Samson in his suffering, or of the Chorus in their dismay, as to read the philosophy of Shakespeare in the passionate despair of Macbeth:

Life's but a walking shadow, a poor player.

In the very spirit of the greatest Greek tragedy Milton portrays the inscrutable workings of the divine in which yet are traceable the high purposes of justice:

All is best though we oft doubt  
What th' unsearchable dispose  
Of highest wisdom brings about  
And ever best found in the close.  
Oft he seems to hide his face,  
But unexpectedly returns  
And to his faithful Champion hath in place  
Bore witness gloriously.

Such a view has not been found incompatible with the Christian faith.

We do not think that M. Saurat has established his contention that Milton was a great thinker and wrote a great metaphysical poem. Milton was a bold but not a subtle thinker. In rejecting traditional doctrines as irrational he did not escape involving himself in others equally irrational. As Professor Raleigh says: 'his heresies may be reduced to a single point; the ultimate basis on which he rests the universe is political not religious.' Politics are the devil; the great forcing house of mutual hatreds and injustice. Milton's whole thought was too polemical in character to attain to satisfying wisdom, but a noble spirit of justice and faith pervades his troubled and splendid poetry. But M. Saurat has written a carefully documented, sane and temperate study which contrasts admirably with some recent German criticism determined to find in Milton a physical and mental degenerate. Milton was a great Puritan in his love for what Emerson calls the restrictive virtues and his rejection of any intermediary between God and man. He did not share the Puritan view that all human righteousness is filthy rags, that man is saved only by the unmerited grace of Christ. He was a child of the Renaissance in his confidence in reason; a great Englishman by virtue of his faith in justice.

EDINBURGH.

H. J. C. GRIERSON.

*Charles Dickens*. Von WILHELM DIBELIUS. Leipzig and Berlin: B. G. Teubner. 1916. 8vo. xiv + 525 pp.

This massive work, begun long before the war, came for notice last year. In the preface (Christmas, 1915) the author duly explodes against England, but his allusions to 'Einkreisungsintrige' and the like do not



call for reply. The book, as a whole, is without bias indeed is somewhat stiffly 'scientific' in temper and method. It leaves an effect of coldness, despite a certain pounding liveliness of style that is maintained to the end. Through a great part of this treatise Charles Dickens is exhibited as an illustration of something not himself; first and foremost, of the play of political forces and social energies, his connexion with which is the thing to be decided; and, secondly, of the pedigree of a number of literary-forms, themes, types, and other abstractions. These, no doubt, are both important topics; but the risk is that Charles Dickens should appear to come out of it all less as a man than as a body of material:—as a point, without length or breadth, in which many 'tendencies' are seen to converge. These tendencies, in their turn, are grouped round, or issue from, a multitude of other equally dimensionless points; which happen, however, in the last resort, to be other human beings. Such are the well-known risks of the 'historical' method, when overdone, in its application to works of literary art and to artists. Professor Dibelius is not an exceptional, but he is a representative, sinner; and he can scarcely complain if he, too, must be partly reduced to a 'tendency.'

He does indeed tell us much and at length about Dickens as a man. Few people can know so much about Dickens, or about books about Dickens. He has worked at the literature of the subject, it is plain, for years; he has it, both the obvious and the obscure literature, at his fingers' ends. His notes and his valuable bibliography prove this. We must take our hats off to the mass of Dr Dibelius's information. He has been along all the by-ways, has rummaged among the obscure periodicals. He adds to Forster and corrects him in sundry details, though paying fair tribute to him. Dr Dibelius has usefully massed the material for the future, the up-to-date Life of Dickens; he has not written, or affected to write, that Life. He has classified the mental and moral habits of his author under headings, usefully again, but rather scholastically: 'Rastlosigkeit,' 'visionärer Rauschzustand,' 'ungeheure Lebenskraft,' 'Geschäftsinstinkt,' and so following. Dickens's extravagances, his florid dressing, his uneasy manners, are debited against him; his gift for friendship, his concern for his poor neighbours, are duly credited to the account. The result is a balance-sheet rather than a picture. It does not make clear why Dickens was and is loved, or how he won the personal prestige which is disclosed by the numerous facts and figures Dr Dibelius adduces. Nor do we quite know, at the end, whether or not Dr Dibelius cares for Dickens as a man.

The criticism of the novels suffers from the same sort of treatment: it can be called 'schematic'—a pedantic word for a pedantic thing. The famous characters, Micawber, Pickwick and the rest, are often split up and sorted out, as though for a census, under 'Berufstypen,' 'Heldentypen,' 'Frauentypen,' and many other 'Typen.' Then come sections on Dickens's 'conduct of the action,' on his 'Naturgefühl,' and on his 'pathos and humour.' All good subjects, of course, and in a sense inevitable; but I think the method—this exhaustive, notebookish, cata-



loguing method—is a mistaken one. Not only 'science' and conscience, but art and selection, are required, if we are to understand an artist and his works. There is, for example, a most inadequate section on 'diction.' In quoting examples of Dickens's notorious blank verse, Dr Dibelius scans amiss more than once; he writes a stress upon syllables where no Englishman would place one. But more than that, we should hardly know from Dr Dibelius that Dickens—Dickens serious—can be a great master of English prose. All this is a pity, the more so that Dr Dibelius says many pointed things by the way. He sketches very well (pp. 353–5) the various types of criminal in the novels. He remarks that his author's pathos has sometimes 'a frightfully metallic ring' (p. 286); he gives a good inkling of Dickens's religious convictions, or emotions (pp. 229–230); does justice to his mastery (pp. 142, 370) of 'Massenszenen'; and calls Mr Pecksniff 'der Virtuose des Heuchelns' (p. 158). As I am saying some adverse things about Dr Dibelius, let me, in justice, give a short specimen of his less abstract and more cordial style:

Er hat uns London beschrieben, wie es dem Reisenden sich von fern als dunkle Nebel- und Rauchmasse mit seltsamem Lichtschimmer darüber ankündigt, sein morgendliches Erwachen, das laute Getriebe auf seinen Strassen, die verfallenden aristokratischen Häuser mit ihrem Schmutz, ihrer Winkligkeit und Schäbigkeit, die atembegende luftlose Enge einer Fremdenpension im Herzen der City, das Menschengewimmel eines dichtgedrängten Massenquartiers, die Schiffergegend an der unteren Themse, den mächtigen Strom und seine Ufer mit ihren Lichtreflexen bei Nacht, die Verbrecherviertel der Jakobsinsel und die marschige Umgebung des Ostens, und er hat all diese Bilder nicht nur beim konventionellen Sonnenschein und in der Stimmung des Alltags entrollt, sondern auch in der tödenden Langeweile eines Londoner Sonntags, in dem endlosen Regen und dem alles durchdringenden Nebel der schlechten Jahreszeit; seine grossen Beschreibungen des Londoner Winternebels gehören sogar zu den glänzendsten Leistungen auf diesem Gebiete (pp. 419–420).

It could be wished that Dr Dibelius oftener 'let himself go' in this way. Some of his judgments on particular works and personages have the interest of extreme oddness. It is always good to see the foreign point of view. What Briton would have spoken of Sam Weller's 'etwas grobkörnige Weltklugheit'? or have been reminded, 'ziemlich deutlich,' by Uriah Heep's serpent gaze, of Coleridge's Geraldine? (p. 270). Or have found out that Quilp is probably 'einfach aus der orientalischen Märchenwelt übernommen' (p. 135), although confessedly (note, p. 468) a 'definite model' cannot be found in the Orient? Or have surmised, though less positively (p. 112), of the meeting between Nancy and Rose Maylie, that 'hier dürfte der Einfluss der Szene zwischen Rebecca und Rowena am Schluss des *Ivanhoe* deutlich sein' ('deutlich' again!). I do but recite these views; many of them seem to be prompted by a wild passion for finding at all costs some 'historical' filament of analogy or 'influence,' when really Dickens is either just inventing, or is drawing from the universal stock. It is also excessive to say that the 'normal form of the English *Roman* was created,' for the first time, in *Oliver Twist*. And Dr Dibelius may well be thought to deal too lightly with the stories Dickens wrote after 1850. He says (p. 294) that the literary historian will not find much that is fresh in them and that they show

no essential development in Dickens. Yet the change of atmosphere, style, and plan is very marked. Accordingly, that masterpiece, *Great Expectations*, receives no considered judgment at all; we hear nothing of the living organism, though certain elements of it (the characters, incidents, etc.) are cut up into thin sections and mounted on separate microscopic slides.

Dr Dibelius, all the same, makes many contributions of value to literary history in the more rigid sense of the term. He brings out the debt of Dickens to Combe, Egan, and others (already noted by him in *Anglia*, Vol. xxxv); and especially his debt to the 'variety theatre' of Charles Mathews (pp. 68, 465), already indicated by the researches of Kitton and others. He clears up a confusion concerning the date of Dickens's visit to the original of Mr Squeers (p. 467). He gives (p. 468) the 'sources' of Dickens's reading about the Gordon riots;.....here, you writers of theses, is a subject made to your hand! He has some illuminating pages about the emergence of the child as a theme for modern verse and fiction (pp. 109, 129, 262). He indicates clearly the influence of the melodramatic stage on the novels (p. 397). All this is well, in spite of a proclivity for going too far afield, or too far back, in the paper-chase after 'influences.'

But it will scarcely be unjust to Dr Dibelius to say that his chief concern is not with Dickens as a writer. His chief concern is to state precisely the position and service of Dickens in the history of political reform and of philanthropy. His treatment of this subject must, I fear, be called top-heavy. The first chapter, of some sixty pages, is a laborious sketch of the condition of England, political, religious, and industrial, in 1830; the sixth chapter, of over forty pages, is on the 'soziale Lage' of 1843. So that, what with other like interludes, and with the epilogue, nearly one quarter of the whole text is scaffolding, which Dickens has to bear upon his back. It is really too much; less would serve, and serve better. On a more modest scale is the serviceable sketch of the poor law, as a prelude to the pages on *Oliver Twist*. The criss-cross of party sympathies on this vexed question, and the attitude of the novelist, are amply explained. Still, those workhouse chapters are merely a spring-board for the novelist, or, as Dr Dibelius says, a 'point of departure' for a story in which the beginning is forgotten.

The main thesis of Dr Dibelius's treatise may be roughly summed up, though he argues it with much wealth of reference and with not a little repetition. Dickens was no party man; he was not a great reformer, a great leader, whose pen swept away the abuses of prisons, schools, and law-courts; this is only the 'Dickens-legend,' already scotched but not quite killed. He was just a very powerful and popular 'Mitkämpfer auf Seite der Radikalen.' Yet he 'did much for the Fourth Estate in England'; he was a great reconciler of classes which were dangerously drifting into feud. He revealed the poor to the cultured; and he brought to the poorer classes the kind of culture, the kind of sympathy, that they wanted and could understand. In doing this he helped the country, and its literature too, over a remarkably awkward crisis. I am not sure



that these views are as novel as Dr Dibelius supposes. Surely they are now part of the general, educated verdict on Dickens. But Dr Dibelius with whatever surplusage, has worked them out fully and brought together the facts that warrant them. He seems too, in his own way, to enjoy the works of Dickens for their own sake, and that not merely because they prove something.

OLIVER ELTON.

LIVERPOOL.

*Studi danteschi.* Diretti da MICHELE BARBI. Volume II. Florence: Sansoni. 1920. 8vo. 167 pp. L.12,50.

*Poesia e storia nella 'Divina Commedia.'* Studi critici di E. G. PARODI. Naples and Florence: Perrella. 1921. 8vo. viii + 621 pp. L.15.

These two noteworthy volumes will be cordially welcomed by all students of Dante. The first, containing articles and notes of a character intended to throw fresh light on disputed points connected with the poet's life and works, makes its appeal rather to the specialist; the second, less concerned with minute questions than with the art of Dante in general and the relation of his thought with the history of his times, is addressed to a wider audience.

The new instalment of *Studi danteschi* follows the lines already laid down in its predecessor. The two longest articles, which occupy the greater part of the book, bear especially upon the biography of Dante. A full and exhaustive study by Bernardino Barbadoro, *La condanna di Dante e le fazioni politiche del suo tempo*, illustrated with some useful facsimile reproductions of documents, examines the whole question anew, and is a contribution of the first importance to our understanding of Dante's political career and the causes of his exile. Michele Barbi, *Per un passo dell' epistola all' Amico fiorentino*, investigates, with a great wealth of documents concerning Dante's relations and connections, the identity of the religious to whom the letter is addressed and that of the poet's nephew to whom it refers, proving conclusively that, with respect to the former, the identification with Teruccio di Manetto Donati, first suggested by Della Torre, cannot be sustained. For the MS. reading *vestri* ('per litteras *vestri* meique nepotis'), he would substitute *vestras*. The other articles deal with minor questions of literary or textual criticism. In the passage concerning Dante's preparation for the examination on Faith (*Par.* xxiv. 46-48), Pio Rajna finds a confirmation of Boccaccio's story of the poet's disputation in the university of Paris. Francesco d' Ovidio discusses the various interpretations of the line (*Purg.* iii. 72) describing the bearing of the souls of the excommunicated at the appearance of Dante and Virgil; Michele Barbi interprets the line in the *Vita Nuova* (ix. 9), 'In abito leggiere di peregrino'; Ermenegildo Pistelli contributes some critical notes on the text of the *Epistolae*, more particularly that of the Letter to Can Grande. Among the shorter notices at the end of the volume, Barbi gives new documents concerning Dante's grandfather, Bellincione, and a son of the latter, Drudolo di Bellincione d'Alaghiero, a previously unknown personage in the records of the poet's family.



Parodi is one of those rare Dante scholars who have the touch of gold. He has here put together fourteen of his studies in a volume of which the prelude is *L' eredità romana e l' alba della nostra poesia*, and the epilogue *Dante, poeta nazionale*. Only one of these articles, that on Farinata, has not appeared in print before; but the others, reproduced from the *Bullettino della Società dantesca italiana* and elsewhere, have been to a large extent rewritten. The longest articles deal with the comic element in the *Divina Commedia*, and with the date of composition, with special reference to the political theories, of the *Inferno* and *Purgatorio* respectively. As is generally known, the author is one of the most strenuous opponents of the theory, urged by Kraus and Zingarelli amongst others, that Dante did not set himself to compose the sacred poem until the downfall of Henry of Luxemburg had shattered his earthly hopes and illusions. Broadly speaking, and apart from specific chronological data, his view is that the political thought of the *Inferno* corresponds with that of the *Convivio*, and that the former was composed between 1307 and 1309 or 1310; whereas the *Purgatorio* represents a more imperialist development, in full agreement with the Epistles and the *De Monarchia*, and was written between the election and the death of the Emperor. It is needless to say that Parodi establishes an exceedingly strong case for his theory, but there are still difficulties left in our mind. We cannot see, for instance, that the lines in *Inf.* ii (22-24):

la quale e il quale, a voler dir lo vero,  
fur stabiliti per lo loco santo  
u' siede il successor del maggior Piero,

are in open contradiction with the *De Monarchia*. We would also note the close correspondence of *Inf.* xix with the Letter to the Italian Cardinals, extending even to such minute points as Virgil's approval of Dante's speech ('Io credo ben ch' al mio duca piacesse') matching the appeal to Aristotle ('habeo praeter hoc praeceptorem philosophum') in the Letter.

Among the other subjects with which the volume deals are the canto of Brunetto Latini, the 'Matelda' problem, the structure and arrangement of the *Paradiso*. Of the more popular essays, we have found *L' eredità romana e l' alba della nostra poesia* and *La Rima nella 'Divina Commedia'* particularly illuminating and delightful; but every article in the book will repay study. It is to be hoped that the author intends to give us a sequel. We will not address him with the remonstrance that Giovanni del Virgilio offered to Dante:

Tanta quid heu semper iactabis seria vulgo,  
Et nos pallentes nihil ex te vate legemus?

because, in spite of the preface, the professed student will find satisfaction here no less than the general reader; but a volume containing a re-issue of such more specialised studies as the *Rima siciliana*, *rima aretina e bolognese*, and the earlier *Rima e vocaboli in rima nella 'Divina Commedia'*, would be particularly acceptable.

MANCHESTER.

EDMUND G. GARDNER.

*Spanish and Portuguese Romances of Chivalry.* By HENRY THOMAS. Cambridge: University Press, 1920. viii + 335 pp. 8vo. 25s.

Readers acquainted with Menéndez y Pelayo, *Orígenes de la Novela*, will, of course, find in Mr Thomas's lectures much that they knew before, and some quotations the same, but the English book will hold its own beside that of the master. The author uses his judgment independently, and is able to detect a false reading (p. 57, note 9), such as escapes the eye of wide-ranging historians. Large historical subjects like this are too apt to be treated without exact scholarship. It is rather to be wished that Mr Thomas had given his opinion distinctly on the famous *crux* in *Don Quixote*, Part I, chap. VI, regarding the author of *Tirant lo Blanch*. He adopts a definite rendering; he might have warned his readers that it is conjectural; they can see for themselves that it is contradictory. *Tirant* has just been praised because it 'follows Nature': the knights dine and sleep and generally live more or less like human beings. Then comes the difficult sentence: *Con todo eso os digo que merecia el que lo compuso, pues no hizo tantas necedades de industria, que le echaran á galeras por todos los dias de su vida.* Mr Thomas reads *pues hizo tantas necedades*. But whatever the interpretation may be, Cervantes thinks well of *Tirant* because it does without the *necedades* of the other books of chivalry, and he cannot possibly have written blame of the author for 'fooleries,' immediately after he has praised him for rejecting them. The respect shewn to *Tirant* is clearly what Cervantes himself thinks due; the book is not condemned; it is given to the barber to take home and read; for the sake of the story, and the style, and some resemblance to real life. Has *Tirant the White* ever been compared with *The Fool of Quality*? There are dog-fights in both. Few other romances have the same gift of moralising pleasantly.

It is not possible to describe all the contents of Mr Thomas's volume; it is too well composed for abridgment, and too rich in details for easy selection. There is one apparent defect, which, however, may turn out to be only a space left for future building. The relation of *Amadis* to the older romances of chivalry, particularly *Lancelot*, seems to call for fuller treatment. It is a subject that concerns England quite as much as France and Spain; it concerns Spain and Portugal rather more than Mr Thomas allows. For the knights of the Round Table were not put out of fashion by Amadis and Palmerin; they were favourite heroes, even at court, long after the new fashion had come in. Even so Amadis himself was a possible hero for epic, in Italy, notwithstanding the classical contempt for Rosiclars and Knights of the Sun. Mr Thomas does not give full recognition to the sentimental ideals of the older French schools, and makes too much of the innovations of Amadis. The old author of *Amadas et Ydoine* had not much to learn, of grace and 'the finer shades,' from the author of *Amadis of Gaul*; the author of Malory's 'French book' knew no less of the art of love. All the more reason for closer study of the books of chivalry. Mr Thomas's book is so good that we may wish for another soon.

W. P. KER.

LONDON.



*Cambridge Readings in Spanish Literature.* Edited by J. FITZMAURICE-KELLY. Cambridge: University Press, 1921. 8vo. x+325 pp. 10s.

The title of this anthology seems to suggest that it is designed to be used for educational purposes, while a glance at its contents shews, as is stated in the exceedingly interesting preface, that it does not attempt to cover the whole ground and is concerned mainly with prose rather than with verse. That is to say that the student is referred to anthologies of Spanish Verse, such—for example—as the admirable *Oxford Book of Spanish Verse* by the same editor<sup>1</sup>. Whether such anthologies as the present really serve a very useful purpose in the teaching of a language is open to doubt. They tend to be a collection of 'snippets,' and the passages included are not complete and self-contained like the poems in a lyrical anthology. These 'Readings' are not exempt from this defect, and the selections are at times tantalisingly brief.

On the other hand, regarded as a collection of striking and representative passages of the best authors of Spain, where the lover of Spanish may browse at his pleasure, this anthology is a delight. It is, it is true, a surprise to find certain authors, such as Galdós, omitted, but that is presumably due to difficulties of copyright. There are also passages included, which many readers will think hardly to deserve a place. We might mention the citation from *La Cristiada* of Diego de Hojeda, which is merely an example, and not a good example at that, of the most artificial and turgid type of literary epic (cp. Marino's *Sospetto d'Erode*, to which this passage supplies a remarkably close parallel). Again it was scarcely worth while including the three short fragments from Jiménez's *Platero y yo*. The result is as unsatisfying and misleading as would be the quotation of three half-pages from, say, Stevenson's *Travels with a Donkey*. But there was never yet an anthology that did not lay itself open to such carping, and the present book provides a rich feast wherever we turn. Specially welcome are Lope de Vega's *Pastores de Belén*, Calderon's *La Cena del Rey Baltasar* and the exquisite selections from the poems of Díez-Canedo among the scanty selections from the poets. The passages chosen from prose authors are consistently admirable, from the quaint description of the state of England immediately following the deposition of Richard the Second, with which the volume opens, down to the examples drawn from writers of the present day. And the variety is amazing.

The book is admirably produced, but the eight illustrations do not add to the value or interest of it and are scarcely worthy of the rest of the volume in point of execution. A few brief explanatory notes would have been welcome. Not every reader will penetrate the disguise of 'Iuan Príncipe de Gales' or the 'Conde de Arbi' (Owen Glendower and Henry IV, Earl of Derby) (p. 1), to say nothing of allusions to Spanish history and customs elsewhere.

H. E. BUTLER.

LONDON.

<sup>1</sup> Note. The two anthologies do, however, at times overlap. Both, for example, include the somewhat artificial and pompous *Niágara* of Heredia.



*Obras de Lope de Vega.* Publicadas por la Real Academia Española. (Nueva Edición.) Obras Dramáticas. Tomo III. Madrid. 1917.

The third volume of Sr Cotarelo's edition of Lope de Vega's dramatic works contains nineteen plays. The first, *El Abanillo*, is printed here for the first time, from the only manuscript known, now in the Biblioteca Palatina at Parma, a copy of which was furnished by Professor Restori. This manuscript is of the beginning of the eighteenth century. The play, an excellent one, is mentioned in the second list of Lope's *Peregrino* (1618), and was represented before the King, in the Royal Palace at Madrid, by the company of Antonio Garcia de Prado shortly before February 8, 1623. It bears all the marks of being a composition of the poet's riper years. The argument of the play is based upon a *Tonada de la Dama del Abanillo*, that is sung in the third act, and appears to be entirely of Lope's invention. The action is rapid and the dénouement 'racional y satisfactorio en cuanto al arte.' A number of errors of the text have been skilfully emended by the editor. The following remarks may be noted: p. 5, l. 19, read *escudero es*; p. 6, col. 1, l. 21 from foot of page, for *hallé* read *halle*; l. 11 from foot of page, for *cuando* read *cuanto*; p. 8, col. 2, l. 3 from foot of page, read *llegó*; p. 10, col. 1, l. 6, for *originoso* read *uginoso*; l. 12, the emendation makes the line too long by one syllable; l. 2 from foot of page, *polvo* seems to be an error; p. 12, l. 11 from foot, for *y que* read *de que*; perhaps the preceding line should read *despechado estaba*; p. 17, l. 11 from foot of text, for *su firme* read *sufirme*; two lines below, read *conduce*; p. 26, col. 1, l. 2, read *está*. On p. 12, col. 1, the lines 9 and 10 recall the famous sonnet of Garcilasso, beginning 'Passando el mar Leandro el animoso': the last tercet is:

Ondas pues no se escusa que yo muere  
dexad me alla llegar, y a la tornada  
nuestro furor essecuta en mi vida. *Obras*, ed. 1547, fol. 90<sup>v</sup>.

On p. 21, col. 2, l. 9 from foot of page, is a reference to Lope's play *La desdichada Estefania*, which was first printed in Part XII of the *Comedias* (Madrid, 1619). The latter play is not noted in the second list of the *Peregrino* (1618).

*Acertar errando* is here published from a manuscript copy in the Biblioteca Nacional made for Agustin Duran, collated with a manuscript of the beginning of the eighteenth century, at Parma. It is not mentioned in either one of the *Peregrino* lists, but, according to the editor, bears evident marks of authenticity. Duran had noted upon his manuscript: 'Identica a la del *Embajador fingido*,' to which the editor remarks: 'Esta comedia no ha existido nunca: es la misma de *Acertar errando*,' etc. This is a contradiction in terms; the concluding lines of the play give as its alternative title *El Embajador fingido*. Page 38, col. 1, l. 9 from foot of page, read *Pues advierta que yo soy*; p. 39, col. 2, l. 11, read *No tan aire, seó cosquillas, seó = señor*; p. 41, col. 1, l. 17 from foot of page, the text *por un papel ha de hallar* seems to be correct; p. 42, col. 2, *La Dicha del Forastero* may be a reference to Lope's play of that title, written towards the close of 1615, and mentioned in the *Peregrino* of

1618; or it may simply refer to 'the stranger's luck.' Compare Hartzenbusch, *Lope de Vega*, II, p. 158:

Fabia: Mas suelen ser mas dichosos...

Celia: ¿Quien, Fabia?

Fabia: Los forasteros.

Page 43, col. 1, l. 6 from foot of page, the manuscript seems to be correct. On p. 45, col. 1, the words 'Bien haya quien sirve a señor discreto' may be a reference to the comedia *Servir a Señor discreto*. The very words occur in the latter play. See Hartzenbusch, IV, p. 89, col. 2. This play is mentioned in the second list of the *Peregrino* (1618). Page 45, col. 2, l. 8, *casa santa* = the holy sepulchre; the remarks of the *gracioso* Tarquin about the *poetas cultos* is interesting. Page 46, col. 1, ll. 5-6 read:

llegó como una beata  
no sólo a escribir latines.

Page 47, col. 2, l. 1, read *topar?*; p. 52, col. 1, l. 23, read *¿jugais hombre?*; the reference is to the game of cards; p. 55, col. 1, l. 10 from foot of page, *le* seems to be correct; it refers to Ricardo. Page 55, col. 2, l. 9, read *por donde yo merecí*; l. 8 from foot of page, read *No sé yo qué le haya dado*; p. 58, col. 2, l. 20 from foot of page, read *celebrando su belleza*.

*La adversa Fortuna de Don Bernardo de Cabrera*. This excellent tragedy is here reprinted from a volume entitled *Doce Comedias de Lope de Vega Carpio*. Parte veinte y nueve. En Guesca, por Pedro Luson. Año 1634. 4°. This is a factitious volume made up by the printer, and contains twelve plays, of which seven are ascribed to Lope, including *La prospera Fortuna de Don Bernardo de Cabrera* and *La adversa Fortuna de Don Bernardo de Cabrera*. The question of authorship which we have discussed in reference to *Arminda celosa* (see *Mod. Lang. Rev.*, vol. XIII, p. 119) again arises here. In the latter case some scribe had written upon the manuscript 'compuesta por el Caballero Lisardo.' As Lope, however, mentions this play in the second list of the *Peregrino* (1618) there can be no doubt as to its authorship. Still, it shows that authentic plays of Lope de Vega were ascribed to Lisardo. Sr Cotarelo tells us practically all that is known of D. Luis de Vargas Maurique, who wrote or is said to have written under the pseudonym of *Lisardo*. To the facts alleged by Sr Cotarelo may be added that Lope de Vega mentions D. Luis de Vargas Maurique in his *Arcadia*, 1598 (*Obras Sueltas*, VI, 424), and as a writer of plays in his *Dorotea* (ed. Castro, p. 207). See *La Galatea de Cervantes*, ed. Schevill and Bonilla, tomo II, Madrid, 1914, p. 307. Lope also dedicated his ninety-eighth sonnet to Vargas (ed. 1602, fol. 284<sup>v</sup>). The concluding lines of the present play are:

Rey: Ya la inocente tragedia  
aquí, senado, se acaba,  
y ansí Lisardo suplica  
perdonéis sus muchas faltas.

Sr Cotarelo says: 'Lisardo, pues, sería otre de los nombres poéticos de Lope de Vega; porque dudar que estas dos comedias han brotado de su pluma nos parece fuera de razón y tino.' Belardo was, so far as we



know, the only poetical name that Lope used in his plays, though he seems, at times, to speak through the mouth of Lisardo. Two instances occur to the writer in which this appears to be the case. In *Los tres Diamantes* (written about 1600) Lope has changed the name Pierres of the original story to Lisardo and the name Magalona to Lucinda, 'sin duda en homenaje a su amada,' as Menéndez y Pelayo says (tomo XIII, p. cxliii). The same critic also alludes to the delightful scene in the play in which 'Lucinda se va durmiendo en brazos de Lisardo.' Also in the comedia *Los Ramilletes de Madrid*, a play written in 1615, Lope (in Act I, Sc. 5) expresses his opinion of the Spanish poets in the words of the *alférez* Lisardo (ed. Hartzenbusch, tomo IV, p. 305). Still, as we have remarked in a previous article, the mystery remains why Lope should have adopted the name Lisardo in this case. Most of the characters in *La adversa Fortuna de D. Bernardo de Cabrera* are historical, though the poet has taken great liberty in the treatment, as Sr Cotarelo says, especially in the supposed loves of D. Bernardo and the infanta Da Violante, sister of the King, D. Pedro IV of Aragon. The source of the play, as the editor points out, is Zurita, *Anales*, bk IX, chaps. lii and lvii. D. Bernardo was accused of a long list of crimes and was imprisoned in the castle of Novales. On June 2, 1364, he was condemned to be beheaded, the Duque de Girona pronouncing the sentence on July 27 of that year. 'Fue entregado a Garcia Lopez de Luna, alguazil del Rey...lo llevaron por las calles publicas, y fue degollado en el mercado deste ciudad delante de la puerta de Toledo y todo aquel dia estuuo alli su cuerpo a vista del pueblo, y el dia siguiente fue enterrado en el monesterio de los Frayles Menores desta ciudad, y la cabeça se llevó al Rey porque lo auia asi mandado' (vol. II, fol. 336<sup>v</sup>, ed. Zaragoza, 1610). Whoever the author may be, he produced, in *La adversa Fortuna de D. Bernardo de Cabrera* a remarkably fine play, in every way worthy of Lope de Vega. The language is elevated and dignified throughout. There are passages of peculiar poignancy, especially in the closing scenes of the tragedy. The tragic doom of the protagonist hastens from the very opening of the play. The last act is grandiose: the reply of the accused D. Bernardo to his King, who does not even deign to listen to his unjustly disgraced favourite, and the following address of the doomed man to the portrait of his sovereign—the interview of D. Bernardo with his faithful friend D. Lope—the scene in which the father and son of the disgraced favourite, who have come to visit him and instead meet with the hangman carrying the head of D. Bernardo, are full of intense pathos. The two parts, *La adversa* and *La prospera Fortuna de D. Bernardo de Cabrera*, suffered a *refundición* into one by D. Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla and Luis Vélez de Guevara with the title *Tambien tiene el Sol menguante*. (Paz y Melia, *Catálogo*, No. 3211, who gives the sub-title *No hay Privanza sin Envidia*.) According to a *censura* in the manuscript, dated 1655, the play was prohibited 'por respecto a los descendientes de D. Bernardo de Cabrera.' (See the editor's Introduction, p. xii; Cotarelo, *D. Francisco de Rojas Zorrilla*, p. 224, and *Boletín de la Real Acad. española*, vol. IV, p. 424.)



*El Amante agradecido* was first printed in Part X of Lope's *Comedias* (Madrid, 1618). It is not a very agreeable play. It was undoubtedly written during the poet's stay in Seville, from the detailed description (in Act II) of the monument to Philip II in that city. The action takes place while the Court is in Valladolid, i.e. between 1601 and 1606. The style, 'medio picaresco, medio cortesano,' is not infrequent in Lope's earlier plays. There is one beautiful character, Lucinda, in this play, in whom the poet seems to have depicted Camila Lucinda (Micaela de Lujan), with whom he was living in Seville for a large part of the years 1602—1604. With the song on p. 136, col. 2, cf. the one in *La Noche de San Juan* (Part XXI, Madrid, 1635, fol. 82). The first four lines are identical.

*Los Amantes sin Amor* is a good play, but with an incomprehensible heroine, Octavia, 'tan enrevesado y complejo, que merece especial examen de aquellos que estudian la psicología femenina en nuestros poetas dramáticos.' The third act is disappointing, inasmuch as it leaves Octavia's strange conduct entirely unexplained. From several references in the text, the play was written in 1601 or 1602. There is a passage reminiscent of Lope's early days in the *corrales* of Madrid on p. 152, col. 2, in the mention of Francisquina and Gunasa; the former, whose real name was Silvia Roncagli, belonged to a famous company of Italian players in 1578, known as *I Gelosi*; in 1587 she was a member of the company of Drusiano Martinelli, and Lope saw her in one of the Madrid *corrales* in that year. Gunasa, who made several visits to Spain between 1574 and 1584, is again mentioned on page 169. On the same page is a reference to the violent storms at Bermuda, to which Shakespeare alludes about ten years later, 'the still-vex'd Bermoothes,' in *The Tempest* (Act I, Sc. 2).

*Amar como se ha de amar* is here printed from 'el excelente y antiguo manuscrito número 16552' of the Biblioteca Nacional (copy), compared with a manuscript in the Ducal Library at Parma. The fragment (fols. 214—233) of a volume containing this play, formerly in the Osuna collection (tomo CXXXI), was inaccessible to the editor. According to this fragment the play was represented by Suarez. If this was the first performance of *Amar como se ha de amar*, it is a late play, as Cristóbal Suarez was an actor in the company of the Valencianos in 1627, and the earliest notice we have of his being director of a company is 1629. There is a copy of this fragment (fols. 214—233) in the Biblioteca de Filosofía y Letras de la Universidad Central, which I described in *Mod. Lang. Rev.* (January, 1906, p. 103).

*Amar, servir y esperar* first appeared in print in the posthumous Part XXII of Lope, published in Madrid in 1635. As the concluding lines show, the comedia was written for the poet's friend, the actor-manager Roque de Figueroa. Where it was written we do not know. The first notice we have of Figueroa as a theatrical director is in 1624, when he took his company to Valencia, and we find him in Madrid in 1627. In this latter year, and in 1629, 30, 34 and 35 he represented the *autos sacramentales* in Madrid. It is probable that Lope's play was written about the year 1630.

*El Amigo por Fuerza* is a very ordinary play. It is mentioned in both lists of the *Peregrino*, and, in the opinion of the editor, is one of the poet's youthful plays.

*Los Amigos enojados y verdadera Amistad*, first printed in 1603, is an early play. Like the preceding one it has no *figura del donaire* and hence belongs, probably, to some time before 1598.

*Amistad y Obligación*, a beautiful play, is contained in Lope's Part XXII (Zaragoza, 1630); with this the editor has compared a modern manuscript in the Biblioteca Nacional, and an eighteenth century *suelta*, without date. For *El Amor Bandolero*, first printed in Part XXIV (Zaragoza, 1633), Sr Cotarelo has also utilized 'un prezioso manuscrito de 1645,' which has served to correct many errors in the printed text of 1633. It is very probable that this latter volume was published without the knowledge of the poet. It contains at least three plays which are not his, though they are all ascribed to him: *El Examen de Maridos*, which is by Alarcon; *El que dirán*, which is by Matías de los Reyes, and *Amor, Pleyto y Desafío*, which is also by Alarcon, and is wholly different from a play with the same title, rightly ascribed to Lope de Vega. The volume of Zaragoza, 1633, is simply a piratical bookseller's speculation, and unless there be other evidence of the authenticity of the plays in this volume, we may consider their ascriptions as doubtful. After reading *Amistad y Obligación*, it is hard to believe that the same pen wrote *El Amor Bandolero*. The dialogue in this latter play drags intolerably; there is nothing of the crispness of the great master. The dulness of the *gracioso* Trigueros is wearisome. In short it is a disjointed, shambling piece, which shows none of the marks of Lope, and should be placed in the doubtful column. On the other hand, *Amor secreto hasta Celos*, the next play in the volume, is an excellent comedy, that bears all the distinguishing marks of the great dramatist; the dialogue is sprightly and alert; there is plenty of epigram and the play is full of poetry. The comedia is anterior to 1618, and is printed here from the second edition of Part XIX (Madrid, 1624). It may be added that on p. 408, col. 2, the edition of Valladolid, 1627, also reads *furia*.

*El Animal de Hungría*, printed in 1617 in Part IX, at Madrid, and again in the following year, is here based on the first edition, with which has been compared the Barcelona edition of 1618. The play contains some beautiful poetical passages and is besides of interest on account of the defence of his theatre which Lope makes through the mouth of one of the characters, a barber (Act I). A comparison of the present text with a *suelta* printed 'en la imprenta de la Viuda de Joseph de Orga,' in Valencia in 1764, reveals a number of variants, some of which, in spite of the mutilated text of the *suelta*, improve the readings of Sr Cotarelo's edition. Page 424, col. 1, five lines from foot of page, read *vivo*; p. 427, col. 2, l. 23, the *suelta* reads *como quiera*; p. 428, col. 2, l. 37, read *Dejarásme*; l. 39, read *quieres*; p. 429, col. 2, l. 26, read *Caza*; p. 430, col. 1, l. 19, the *suelta* has the stage-direction *Toma la niña*; p. 431, col. 2, l. 1, *en lo que*; p. 434, col. 2, l. 15, *fuesen*; l. 18, *dices*; p. 435, col. 2, l. 7, comma after *nácar*; l. 22, omits *y*; l. 4 from foot of page, a



line is omitted: *con que vos soleis tener*; p. 436, col. 1, l. 6, *vestido*; l. 7 from foot of column, *rescate*; l. 5, *llego*; col. 2, *tierra* for *sierra*; p. 437, col. 1, l. 4, *puedo* for *a solas*; l. 10, *dar alivio a los* for *sabrás los grandes*; p. 438, col. 1, l. 9, *que digan que es desatino*; col. 2, l. 7 from foot, *Viva*; l. 2, *envidioso*; p. 444, col. 2, l. 15, *se*; p. 445, col. 1, l. 18, *Pasad*; p. 447, col. 2, l. 6, *y faltando, o por invierno*; l. 10 from foot of column, *Maté a mi*; l. 9, *y manché su casto*; l. 4, *o por la pena*; p. 448, col. 2, l. 14 from foot, *a alguna*; p. 449, col. 1, l. 19, *y al fin ella*; l. 20, *casó*; col. 2, l. 19 from foot, *suelo*; l. 5, *arrebató*; p. 450, col. 1, l. 29, *la* for *lo*; col. 2, l. 4 from foot, *jerga*; last line, *aprendió*; p. 451, col. 1, l. 4, *y dijome desta manera*; l. 11, *me* for *le*; l. 19, *cabe* for *tuve*; l. 21, *que lo que hareis hoy vereis*; l. 22, *como mañana lo sabe*; l. 26, *y es padre*; col. 2, l. 20, *ver si era ese rostro suyo*; p. 452, col. 2, l. 19, *se junten*; l. 25, omit comma after *tierra*; p. 453, col. 1, l. 6, read *la* (?); col. 2, l. 20, *indignacion*; p. 454, col. 1, l. 8, *Que me apretais*; p. 457, col. 2, l. 6, *a esos pies*; l. 9 from foot, *ella* for *él*; p. 458, l. 15 from foot, *lo* for *la*; p. 459, col. 1, l. 17, *abatiese*.

The next play in the volume, *El Argel fingido y Renegado do Amor*, was written, apparently, in 1599, but it can hardly be called 'obra de su juventud,' for Lope was then 37 years old. It is interesting for its allusions to the festivities at the marriage of Philip III at Valencia in that year.

*¡Ay verdades, que en Amor!* is a delightful play, the autograph of which, dated November 12, 1625, is in the British Museum, and was copied by the writer many years ago. The present edition is made with scrupulous care. There is an interesting reference to the theatre, and to the actors Arias and Cintor, as well as to the famous Amarilis, Maria de Córdoba (Act I, near the end). It is very likely that the ballad, from the first verse of which this play takes its name, was first printed in Lope's *Filomena*, the 'Fé de erratas' of which is dated July 7, 1621, while that of the *Primavera y Flor de los mejores Romances* of Arias Perez is dated November 6, 1621. At all events, as this ballad is one of the *Filis* ballads, written to Elena Osorio, it is much older, and belongs, in all probability, as Sr Cotarelo says, to the period of Lope's exile, about 1588. There is a falling off in the third act of this play, as is not infrequently the case in Lope's comedias.

Of the remaining plays in this volume, *Los Bandos de Sena*, or *Los Vandos de Sina* as the poet spells it, was written before 1618, and is here reprinted for the first time since it appeared in Part XXI of Lope's comedias in 1635; the autograph manuscript of *La Batalla del Honor*, which is dated April 18, 1608, was formerly in possession of Sr Olózaga, but the present whereabouts of it is unknown. This play has not been reprinted since 1661. *La Bella malmaridada*, a comedia that first appeared in 1609, is reprinted here for the first time since 1630. *Bernardo del Carpio, Segunda Parte*, which is the second part of the trilogy upon this famous hero of romance, is here printed from a very rare *suelta* in the British Museum. The play is a very mediocre one, inferior, as the editor states, to the other two parts of the trilogy. The



volume concludes with two pages of additions and corrections, and variant readings to *Acertar errando*, *Amar como se ha de amar* and *Alejandro el Segundo*, the latter from a manuscript at Parma, furnished by Professor Restori. It is evident that the editor has given great care to the preparation of this volume, which will be welcomed by all students of the Spanish drama.

H. A. RENNERT.

PHILADELPHIA.

JEAN MARIE CARRÉ. *Goethe en Angleterre: Étude de littérature comparée. Bibliographie de Goethe en Angleterre*. Paris: Plon-Nourrit. 1920. 8vo. xviii + 300 pp. and 176 pp. 15 fr.

That a book on Goethe in England should be written by a Frenchman is a further proof, if such were needed, of the cosmopolitan character to which modern literary criticism has attained, and which the young science of comparative literature has done much to develop and extend: that the book should appear so soon after the great world conflict and should nevertheless breathe so truly historical a spirit is a tribute to the author's intellectual sincerity and philosophic breadth of vision. We welcome his study as being at once well ordered and illuminating: the arrangement is sufficiently chronological to avoid confusion, but not so rigidly so as to strangle the more important requirement of eliciting the true literary significance of the facts handled. Prof. Carré has lived up to the ideal which he has laid down in his introduction, and it is no mean accomplishment to have done so.

Le plan de l'ouvrage, tout en étant chronologique, tout en suivant en gros l'apparition des œuvres de Goethe en Angleterre, doit satisfaire à deux exigences: mettre en lumière, d'une part, le phénomène d'opinion et, d'autre part, l'individualité dirigeante. La méthode d'exposition adoptée dans *Goethe en France* s'accorde sensiblement avec les résultats de cette enquête et se prête à ce double but. Il faut saisir sur le vif, à sa date de plus grande action, telle ou telle œuvre goethéenne, suivre l'infiltration du motif étranger sous les multiples courants littéraires jusqu'à son point d'émergence, n'établir des courbes que pour en dégager les sommets. Et comme ces soudaines ascensions des lignes ordinairement imprécises et flottantes sont provoquées par une intervention individuelle, par l'entrée en scène d'un Carlyle ou le livre d'un Lewes, la causalité entraîne et justifie l'ordre chronologique.

If we confess to a sense of disappointment at the incompleteness and inexactitude of the bibliography, it is only fair to add that it marks a distinct advance on previous attempts in the same direction, and with the disadvantage under which Prof. Carré has necessarily laboured of being for the most part outside the country of publication of the books he has sought to tabulate, more than this was hardly to be expected. Regarded as a work of imagination—and a critical study which cannot be so described is hardly worth publishing and certainly not worth reviewing—we have nothing but praise for Prof. Carré's study; and we regret the shortcomings of the bibliography not only because they may mislead future students in the same field, but because we cannot help thinking that, brilliant as it already is, the critical study itself would

have been still more satisfying, had it been based on fuller and more accurate information. Thus, for example, fresh point would have been added to the reference on p. 12 to the chap-book version of *The Sorrows of Werther*, had Prof. Carré referred to both editions<sup>1</sup>, printed within a few years, possibly in the same year, and had he quoted the passage in Mrs Gaskell's *Sylvia's Lovers*, 1863 (vol. II, chap. viii), where some similar chap-book is referred to.

Mrs Gaskell was born in 1810 and was no doubt speaking from the evidence of contemporary witnesses with reference to the popular chap-book literature at the end of the eighteenth century, the period in which she has placed her story, when she writes:

And now he wished even more than ever that Sylvia had cared for learning: if she had, he could have taken her many a pretty ballad, or story-book such as were then in vogue. He did try her with the translation of the Sorrows of Werther, so popular at that time that it had a place in all pedlars' baskets, with Law's Serious Call, the Pilgrim's Progress, Klopstock's Messiah, and Paradise Lost. But she could not read it for herself; and after turning the leaves languidly over, and smiling a little at the picture of Charlotte cutting bread and butter in a left-handed manner, she put it aside on the shelf by the Complete Farrier.

Moreover, Prof. Carré has failed to point out the true significance of *Love and Madness*, for the letters of Mr H. and Miss R. give us the first indication of an acquaintance with Goethe's *Werther* in England through the medium of the French translation of 1776. Here also we find the first English poem placed in the mouth of Werther.

How incomplete is the *Werther* portion of the bibliography will be seen by referring to the additions and corrections subjoined below, which have been made entirely from the reviewer's own library and personal knowledge and without any *ad hoc* researches for which he has had no time. This portion of the bibliography has been selected only as being of perhaps the greatest general interest, and most of the other portions could be similarly corrected and expanded. An exception may be made of the bibliographical notes on Goethe's influence on Sir Walter Scott, which summarise and extend our knowledge on this part of the subject, and form the most complete and reliable part of the bibliographical volume. Both volumes unfortunately are disfigured by a quite unnecessarily large number of misprints.

It would, however, be ungracious to dwell longer on these bibliographical and typographical shortcomings. Let us emphasise rather such points as the debt we owe to Prof. Carré for the admirable study he gives us of the intellectual development of Carlyle, the part played therein by the influence of Goethe, and the effect which the latter was thus enabled to exercise, through Carlyle, on the whole trend of thought in this country in the nineteenth century; the insight with which he expounds the importance of Lewes's work in completing the understanding of Goethe in

<sup>1</sup> Copies of both editions are in the possession of Prof. Priebisch, to whom I owe the opportunity of examining them. The one referred to by Prof. Carré is the second edition. The first, which is not in the British Museum or the Bodleian, was published in London by John Smith and has no frontispiece.



this country by shewing him as the classical artist and the man of science; and the precision with which he traces the nature of the obligations of such different men as Byron, Scott, Coleridge, William Taylor, and Crabbe Robinson to the great German thinker and poet. If any to whom this field of study is unfamiliar are inclined to feel some kind of resentment at the magnitude of these obligations, we would remind them that after all the influence of the great German writers of the second half of the eighteenth century was but the reflex influence of the earlier and contemporary English writers, of Shakespeare and Milton, Goldsmith and Sterne, and many others; that great as is the debt of nineteenth century English literature to Germany, it is not so great as that of eighteenth century German literature to England; and that it was no doubt precisely by reason of the fact that the intellectual impulse traced in this book was thus returning to its native soil that it took root so widely and so deeply, and bore such an abundant harvest. So far from the German influence being unduly emphasised by Prof. Carré, we can assure our readers that his tendency is always, by reason of the incompleteness of his facts, to understate rather than to overstate it. Thus, for instance, he informs us that Carlyle's *Life of Schiller*, which appeared in 1825, may be regarded as a monument erected to the memory of his intellectual influence in this country, which was by that time already dead! Far otherwise would Carlyle's work be judged by a true interpreter of Schiller's influence on England.

We cannot do better in concluding this review than quote from the introduction a few short extracts summarising the author's principal results in respect of Carlyle and G. H. Lewes. In the development of the views therein stated lies the main achievement of the book.

Carlyle est...un révélateur, un prophète. Il doit nous retenir longtemps, d'abord parce que son génie s'est surtout développé sous l'influence germanique, ensuite parce que sa prédication en faveur de Goethe fut de toutes la plus efficace et la plus éloquente. J'ai considéré son œuvre comme le bloc massif et central qui maintiendra les différentes parties de ce travail, comme la clé de voûte de la construction. Il fait, à lui seul, l'objet de la seconde partie, la plus importante à mon avis : *l'Avènement des certitudes morales* (pp. x, xi).

Là où je n'étudie, en apparence, que Carlyle, je saisis Goethe, et peut-être dans ce qu'il a de plus vivant. Les idées que Carlyle a trouvées en lui sont devenues sa chair et son sang. Il faut prendre Carlyle tout entier. Peu importe que son appréciation sur Goethe soit incomplète ou discutable, si elle est révélatrice et féconde. L'idée qu'il se fait du poète est liée à une conquête morale, celle de 'l'éternelle affirmation,' et à une conquête philosophique, celle de l'idéalisme (p. xi).

Il restait à éclairer quelques aspects de Goethe encore ignorés des Anglais. Ils avaient appris à connaître, avec plus ou moins de précision, avec plus ou moins de plaisir aussi, l'auteur de *Werther*, le poète du *Faust* ou des *lieds*, l'homme privé, le sage conseiller de *Wilhelm Meister*. Que leur restait-il surtout à découvrir? L'artiste et le savant. C'est ce que va leur révéler Lewes. Goethe est un Grec, dit-il, non un penseur, mais un artiste. Il est très grand, le plus grand de tous peut-être, quand il se soumet aux exigences impérieuses du beau....En face des intuitions lyriques de Carlyle, il dresse sa solide et vivante biographie. Avec lui, la destinée de Goethe en Angleterre se recourbe et se ferme (p. xiv).

The following notes are appended on the *Werther* section of Professor Carré's bibliography :



*Translations of Werther in the Eighteenth Century* (pp. 9—10).

The title of the first translation published by Dodsley in 1779 is *The Sorrows of Werter* not *Werther*. It is not by Render, but probably either by Daniel Malthus<sup>1</sup> (see an article by Orie W. Long on English Translations of Goethe's *Werther* in the *Journal of English and Germanic Philology*, Vol. xiv, 1915) or, as appears to me more likely, by Rev. Richard Graves, tutor of T. R. Malthus. Render's preface to his translation which appeared in 1801 makes it quite clear that he was not the author of the earlier version.

With regard to the list of later editions of this translation, it is worth noting that the writer's copies of those dated 1784, 1785, 1788 and 1795 are described on the title-pages as 'a new edition.' The so-called '7th edition' of 1786 is no doubt also 'a new edition.' In the present state of our knowledge on the subject, it is better to adhere to the title-page description, or at least to note it.

*The Sorrows of Werter*, Dublin 1785, is recorded as though it were a new translation, but it is almost certainly a Dublin reprint of the 1779 version. At all events it is not known to Long as a separate translation, and is not referred to as such by Prof. Carré in his critical study.

*The Letters of Werter*, Ludlow 1799. This version was republished in the *Literary Miscellany*, Ludlow 1804, where it is accompanied by the *Letters of Yorick and Eliza*, Hammond's *Love Elegies* etc. In this *Miscellany*, there is appended to the translation 'A fragment of Charlotte's.'

An Italian version (*Gli Affari del Giovane Werter*) was published in London in 2 vols., 1788, and a French version, with a frontispiece representing the death scene, also in London in 1792.

*Continuations and Adaptations* (pp. 11—14).

Frederick Reynolds, *Werter, a Tragedy*, 1802. The earlier editions Dublin 1786 and London 1796 are not recorded.

*Influence on Lyric Poetry and the Fine Arts* (pp. 14—19).

Herbert Croft, *Love and Madness*, 1780. It may be noted that the fourth edition, published in London, is also dated 1780; but there is also a 'fourth edition' published in Dublin 1786. For much useful information relating to this work and its importance in relation to the *Werter* vogue see G. Burgess, *The Love Letters of Mr H. and Miss R.*, London, Heinemann, 1895.

Miss Seward, *Louisa*, 1784. (5th edn. 1792.) This is hardly worth insertion in a *Werter* bibliography. The authoress states in her preface that the work was inspired by Pope's *Eloisa*, and there seems no reason to doubt her statement. As such, it is, of course, in line with the general influence of which *Werter* is the most powerful expression, but it appears to have no better claim to direct Werterian influence than a host of other poems of the period.

<sup>1</sup> The authorship of Daniel Malthus was expressly denied at the time of his death by his son T. R. Malthus, the well-known political economist.

Anon., *Werter to Charlotte*. This first appeared in the 1784 edition (not 1785), as correctly stated on p. 9.

Charlotte Smith, *Elegiac Sonnets*. The second edition (Chichester 1784), like the first, contains only three sonnets, 'supposed to be written by Werter.' The third (London, n. d. but ? 1786) and the fourth (London 1786) both contain five sonnets, numbered XXI—XXV, not four as here stated. The editions of 1795 and 1797 both have dated titles and the brackets should be removed. The eighth edition is the first in 2 vols., and there is another in 2 vols., 1800.

Della Crusca's *Elegy*. Further information is desirable as to 'the *British Parnassum*' (?), but this poem certainly appeared in the *British Album*, 2nd edition, London 1790, 3rd edition, London 1790 (there is also a 'third edition,' Dublin 1790).

Sarah Farrell. Unless there are two editions of this volume in the same year, the place of publication is not London, but Bath. Besides the engraved title containing the vignette referred to by Prof. Carré, there is also a printed title which runs: '*Charlotte, or, a Sequel to the Sorrows of Werter*... by Mrs Farrell. Bath... 1792.'

R. Grosvenor, Viscount Belgrave, *Charlotte, an Elegy*. Prior to the publication here recorded, the title of which should presumably be either *Miscellanies* or *Miscellaneous Poems*, this elegy appeared in Vol. II (pp. 11—14) of *An Asylum for Fugitive Pieces*, 4 vols., London 1786.

R. Southey. Which is the Sonnet referred to? If Sonnet IV in the volume of *Poems* published by Southey at Bristol in 1797, it seems clear from internal evidence that it does not refer to the Albert of the *Sorrows of Werter* at all, but to a friend of the poet who happened to be so named.

Anne Bannerman. It is worth noting that the *Sonnets* reappear in the 2nd edition (called a 'new' edition) published in 4to. Edinburgh 1807.

Mary Robinson. The 'Elegy' had previously appeared in *Poems by Mrs Robinson*, London 1791.

#### Music (pp. 19—20).

With the Werter songs here recorded it may be of interest to include the following reference to a Werter dance. The passage quoted is from a letter of G. J. Goschen, written apparently early in 1787 and is taken from his *Life* by Lord Goschen in 2 vols., 1903, where it will be found on pp. 213—4 of Vol. I:

A capital treasure has fallen into my hands—a clever and genial composition of English dances, by our late child of joy, young Gallish. He has composed a dance with flute and oboe accompaniment, which is so melting that our tender-hearted girls, in dancing it, have wiped their eyes. That would supply us with a dance à la Werther.

It is a question whether Gallish was an English composer, or whether his works were played or published in this country: but the matter is perhaps not worth further research.

The *Morning Chronicle* song referred to on p. 15 of Prof. Carré's Bibliography was set to music in March 1785 by J. Moulds, pupil to



Mr Linley, who also composed music for 'The Force of Love, being a Sequel to the Sorrows of Werther'<sup>1</sup>.

*Bibliography of Werther continued to 1830. Translations* (pp. 29—31).

*The Sorrows of Werther*, translated by Render. The frontispiece by Burney (? Burnett).

*The Sorrows of Werther*, translated by Gotzberg. A new edition was published in London 1808.

*The Sorrows of Werther*. Anon. (? Graves). Add to the editions quoted: Cupar-Fife, 1804. Correct the description of the Edinburgh 1807 edition to 'Engraved title: Werther throwing himself at the feet of Albert and Charlotte: frontispiece: Charlotte and Werther visiting the Vicar of S—— (letter 15).' Edition of Edin. 1810. Vignette after Burney, should be 'Burnett.'

*The Sorrows of Werther*, from the German of Baron Goethe, a new translation, London 1813 (? Render's or Gotzberg's translation). Front. by Burney (? Burnett).

*The Sorrows of Werther*, translated from the German by Dr J. Pratt, London, n. d. 2nd edition, London 1809, 3rd edition, London 1813.

*The Sorrows of Werther, a pathetic story*, translated from the German, London 1815. There is another edition prior to that of 1820, published in London 1818.

*Notoriety, Influence, Parodies* (pp. 32—35).

Add: *The Metrical Miscellany, consisting chiefly of Poems hitherto unpublished*, London 1802, contains (pp. 158—9) a poem by a Lady 'On reading the Sorrows of Werther.'

Also: From a review in *The Satirist* for Feb. 1809 of 'An Essay on Light Reading...by the Rev. Edward Mangin, M.A.' 'Miss, whether the daughter of the Country Squire or the London Tradesman, is too much occupied in her chymical and musical studies to be much interested in novels, and the Sorrows of Werther are readily thrown aside to obey the summons etc....Our author next proceeds to analyse and censure the Sorrows of Werther, and a novel called Vensenshon.'

Also: *Sonnets, Odes and other Poems* by the late Mr Charles Leftley ...to which is added a Poetical Collection...by William Linley Esq., London 1814. The latter collection contains (pp. 128—130) 'Werter in the Storm.'

Note also: *Prolusions on the present Greatness of Britain, on Modern Poetry, and on the Present Aspect of the World*, by Sharon Turner. London 1819. See p. 96:

Let Heloise and Werter wail and bounce,  
Let Schiller's robbers law and reason brave;  
Nathan philosophise and Faustus rave.  
Let Goethe to suicide impart  
All the false charms that can seduce the heart.

<sup>1</sup> I do not know whether either of these songs was ever published. They are known to me only as contained in a MS. copy of the 1779 translation, which is in the possession of Prof. Priebisch.



N.B. 'Goethe' is apparently scanned as a trisyllable!

Also: *The Letters of Ortis to Lorenzo*...translated from the Italian [of Ugo Foscolo]. The first Italian edition appeared in 1798.

ARTHUR E. TURNER.

LONDON.

## MINOR NOTICES.

A pupil of the late Professor Björkman opens up a new branch of name-study in *Toponymics or Derivations from Local Names in English* (Uppsala, Appelbergs Boktryckeri, 1920). In this volume by Dr Gösta Langenfelt we have an attempt to deal with the whole story of nouns and adjectives of this type extending from the *Norðhymbre* and *Seaxan* of the Chronicle or the *Bromleagingas* (i.e. men of Bromley) of the Anglo-Saxon charters, on the one hand, to the *Tynesider* of Kipling or the *Meltonian* of Stephen McKenna on the other. The best part of the book is that which was easiest to write if hardest to collect, viz. the part dealing with Modern English toponymics. The earlier part deals with an important and much-neglected aspect of O.E. place-name studies. Here, as throughout the book, there has been much diligent gathering of forms from widely scattered sources. Their interpretation is not so successful. The author raises far more problems than he can possibly solve in the space which he allows himself, and from the scholar's point of view we might well have done without much of the latter part of the book and had instead a really full and exhaustive study of the Old English problems. The book however serves a useful purpose in indicating some of those problems and gives many useful references to both primary and secondary authorities.

A. M.

The eleventh volume of 'Oxford Historical and Literary Studies' (Clarendon Press, 1920, 12s. 6d.) is a rather odd book. Calling itself *The Early Life and Education of John Evelyn*, with a commentary by H. Maynard Smith, it consists, apart from an Introduction, of 182 pages, of which 18 pages give in snippets here and there the early passages of Evelyn's *Memoirs* and the rest Mr Smith's collections of notes on them. Nothing is too obvious to escape a note of illustrative quotations, whether it be Oxford, Balliol College, Assassination of Buckingham, Cirencester, Malmesbury, or any place or thing that Evelyn happens to mention. A good deal of quaint, sometimes valuable, information is afforded in these scraps of a scholar's reading, and the book has an Index; but Evelyn himself is buried under the debris, and one sees no reason why he should be selected for inhumation more than anyone else. The Editor is however at least in sympathy with Evelyn's political and religious views: one may be sure that with him royalists and high churchmen will be white-washed and puritans sneered at. Milton rarely escapes, e.g. 'Even in youth the author of *Comus* and *Samson Agonistes* was a consciously superior person' (p. 91). But what are we to say of the man who sneers at Milton?

Mr Smith repeats the old error of attributing *Pedantius* to 'Winkfield' (not even Anthony Wingfield) (p. 47). It was shown finally in the *Times Literary Supplement* of 10 Oct. 1918 that the author of the play was Edward Forsett. On p. 54 Sir Theodore de Mayerne appears as 'Sir Thomas.' Evelyn describes the funeral of the Duke of Richmond on 27 April 1642 and the Editor gives us a life, and describes the funeral of the earlier Duke who died in 1624 (pp. 138, 149, 156). On p. 156 'needail' is presumably a misprint for 'medal.'

G. C. M. S.

Mr Mark van Doren in the Preface to his *Poetry of John Dryden* (New York, Harcourt, Brace and Howe, 1920) describes his work as 'an effort to brighten the most neglected side of the greatest neglected English poet.' The impression made by the book on the reader is perhaps hardly that of brightness or brightening: it deals largely with form and technique and has little glow or enthusiasm. The most valuable pages are perhaps those of the Appendix in which the difficulties connected with the authorship of *Mac Flecknoe* are judiciously weighed, and judgment given in favour of Dryden. This book contains some strange locutions, as 'pirations' (= piracies) p. 303, and strange efforts at style, as this: 'As the outer dome of St Paul's Cathedral is beautiful but not necessary, so Dryden's narrative surface is animated but not moving.'

G. C. M. S.

M. Gustave Lanson's *Esquisse d'une Histoire de la Tragédie française* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1920; London: H. Milford, 5s. 6d.) is an outline, in the shape of notes defining the character of each stage in the development of French tragedy from Jodelle's *Cléopâtre* to Paul Claudel, of the course of lectures delivered at Columbia University by M. Lanson as Professor of French Literature during the academic year 1916—17. The object of the course, to quote the author's own words, is threefold—(a) Représenter l'évolution du genre, (b) Faire apparaître le rapport des œuvres tragiques à la vie, (c) Faire sortir les valeurs esthétiques. Those alone who had the pleasure of attending Professor Lanson's lectures are in a position to tell how he filled up the canvas, and it will be necessary to await the complete picture, it seems to us, before a detailed opinion can be usefully expressed on a work which, when complete, promises to supply the student of French tragedy with an instrument of which he has for so long felt the want. Even as it stands, Professor Lanson's sketch, with its clear logic and imposing array of facts, will be an indispensable and stimulating guide; as Professor Lanson says in a prefatory note: 'J'espère qu'elles [ces leçons] ne seront pas sans intérêt pour les maîtres chargés de faire connaître la littérature et la civilisation de la France, et qu'ils y pourront trouver de quoi orienter leurs études ou exciter leur réflexion personnelle.'

L. E. K.



Professor Ferdinando Neri, who is known to all scholars as one of the most learned of Italian students of French sixteenth-century literature, is to be congratulated on the appearance of his interesting book *Il Chiabrera e la Pleiade francese* (Torino: Fratelli Bocca, 1920, L. 10), in which he traces with greater precision than his predecessors the indebtedness of Chiabrera to the parts of the *Pléiade*, more especially Ronsard, Belleau and Baïf, not only as regards metric (this part of the debt was already pretty well known), but also as regards specific borrowings in matter and conception. Chiabrera's dependence is more particularly evident in the poems which he left unpublished and which first appeared in Part III of the edition of his *Rime* published by Paolucci at Rome in 1718. Professor Neri has confronted Chiabrera with his models and the result of his investigations leaves no doubt that in this part of his work the Italian poet deliberately adapted whole passages from the *Pierres Précieuses* of Remi Belleau, from the *Hymnes* of Ronsard, and from Baïf's *Météores*. But Professor Neri has done more than the title of his book promises; he has explored many a side path on the way and given us a suggestive conspectus, if not a complete history, of the *Pléiade* in Italy from Castelvetro onwards. His researches confirm one's view that the influence of Ronsard and his associates in Italy was inconsiderable, and not to be compared to that which they exercised in England or Germany. This is what one would expect.

L. E. K.

Dr Henry Thomas's *Short-title Catalogue of Books printed in Spain and of Spanish Books printed elsewhere in Europe before 1601 now in the British Museum* (London, at the British Museum, 1921, 7s. 6d.) is of great interest in itself, will be invaluable to students of Spanish literature and should act as a trumpet-call to patriotic owners of volumes not included in the list. A scholar can scarcely be expected to part with the precious books that he may happen to possess, but he should at least leave them to the British Museum in his will and inform the Keeper of Printed Books that he has done so, in order that the authorities responsible for buying new books may know where they are in their attempts to fill in the gaps. In the case of Spanish books the gaps are serious enough. In a prefatory note Mr Pollard estimates that the books here registered (which must number about 3000) probably do not amount to more than one-sixth of those still extant, but 'the proportion of the more important books is very much higher,' and he adds that 'with the aid of this Catalogue it should not be difficult to make the Museum collection thoroughly representative of the period here covered.' It behoves private individuals to help in this work. A similar catalogue of Portuguese books is in preparation and those of other countries will follow. It is a most welcome new departure.

A. B.



## NEW PUBLICATIONS.

March—July, 1921.

### GENERAL.

- CROCE, B., Ariosto, Shakespeare and Corneille. Transl. by D. Ainslie. London, Allen and Unwin. 10s. 6d.
- CROLL, M. W., Attic Prose in the 17th Century (*Univ. N. Carolina Stud. in Phil.*, xviii, 2, April).
- Essays by Divers Hands. Ed. by Sir H. Newbolt (Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature. New Series, 1). London, H. Milford. 7s.
- HORN, W., Sprachkörper und Sprachfunktion (Palaestra, cxxxv). Berlin, Mayer und Müller. 18 M.
- PALMER, H. E., The Principles of Language Study. London, G. G. Harrap. 6s.
- PAUL, H., Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte. 5te Aufl. Halle, M. Niemeyer. 42 M.
- POUND, L., Poetic Origins and the Ballad. London, Macmillan. 13s.
- RUBERTI, G., Il teatro contemporaneo in Europa. 2 vols. Bologna, L. Cappelli.
- TAYLOR, A., 'The Devil and the Advocate' (*Publ. M. L. A. Amer.*, xxxvi, 1, Mar.).
- VAN TIEGHEM, P., La notion de vraie poésie dans le Prémantisme européen (*Rev. Lit. comp.*, i, 2, June).
- WEDEL, T. O., The Mediaeval Attitude toward Astrology, particularly in England (Yale Studies in English, ix). New Haven, Yale Univ. Press; London, H. Milford.
- WENDELL, B., The Traditions of European Literature from Homer to Dante. London, Murray. 28s.
- WYCHGRAM, M., Quintilian in der deutschen und französischen Literatur des Barocks. Langensalza, H. Beyer. 15 M. 20.

### Italian.

- BARBI, M., L'ufficio di Dante per i lavori di via S. Procolo (*Studi danteschi*, iii).
- BATTISTI, C., Testi dialettali italiani in trascrizione fonetica pubblicati (*Zeitschr. f. roman. Phil.*, Beihefte, lvi). Halle, M. Niemeyer. 30 M.
- BERTONI, G., Guarino da Verona fra letterati e cortigiani a Ferrara, 1429-60. Geneva, L. S. Olschki. 20 fr.
- BIANCO, L., La gioventù poetica di G. Leopardi e gli Idilli. Sassari, G. Gallizzi. 4 L.
- BRUERS, A., G. D'Annunzio e il moderno spirito italiano. Rome, La Fionda. 10 L.
- BUSTICO, G., V. Monti: la vita. Messina, G. Principato. L. 250.
- CAVALLARI, E., La Fortuna di Dante nel trecento. Florence, F. Perrella. 40 L.
- COUNSON, A., Le réveil de Dante (*Rev. Lit. comp.*, i, 3).
- CRESCINI, V., Il bacio di Ginevra e il bacio di Paolo (*Studi danteschi*, iii).
- CURATOLO, P., La poesia di G. Carducci. Melfi, A. Ficcione. 12 L.
- Dante. Essays in Commemoration, 1321-1921. London, Univ. of London Press. 12s. 6d.
- DELET, A. J. H. VAN, Dante-Verklaring met vertaalden tekst. II. Bussum, P. Brand. 5 fl.

- DELL' AGOSTINO, E., Cenni sulla poesia patriottica popolare e popolareggiante nel Lombardo-Veneto, 1847-66. Sondri, Arti graf. Valtellinesi.
- DE SANCTIS, F., Saggio critico sul Petrarca, a cura di B. Croce. Naples, Morano. L. 5.50.
- DONADONI, E., Torquato Tasso. Florence, Battistelli.
- FUÀ, F., Don Giovanni attraverso le letterature spagnuola e italiana. Turin, S. Lattes. 10 L.
- GARDNER, E. G., The National Idea in Italian Literature. Manchester, Univ. Press. 4s. 6d.
- HEFELE, H., Dante. Stuttgart, F. Frommann. 25 M.
- JANSEN, E. J. B., Dante Alighieri: zijn leven en zijn werken. Nijmegen, L. C. G. Malmbery. 3 fl. 25.
- LEOPARDI, G., Versi, paralipomeni della Batracomiomachia. Bari, Laterza. L. 15.50.
- MANACORDA, G., Studi foscoliani. Bari, Laterza. L. 18.50.
- MORÁBITO, F., Il misticismo di G. Pascoli. Milan, Treves. 7 L.
- PAPPACENA, E., Discorso sulla grandezza di Dante. Lanciano, F. Misciangelo. 5 L.
- PARODI, E. G., Poesia e storia nella Divina Commedia. Naples, Perrella. 15 L.
- PICCOLI, V., Attraverso lo Zibaldone di G. Leopardi. Turin, Unione. 12 L.
- RAJNA, P., Il Casato di Dante (*Studi danteschi*, iii).
- RICCI, C., Ore ed ombre dantesche. Florence, Le Monnier. 15 L.
- RIGOTTI BORGHESINI, M., Il sentimento mistico nell' opera di G. Pascoli. Mantua, G. Mondovì. 9 L.
- RUSSO, L., Metastasio. Bari, Laterza. L. 14.50.
- SHAW, J. E., 'And the Evening and the Morning were one Day' (*Mod. Phil.*, xviii, 11, Mar.).

### Provençal.

- ANGLADE, J., Grammaire de l'ancien provençal: phonétique et morphologie. Paris, Klincksieck.
- JAESCHKE, H., Der Trobador Elias Cairel. Kritische Textausgabe. Übersetzung und Anmerkungen (Roman. Stud., xx). Berlin, E. Ebering. 30 M.
- SCHULTZ-GORA, O., Provenzalische Studien. III. Berlin, Vereinig. wiss. Verleger. 15 M.

### Spanish.

- CASTRO, A., Unos aranceles de aduanas del siglo XIII (*Rev. fil. esp.*, viii, 1, March).
- CERVANTES SAAVEDRA, M. DE, Rinconete y Cortadillo. Novela. Ed. crítica por F. Rodríguez Marin. Madrid, La Revista. 10 pes.
- FITZMAURICE-KELLY, JULIA, El Inca Garcilasso de la Vega. (Hispanic Notes and Monographs, ii.) London, H. Milford. 5s.
- GRIERSON, H. J. C., Don Quixote. Some War-time Reflections on its Character and Influence (Engl. Assoc. Pamph. 48). 2s. 6d.
- HENRÍQUEZ UREÑA, P., La versificación irregular en la poesía castellana. Madrid, Rev. di Fil. española. 7 pes.
- MENÉNDEZ PIDAL, R., Un aspecto en la elaboración de 'El Quijote.' Discurso. Madrid, Jiménez y Molina. 3 pes.
- ROGERIO SÁNCHEZ, J., Historia de la lengua y literatura españolas. 3. edic. Madrid, 'La Enseñanza.' 7 pes.
- SERRANO SANZ, M., Estudio crítico de las obras de Sor Teresa de Jesús María, Carmelita descalza del siglo XIII. Madrid, Juan Pueyo. 6 pes.

## French.

(a) *General (including Linguistic).*

- ARNAUD, F., et MORIN, G., Le langage de la vallée de Barcelonnette. Paris, H. Champion. 4 fr.
- GILLIÉRON, J., et EDMONT, E., Atlas linguistique de la France. Supplément, Tome I. Paris, H. Champion. 100 fr.
- MEYER-LÜBKE, W., Historische Grammatik der französischen Sprache, II. (Sammlung roman. Elementar- und Handbücher, I, II, 2). Heidelberg, C. Winter. 12 M.
- SCHURTER, H., Die Ausdrücke für den 'Löwenzahn' im Galloromanischen (Spracheographische Arbeiten, II). Halle, M. Niemeyer. 14 M.
- SCHWAN, E., Grammatik des Altfranzösischen. III. Leipzig, O. R. Reisland. 8 M.

(b) *Old French.*

- Alexanderroman, Der altfranzösische Prosa-. Herausg. von A. Hilka. Halle, M. Niemeyer. 50 M.
- Aucassin und Nicolette. Kritischer Text von H. Suchier. 9. Aufl. bearb. von W. Suchier. Paderborn, Schöningh. 12 M.
- BÉDIER, J., L'esprit de nos romans de chevalerie (*Rev. de France*, I, 1, Mar.).
- BÉDIER, J., Roland à Roncevaux. The Romanes Lecture, 1921. Oxford, Clarendon Press. 2s.
- Bueve de Hantone, Der festländische. Fassung III. Nach allen Hss. herausgegeben von A. Stimming, II (Gesellschaft f. roman. Lit., XVII). Halle, M. Niemeyer. 90 M.
- Chansons satiriques et bachiques du 10<sup>e</sup> siècle. Éd. par A. Jeanroy et A. Langfors. (Classiques franç. du moyen âge, XXIII.) Paris, H. Champion. 7 fr. 50.
- CHRÉTIEN DE TROYES, Cligés. Herausg. von W. Foerster. 4 Aufl. bes. von A. Hilka. (Romanische Bibliothek, I.) Halle, M. Niemeyer. 33 M.
- CONON DE BÉTHUNE, Les Chansons de. Éd. par A. Wallensköld. (Classiques franç. du moyen âge, XXIV.) Paris, H. Champion. 3 fr.
- D'OVIDIO, F., Studi sulla più antica versificazione francese. Rome, Maglione e Strini. 22 L.
- FOERSTER, W., und KOSCHWITZ, E., Altfranzösisches Übungsbuch. 6 Aufl. bes. von A. Hilka. Leipzig, O. R. Reisland. 15 M.
- Gormont et Isembart, éd. par A. Bayot. (Classiques franç. du moyen âge, XIV.) Paris, H. Champion. 4 fr.
- JENKINS, T. A., Why did Ganelon hate Roland? (*Publ. M. L. A. Amer.*, XXXVI, 2, June).
- ZENKER, R., Forschungen zur Artusepik. I. Ivainstudien. (Zeitschr. f. roman. Phil., Beihefte, LXX.) Halle, M. Niemeyer. 60 M.

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BY

J. G. ROBERTSON

G. C. MOORE SMITH

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## THE CRITICAL ORIGINS OF SPENSER'S DICTION.

FROM Sidney, Webbe, Puttenham and Jonson down to the present day, the peculiarity of Spenser's diction has engaged the attention of the critics. The language of his poems, and especially of his greatest work, *The Faerie Queene*, and of *The Shepheards Calendar*, in which he declared himself, is an artificial speech, constructed for his own purposes out of many and various elements drawn from many different sources, and it has been the object of analysis, notably by Professor C. H. Herford, whose Introduction to *The Shepheards Calendar* is the basis of these as of all subsequent remarks on the question. The problem of language is one that faces the poet at all times; it was particularly insistent in the time of Spenser. For poetical purposes the English of the mid-sixteenth century was practically untried. In his Induction to *A Mirror for Magistrates* Sackville had moulded speech into dignified form, bringing into verse that inherent virtue of the English language which was already apparent in prose, its value for the rhythmical utterance of serious meditation, but the Induction stood alone, in fifty years the only artistic success in English verse. Apart from this there had been no attempt to use the language in high or sustained flights of poetry, that is, in such poetry as Spenser proposed to himself as his life-work, and within this one example there was no variety. Thought and experiment were forced on Spenser. The speech of every day did not suffice for his needs, and he felt no compulsion to confine himself to it. His inspiration was divine; he sought the approbation of the skilful and hoped for fame in the future. He mounted up in ecstasy, or escaped to an ideal world, and he required a language that would bear him up in these elevations of spirit, that would not be a discordant echo of actuality in his land of dreams. His speech, then, is ancient, for the land of dreams lay in the past, or it is a rustic speech suited to the quiet of the country and the simplicity of shepherd life; it is new and brave, for it had to attempt new heights; it is cultured, since from the masters of the elder world and from the French and Italian artists in word-craft it caught something of their utterance. Thus it may be said that Spenser's diction is a natural growth—not natural to English, but natural to Spenser—that it took its colour from his temperament and his studies. Yet if we are to accept this as a complete explanation we

must allow that in this most challenging particular, in this alone of all his poetic activity, Spenser made a daring departure without guidance and unsupported by precedent. It was on a foundation of critical theory and practical example that he built the new poetry in England; that he should construct a new poetic diction except on a similar basis cannot be admitted without examination.

Such a basis is not to be found in England. The deficiencies of English were recognised by all, and the duty of its improvement accepted, but the problems involved had never been attacked on any scale or on sufficiently inclusive lines. Certain elements of Spenser's diction appear in the work of the translators, and in the experiments of Sir Thomas Elyot: to some extent the latter performed for prose the office that Spenser did for poetry, but their field was limited, their problems less weighty and less complicated, and their consciences less tender. What is more striking, Spenser's choice, or rather creation, of language was the negation of all that was authoritative in extant English criticism. The body of that criticism was small, but it was greatly concerned with this particular subject, and the views held were very definite and very forcibly pronounced. Cheke, Ascham, and Wilson, the leaders and mouthpieces of the Cambridge humanists, were extreme purists in the matter of language, condemning equally the foreign phrase of the translators and the obfuscate curiosity so illecebrous to Elyot. They had seen the purism of the humanist carried into the criticism of the vernacular by the great Bembo himself, and the example would strengthen the natural tendency of their training to measure all things by the standard of their Ciceronianism, to demand in English the same purity that they strove after in their Latin. If Wilson was forced to admit a certain foreign element into the language, he did it with a bad grace and under plea of strict necessity. The doctrine of the humanists broke down on its linguistic even more obviously than on its literary side, and for the same reason, that it postulated a standard. For them purity meant that authoritative precedent could be adduced for every word and phrase. They had models for Latin in Cicero and Virgil; Bembo had set up Petrarch and Boccaccio as the norm of Tuscan: in England no standard of contemporary speech was in existence.

At home, then, Spenser could find little help and much opposition, but there was a precedent for him in the experience of France. The same problem of language which confronted Spenser had been attacked by the Pléiade; they had forced a solution, and had placed that solution on record in clear terms. The Pléiade took very seriously the calling of



poetry; they viewed with equal seriousness the language in which that poetry should be written. A high and serious poetry demanded a noble utterance; but the language of a great people was not to be discarded as barbarous: French, therefore, should be cultivated to supply the needs of the new poetry, should be made worthy of its thought. This is the key-note of *La Deffence et Illustration*: reverence for the great masters of Greece and Rome, but a decided independence of the pedantry which would impose a dead language upon a living spirit; a proper jealousy of Italian, the one vernacular that had achieved literature fit to rank near the classics; and a determination to raise for their own land, in their own tongue, a trophy of verse that should equal, if not surpass, the proudest of the ancient or of the modern world. The parallel with the position of Spenser has been noted, as by Courthope: 'Besides giving a picturesque utterance to the commonplaces of contemporary thought, Spenser had another, and purely artistic purpose: he was making experiments, like Ronsard...in poetical diction<sup>1</sup>.' That linguistic purpose is avowed by E. K. in his Introduction to *The Shepheards Calendar*, with a claim for the good service done to English by 'this Authour.'

The most immediately perceptible quality of Spenser's diction is that one which, though some precedent existed, aroused most hostile comment, its archaism. On this point he was in direct conflict with the ideas of the Cambridge critics; for though Ascham in his insistence on pure English was inclined himself to an old fashion of speech, and though he explains that Cheke's objection to old words in Sallust was mainly that they were not used by Cicero, yet he quotes that censure on Sallust with some emphasis, and from the preface to *The Shepheards Calendar* it is clear that E. K., and therefore in all probability Spenser himself, took Ascham's remark as an objection to archaism in general<sup>2</sup>. On the other hand, Wilson, the only member of the Cambridge group who provides formal instruction for writers in English, in his *Arte of Rhetorique* (which was probably among Spenser's text-books) relates with characteristic gusto how 'Phaourinus the Philosopher...did hit a yong man ouer the Thumbes very handsomely, for vsing of ouer olde, and ouer strange wordes<sup>3</sup>,' and scorns 'the fine courtier (who) will speake nothing

<sup>1</sup> *History of English Poetry*, Vol. I, p. 244.

<sup>2</sup> 'For albe, amongst many other faultes, it be specially objected of Valla against Liuius, and of other against Sallust, that with ouer much studie they affect antiquite...yet I am of opinion, and eke the best learned are of the lyke, that these ancient solemn words are a great ornament.' See Ascham, in Gregory Smith, *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, Vol. I, pp. 39-44. The oral tradition of these critics must also be kept in mind, as exemplified here.

<sup>3</sup> Ed. G. H. Mair, p. 3.

but *Chaucer*<sup>1</sup>. This last remark suggests a court fashion by which Spenser might have been influenced and to which he might appeal, and the *Mirror for Magistrates* and the practice of the courtly poets of Tottel's *Miscellany* partly bear out the suggestion; but those were works of an earlier generation, and the first objection to Spenser's archaic speech came from the leader and mirror of court poetry in Spenser's own day, from Sir Philip Sidney himself, to whom Spenser looked up with admiration, to whom his first book was dedicated.

The new antiquarianism of Parker and Camden aroused the sympathy of Spenser—*The Ruines of Time* is a sufficient testimony—but the affection of antiquity is a very different thing from an affection for the antique. Though in a forward-reaching age Spenser earned the just reproaches of Gabriel Harvey by looking back with longing to an idealised past<sup>2</sup>, his archaistic tendency in the choice of language was not a form of antiquarianism, nor was it based on mere sentiment: it was essentially an artistic procedure, part of a design for the improvement of English for literary purposes. To this feature of archaism in his author's diction the scholiast almost entirely confines himself, and he makes the purpose clear. 'And first of the wordes to speake, I graunt they be something hard, and of most men vnvsed, yet both English, and also vsed of most excellent authors and most famous Poetes<sup>3</sup>.' 'If any will rashly blame such his purpose in choyse of old and vnwonted words, him may I more iustly blame and condemne...for in my opinion it is one special prayse of many, which are dew to this Poete, that he hath laboured to restore, as to theyr rightful heritage, such good and naturall English words, as haue ben long time out of vse, and almost clean disherited. Which is the only cause, that our Mother tonge, which truely for it self is both ful enough for prose, and stately enough for verse, hath long time ben counted most bare and barrein of both<sup>4</sup>.' After an attack on indiscriminate borrowing, he returns to the cavillers at old words, who 'of their owne country and natural speach...haue so base regard and bastard iudgement, that they will not onely themselves not labor to garnish and beautifie it, but also repine that of other it shold be embellished<sup>5</sup>.' This view of archaism, that it serves for the improvement of the language by recovery of forgotten phrases, however disliked in England, was a familiar argument of the Pléiade. For them the first step in the 'illustration' of French was to make full use of its

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 162.

<sup>3</sup> In Gregory Smith, Vol. I, p. 128.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 130.

<sup>2</sup> *Letter-Book*, pp. 82-86.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 129.



available resources, and of these the first to be exploited was the language as it existed in the literary monuments of the past. 'Vse de motz purement Francoys,' counsels du Bellay, 'non toutesfois trop communs, non point aussi trop inusitez, si tu ne voulois quelquefois vsurper, et quasi comme enchasser ainsi qu'une Pierre precieuse, et rare, quelques motz antiques en ton Poëme, à l'exemple de Virgile.... Pour ce faire, te faudroit voir tous ces vieux Romans, et Poëtes Francoys, ou tu trouueras vn *aiourner*, pour *faire iour*... et mil' autres bons motz, que nous auons perduz par notre negligence. Ne doute point que le moderé vsaige de telz vocables ne donne grande maïesté tant au Vers comme à la Prose: ainsi que font les Reliques des Saints aux Croix, et autres sacrez Ioyaux dediez aux Temples<sup>1</sup>.' On the same lines he justifies his own usage of old words in his translation of the Fourth Book of the *Æneid*: 'J'ay vsé de *gallées*, pour *galleres*... *isnel* pour *leger*... et autres, dont l'antiquité (suyuant l'exemple de mon aucteur Vergile) me semble donner quelque maïesté au vers<sup>2</sup>.' The same precept and the same practice are to be found in the work of Ronsard, though he does not insist on the authority: 'Tu ne rejetteras point les vieux mots de nos romans, ains les choisiras avecques meure et prudent election<sup>3</sup>.' 'Tu ne desdaigneras les vieux mots françois, d'autant que je les estime tous-jours en vigueur, quoy qu'on die, iusques à ce qu'ils ayent fait renaistre en leur place, comme vne vieille souche, vn rejetton; et lors tu te seruiras du rejetton et non de la souche, laquelle fait aller toute sa substance à son petit enfant, pour le faire croistre et finablement l'establir en son lieu<sup>4</sup>.' He returns to the point in the characteristic marginal note appended to an example in *La Franciade*: 'Mehaigne, perclus.... Nos critiques se moqueront de ce vieil mot françois; mais il les faut laisser caqueter. Au contraire, je suis d'opinion que nous deuons retenir les vieux vocables significatifs iusques à tant que l'usage en aura forgé d'autres nouueaux en leur place<sup>5</sup>.' Archaism is not a predominant characteristic of Ronsard's poetic style, as it is of Spenser's: the French poet observed the discretion he continually recommended. His motive was almost entirely linguistic, for only occasionally, as in *La Franciade*, was it affected by considerations of decorum, by the desire to suggest remoteness and age which was constant with Spenser in *The Faerie Queene*. Yet the principle is reinforced, not superseded, by such con-

<sup>1</sup> *Defence et Illustration*, p. 129 (ed. Person).

<sup>2</sup> 'Epistre' before the translation, *Œuvres*, Vol. I, p. 275 (ed. Blanchemain).

<sup>3</sup> *Art Poétique*, p. 321, Vol. VII.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 335.

<sup>5</sup> *La Franciade*, Vol. III, p. 150. See also the second preface, p. 32.



siderations; that the proper style of a poem should make it a fit medium for the revival of 'antiques vocables' is but the greater merit<sup>1</sup>.

Closely allied to the question of archaism is that of dialect. Early in his career Ronsard had defended his own use of dialect words on the analogy of Theocritus and the Greeks generally: 'Si i'auoi parlé le naïf dialecte de Vandomois'—his native province—'ie ne m'estimerai bani pour cele d'eloquence des Muses<sup>2</sup>.' Spenser had not even Ronsard's reason for his taste for dialect. A Londoner born and bred, and educated at Cambridge, would require more than a holiday visit to 'the North country' and a vague sentiment of ancestry to produce the strange admixture found in his work, still more to generate the courage to publish it. In any case, though Northern forms predominate, his dialectal words and forms are not all Northern. The reasons for their use were purely literary, not sentimental, still less habitual. The example of Theocritus may have been of some weight, for Spenser, more learned in Greek, would not share Sidney's theory of the language of the Idylls; yet, as Ronsard saw, the use of pure dialect and the adoption of dialect words into a *sermo regius* are quite distinct processes, and Spenser, no more than Ronsard, wrote in pure dialect, but would agree that 'pource nostre France n'obeist qu'à vn seul Roy, nous sommes contraints, si nous voulons paruenir à quelque honneur, de parler son langage<sup>3</sup>,' and likewise with a queen in England. E. K. defends his author's rusticity on the ground of decorum: 'No lesse I thinke, deserueth...his pastoral rudenesse,...his dewe obseruing of Decorum euerye where...in speach<sup>4</sup>.' The moral is drawn by King James VI, perhaps from *The Shepherds Calendar* itself, though perhaps with a memory also of Henryson and the native pastoral: 'Ze man lykeways tak heid....Gif zour purpose be of landwart affairis, to vse corruptit and vplandis words<sup>5</sup>.' It would be difficult, however, to persist in this defence, against which might be brought so many obvious breaches of decorum in the use of learned and foreign terms in the midst of the rustic. Contemporary critics disapproved, and the disapproval of Sidney is noteworthy.

The archaic quality of dialect certainly recommended it to Spenser. The point is noticed by E. K.: 'such olde and obsolete words are most

<sup>1</sup> For the discussion of Spenser's archaism, see Herford's Introduction, and Gough's Introduction to *The Faerie Queene*, Book v (Oxford).

<sup>2</sup> *Odes*, 1550, certain copies only; ed. Vaganay, I, p. 111.

<sup>3</sup> *Art Poétique*, p. 321.

<sup>4</sup> In Gregory Smith, Vol. I, p. 128.

<sup>5</sup> *Reules and Cautelis*, in Gregory Smith, Vol. I, p. 218. The resemblance to Gascoigne's *Certaine Notes* is explicable by a common debt to the Pléiade, not surprising in the pupil of Buchanan and the son of Ronsard's idol, Mary.

used of country folke.' Sidney described the speech of *The Shepheards Calendar* as 'an old rustic language'; Puttenham, who, though fairly learned in criticism and deriving his theories from many sources, including *La Deffence et Illustration*, must be regarded, in this matter of language, as a later representative of the Cambridge purists. Puttenham observed the connection of dialect with archaism, and condemned it in comprehensive terms: 'Neither shall he take the terms of Northern-men, such as they vse in dayly talke...nor in effect any speech used beyond the riuer of Trent, though no man can deny that theirs is the purer English Saxon at this day, yet it is not so Courtly nor so currant as our Southerne English is; no more is the far Western mans speech<sup>1</sup>.' The value of dialect, however, both for its expressiveness and as a repository of ancient speech, is frequently pressed by du Bellay and Ronsard. 'Tu sçauras dextrement choisir et approprier à ton œuvre les mots plus significatifs des dialectes de nostre France, quand mesmement tu n'en auras point de si bons ny de si propres en ta nation; et ne se faut soucier si les vocables sont Gascons, Poiteuins, Normans, Manceaux, Lionnois, ou d'autres païs pourueu qu'ils soient bons et que proprement ils signifient ce que tu veux dire<sup>2</sup>.' 'Tu ne reietteras point les vieux verbes Picards, comme vouldroye pour vouldroy, aimeroye, diroye, feroye<sup>3</sup>.' 'Outre ie t'aduerti de ne faire conscience de remettre en vsage les antiques vocables, et principalement ceux du langage wallon et picard, lequel nous reste par tant de siecles l'exemple naif de la langue françoise...et choisir les mots les plus pregnants et significatifs non seulement du dit langage, mais de toutes les prouinces de France, pour seruir à la poésie que tu en auras besoin<sup>4</sup>.' The archaic character of dialect is recognised, as by Puttenham; the conclusion drawn is precisely the contrary of his: it is the moral of E. K.'s preface and of Spenser's method. The mixed origin of Spenser's dialect forms also finds a parallel. Here again, as in the former case, Spenser went beyond the French poets; partly, no doubt, on the plea of decorum, partly from the lack of restraint characteristic of inexperience, *The Shepheards Calendar* is promiscuously strewn with dialect: its presence in *The Faerie Queene* is due in great measure to its value for the suggestion of antiquity, but it appears in almost all his work, and certainly in his longer poems<sup>5</sup>.

A third source of vocabulary revealed by the Pléiade was the great mass of language in daily use in the arts, professions and trades, but

<sup>1</sup> *Arte of English Poesie*, in Gregory Smith, Vol. II, p. 150.

<sup>2</sup> *Art Poétique*, p. 321.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 333.

<sup>4</sup> Second preface to *La Franciade*, p. 32; see also p. 34.

<sup>5</sup> See Herford and Gough, *ut sup.*



neglected by writers. These poets, intent on the enrichment of poetry by picturesque metaphor, realised that the force and precision of metaphor and simile were increased in proportion to the accuracy of the terms employed, and proposed to legitimise technical terms in poetical speech for the sake of their vividness. It is improbable that this would have commended itself to Wilson, who complained of the crabbed speech of lawyers and auditors and of 'dark language' in general. Puttenham certainly did not approve: 'We finde in our English writers many wordes and speaches amendable...and many dark wordes and not vsuall nor well sounding, though they be dayly spoken in Court<sup>1</sup>.' Du Bellay and Ronsard had no doubts in the matter. 'Encores te veux-ie aduertir, de hanter quelquesfois non seulement les Scauans, mais aussi toutes sortes d'Ouuriers et gens Mecaniques, comme Mariniers, Fondeurs, Peintres, Engraeurs, et autres, scauir leurs inuentions, les noms des matieres, des outiliz, et les termes vsitez en leurs Ars, et Metiers, pour tyrer de la ces belles comparaisons, et viues descriptions de toutes choses<sup>2</sup>.' 'Tu practiqueras bien souuent les artisans de tous mestiers, comme de *Marine, Venerie, Fauconnerie*, et principalement les artisans du feu, *Orfeures, Fondeurs, Mareschaux, Minerailliers*; et de là tireras maintes belles et viues comparaisons auecques les noms propres des mestiers, pour enrichir ton œuure et le rendre plus agreable et parfait<sup>3</sup>.' 'Tu n'oublieras les noms propres des outils de tous mestiers, et principalement de la chasse.' Spenser understood as well as ever did Ronsard the importance of the 'viue comparaison,' and understood too the value of the precise term, 'et principalement de la chasse.' Thus among many hunting and hawking terms we find:

See howe he venteth into the wind. (*Sh. Cal.*, Feb., 75.)

...this beuie of ladies bright. (Apr., 118, and gloss.)

Mine eyes no more on vanitie shall feed,

But seeled vp with death.... (*F. Q.* I, i, 23.)

...a flush of Ducks. (*F. Q.* v, ii, 54.)

On the larger scale to which Spenser extended occasional comparisons the technical term becomes even more prominent:

Like to an Eagle in his kingly pride,  
 Soring through his wide Empire of the aire,  
 To weather his brode Sailes, by chaunce hath spide  
 A Goshauke, which hath seized for her share  
 Vppon some fowle, that should her feast prepare;  
 With dreadful force he flies at her byliue,  
 That with his souce, which none enduren dare,  
 Her from the quarrey he away doth driue,

And from her griping pounce the greedy prey doth riue. (*F. Q.* v, iv, 42.)

<sup>1</sup> In Gregory Smith, Vol. II, p. 151.

<sup>3</sup> *Art Poetique*, p. 321.

<sup>2</sup> *Deffence et Illustration*, p. 147.

<sup>4</sup> Second preface to *La Franciade*, p. 31.



There is no need to exemplify further Spenser's use of terms of venerie; the above are typical of very many; but his exploitation of technicalities is not confined to these. He displays some acquaintance with the terms of seamanship:

His flaggy wings when forth he did display,  
Were like two sayles, in which the hollow wynd  
Is gathered full, and worketh speedy way:  
And eke the pennes, that did his pineons bind,  
Were like mayne-yards, with flying canuas lynd.  
(*F. Q.* I, xi, 10.)

Vere the maine sheete, and beare vp with the land.  
(*F. Q.* I, xii, 1.)

Said then the Boteman, Palmer stere aright,  
And keepe an euen course... (*F. Q.* II, xii, 3.)  
Like as a ship with dreadfull storme long tost,  
Hauing spent all her mastes and her ground-hold...  
(*F. Q.* VI, iv, 1.)

Terms of art are not infrequent, though by no means so common as those of hunting and falconry. The description of the castle of Alma, imitated from one who carried to its greatest length the linguistic doctrine of Ronsard, is naturally full of artistic and philosophical terms, and they may be found elsewhere:

It was a bridge ybuilt in goodly wize,  
With curious Corbes and pendants grauen faire,  
And arched all with porches, did arize  
On stately pillours, fram'd after the Doricke guize.  
(*F. Q.* IV, x, 6.)

The blacksmith's 'sledge' (v, v, 7) may be accounted non-technical, but armoury supplies several 'noms propres': it is no breach of decorum for the poet of knighthood to speak of 'Curiets and bases fit for fight' (v, v, 20), and an archer's phrase may pass:

Euen at the markewhite of his hart she rood.  
(*F. Q.* v, v, 35.)

Still more in keeping are terms of the laws of chivalry and of Courts of Honour:

First he his beard did shaue, and fowly shent:  
Then from him reft his shield, and it renuerst,  
And blotted out his armes with falshood blent,  
And himselfe baffuld, and his armes vnherst...  
(*F. Q.* v, iii, 37.)

Spenser's legal employment supplied him with not a few phrases, sometimes employed in describing legal measures, sometimes used with scarcely even a metaphorical reference:

From euery worke he chalenged essayne. (*F. Q.* I, iv, 20.)  
...happie victorie  
Gainst him, that had them long opprest with tort.  
(*F. Q.* I, xii, 4.)

Ne ought he car'd, whom he endamaged  
 By tortious wrong... (*F. Q.* II, ii, 18.)  
 The damzell was attacht, and shortly brought  
 Vnto the barre, whereas she was arrayned:  
 But she nould plead... (*F. Q.* VI, vii, 36.)

These last, unlike the technicalities of the chase, of the sea, of the arts, and of philosophy, would be difficult to parallel in Ronsard, but they may easily enough be admitted under his rubric of 'mots propres.'

Before the vernacular could be considered as exhausted, a further expedient remained for trial: the increase of vocabulary by actual construction of new forms from already existing words, ancient and modern: the expedient to which the Pléiade gave the happily contrived title of 'provignement'—engrafting. The process is best described in their own words: 'De tous vocables quel qu'ils soient, en vsage ou hors d'vsage, s'il reste encores quelque partie d'eux, soit en nom verbe, aduerbe, ou participe, tu le pourras par bonne et certaine analogie faire croistre et multiplier, d'autant que nostre langue est encores pauvre, et qu'il faut mettre peine, quoy que murmure le peuple, avec toute modestie, de l'enrichir et cultiuer. Exemple des vieux mots: puisque le nom de *verue* nous reste, tu pourras faire sur le nom le verbe *veruer*, et l'aduerbe *veruement*; sur le nom d'*essoine*, *essoiner*, *essoinement*, et mille autres tels; et quand il n'auroit que l'aduerbe, tu pourras faire le verbe et le participe librement et hardiment; au pis aller tu le cotteras en la marge de ton liure, pour donner à entendre sa signification; et sur les vocables receues en vsage comme *pays*, *eau*, *feu*, tu feras *payser*, *euer*, *fouer*, *euement*, *fouement*; et mille autres tels vocables qui ne voyent encores la lumiere, faite d'un hardy et bienheureux entrepreneur<sup>1</sup>.' The authority for the proceeding is quoted in the margin of *La Franciade*: 'Foudrier, qui porte la foudre: comme harquebusier, qui porte la harquebuse, archer, qui porte l'arc. Sur tels mots desia vsitez et receus, j'ay forgé foudrier, suyuant Horace:

Licuit, semperque licebit  
 Signatum praesente nota producere nomen<sup>2</sup>.

Cela est permis aux langages vifs, dont les peuples vsent aujour d'huy, non aux langues mortes, comme la grecque et romaine, lesquelles ne peuuent rien innouer, comme celles qui ont fait leur temps, enseuelies et du tout esteintes<sup>3</sup>.' This form of innovation was frequently resorted to by the Pléiade, and it is of equally common occurrence in Spenser, whose 'dreriment,' 'embrave,' 'joyaunce,' 'et mille autres de telle façon,'

<sup>1</sup> *Art Poétique*, p. 335.

<sup>3</sup> *La Franciade*, p. 53; see also second preface, p. 33.

<sup>2</sup> *Ars Poetica*, ll. 58-59.

are among the distinguishing marks of his style. The compound epithet is in the same category. This last commended itself to Sidney, who found a new praise of the English language in its adaptability to compounds: 'It...is particularly happy in compositions of two or three words together, neere the Greeke, far beyond the Latine: which is one of the greatest beauties can be in a language<sup>1</sup>.' It is unnecessary to ascribe Spenser's adoption of the device to the influence of Sidney, which was of so little effect on the greater poet's diction: the source was known to Hall:

...that new elegance  
Which sweet *Philisides* fetch't of late from France  
In Epithets to ioyn two words in one<sup>2</sup>...

It was from Ronsard, du Bellay and du Bartas, as well as from his friend Henri Estienne, that Sidney learned that new elegance. His term 'composition' echoes the French: '*mots composez comme pié-sonnant, porte-lois, porte-ciel*<sup>3</sup>.'

This cultivation of the native tongue, however, was insufficient, and the new poets had recourse to the adoption of foreign words, classical and modern. This was the most bitterly contested ground of all: to illustrate fully the complaints of sixteenth-century critics against devisers of 'ink-horn terms and far-fetched phrases' would entail quotation from practically every writer on literature from Ascham to E. K. and so into the Jonsonian era. Yet all had to admit that English was a mixed language and that the process would have to continue, since English was not copious enough for the new uses to which it was being turned. Spenser might have claimed the authority of Sir John Cheke for his experiments in 'provignement,' but his borrowing was condemned in advance. 'I am of this opinion that our own tung shold be written cleane and pure, vnmixt and vnmangled with borowing of other tungs.... For then doth our tung naturallie and praisablie vtter her meaning, when she bouroweth no counterfeitness of other tungen to attire herself withall, but vseth plainlie her own with such shift, as nature, craft, experiens, and folowing of other excellent doth lead her vnto, and if she want at ani tijm (as being vnperfight she must) yet let her borow with suche bashfulnes, that it mai appeer, that if either the mould of our own tung could serue vs to fascion a woord of our own, or if the old denisoned wordes could content and ease this neede, we wold not boldly

<sup>1</sup> *Apology*, in Gregory Smith, Vol. 1, p. 204.

<sup>2</sup> *Satires*, Book vi, 255; quoted by Gregory Smith, Vol. 1, p. 402.

<sup>3</sup> Du Bellay, *Epistre* before Translation of Virgil, p. 275. On the compound epithet see Sir Sidney Lee, *French Renaissance in England*, pp. 245 ff.



venture of vnknown wordes<sup>1</sup>. On the other side were Sir Thomas Elyot, who desired to enrich the language with high and rhetorical terms and to make it a philosophical medium by borrowing from the learned tongues, the translators, who suffered daily from the difficulty of rendering from highly developed languages into one less developed, and a less vocal but probably numerous company who took up the common-sense position that borrowing was inevitable. Spenser himself incurred a share in the denunciation of E. K., of those who, 'borrowing here of the French, there of the Italian, euery where of the Latine...haue made our English tongue a gallimaufrey or hodgepodge of al other speches<sup>2</sup>,' but his borrowing was moderate, and bulks comparatively small beside his archaism, 'provignement,' and other innovations. He was by no means averse to the use of learned terms, to which the sanction of decorum, which covered so helpfully his dialectal and antique phrases, was not so readily applicable; and that not only for the expression of strange ideas, such as the 'trinal triplicities' of the *Hymne of Heavenly Love*, but for the pleasure of sound and association. French and Italian contributed to his vocabulary, but he was not an indiscriminating borrower, and for the most part his speech is English. That this is the case is vouched for by the little attention his borrowings received from contemporary critics, in comparison with that excited by his other innovations.

The same controversy, made the more bitter by the existence of the 'rhétoriqueur' school of poets (to whose vicious pedantry there is no parallel in English, unless Skelton in some of his moods), was carried on in France, the same conditions producing the same arguments and the same experiments. The position of the Pléiade is somewhat obscured by their habit of emphatic statement, but the sum of their recommendations is, that the poet may borrow to suit his needs, though always with discretion. 'Je veux auertir celuy, qui entreprendra vn grand œuvre, qu'il ne craigne point d'inuenter, adopter, et composer à l'imitation des Grecs quelques Motz Francoys<sup>3</sup>.' 'Nul...ne doute point...aux choses nouuelles estre necessaire imposer nouueaux mots, principalement ès ars, dont l'vsaige n'est point encores commun et vulgaire, ce que peut arriuer souuent à nostre Poëte, au quel sera necessaire emprunter beaucoup de choses non encor traitées en nostre Langue<sup>4</sup>.' 'Ce n'est point chose vicieuse, mais grandement louable, emprunter d'une

<sup>1</sup> Letter to Hoby: in Arber's Introduction to Ascham's *Schole-Master*.

<sup>2</sup> In Gregory Smith, Vol. i, p. 130.

<sup>3</sup> *Deffence et Illustration*, p. 125.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 126.

Langue estrangere les Sentences et les motz, et les approprier à la sienne<sup>1</sup>. 'Quand au reste, vse de motz purement Francoys<sup>2</sup>.' The same moral of discretion may be drawn from the apparent contradiction of Ronsard: 'Je te veux encore aduertir de n'ecorcher point le Latin, comme nos deuanciers qui ont trop sottement tiré des Romains vne infinité de vocables estrangers, veu qu'il y en auoit d'aussi bons en nostre propre langage. Toutesfois tu ne le desdaigneras s'ils sont desia receues et vsitez d'un chacun; tu composeras hardiment des mots à l'imitation des Grecs et Latins...et n'auras soucy de ce que le vulgaire dira de toi<sup>3</sup>.'

The Pléiade view of language was more than a counsel of ease or a series of hints to beginners. Behind 'ce petit Abbregé, lequel en faueur de toy a esté en trois heures commencé et acheué,' behind these scattered and disorganised maxims, there was a sound and hopeful belief. Ronsard and du Bellay drew a strong contrast between dead and living speech, and by force of that contrast ruled out of court much of the criticism of the humanists as it was applied to the vernacular. 'C'est autre chose d'escire en vne langue florissante qui est pour le present receue du peuple, villes, bourgades et citez, comme viue et naturelle, approuuée des rois, des princes, des senateurs, marchands et trafiqueurs, et de composer en vne langue morte, muette et enseuelie sous le silence de tant d'espaces d'ans, laquelle ne s'apprend plus qu'à l'eschole par le fouët et par la lecture des liures....En telles langues passées et defunctes...il ne faut rien innouer, comme enseuelies, ayant resigné leur droict aux viuantes<sup>4</sup>.' In the living tongues the initiative rests with the poet: 'Les poëtes, comme les plus hardis, ont les premiers forgé et composé les mots, lesquels pour estre beaux et significatifs ont passé par la bouche des orateurs et du vulgaire, puis finalement ont esté receues, louez, et admirez d'un chacun<sup>5</sup>.' Since, then, the poet is the leader in the noble work of cultivating the mother tongue, he must be free to experiment, without restriction by pedantry or conservatism. 'Vouloir oter la liberté à vn scauant Homme, qui voudra enrichir sa Langue, d'vsurper quelquesfois des Vocables non vulgaires, ce seroit retraindre notre Langaige, non encor' assez riche, soubz vne trop plus rigoureuse Loy, que celle, que les Grecz, et Romains se sont donnée<sup>6</sup>,' in the days, that is, when Greek and Latin were themselves living tongues. The trained ear and developed judgement are the only arbiters, and the opinion of the laity is of no weight. The poet is born with certain

<sup>1</sup> *Deffence et Illustration*, p. 72.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 129.

<sup>3</sup> Second preface to *La Franciade*, p. 33.

<sup>4</sup> *Deffence et Illustration*, p. 127.

<sup>5</sup> *Art Poétique*, pp. 334-335.

<sup>6</sup> *Art Poétique*, p. 335.



faculties and has undergone a rigorous training, and he is prepared to spend himself in labour: he is therefore competent, master of his craft. 'Ie renuoye tout au iugement de ton oreille<sup>1</sup>,'—'n'ayant...reigle plus parfaite que ton aurreille, laquelle ne te trompera iamais, si tu veux prendre son conseil avec certain iugement et raison<sup>2</sup>'—'ton aurreille, lequel est certain iuge de la structure des vers<sup>3</sup>.' Of this liberty the poet is to avail himself to the full, 'car plus nous aurons de mots en nostre langue, plus elle sera parfaicte<sup>4</sup>,' and 'il est fort difficile d'escrire bien en nostre langue, si elle n'est enrichie, autrement qu'elle n'est pour le present, de mots et de diuerses manieres de parler. Ceux qui escriuent iournellement en elle sçauent bien à quoy leur en tenir: car c'est vne extreme geine de se seruir tousiours d'un mot<sup>5</sup>.'

This assertion of the freedom of the poet in dealing with language would justify another characteristic of the new poetry, the alteration of words for the convenience of rhyme and metre. Puttenham devoted a complete chapter to the destruction of this heresy: 'Now there can not be in a maker a fowler fault then to falsifie his accent to serue his cadence, or by vntrue orthographie to wrench his words to helpe his rime<sup>6</sup>,' but Gascoigne had permitted it, though with a suspicion of satire in his phrase: 'This poetically license is a shrewd fellow, and couereth many faults in a verse; it maketh wordes longer, shorter, of mo sillables, of fewer, newer, older, truer, falser...<sup>7</sup>.' Herein he followed his original, Ronsard's *Abregé de l'Art Poétique François*: 'Quand tu trouueras des mots qui difficilement recoiuent ryme, comme *or*, *char*, et mille autres, ryme-les hardiment contre *fort*, *ort*, *accort*...ostant par license la derniere lettre<sup>8</sup>.' 'Tu diras, selon la contrainte de ton vers, *or*, *ore*, *ores*...et mille autres que sans crainte tu trancheras et allongeras ainsi qu'il te plaira<sup>9</sup>.' Ronsard had already announced his position in the preface to the *Odes* of 1550: 'Tu ne trouueras fascheux si j'ai quelques fois changé la lettre E en A, et A en E bien souuent, otant vne lettre d'un mot, ou la lui adioutant, pour faire ma rime plus sonoreuse ou parfait: certes telle license a tousiours été concedée aux poëmes de longue alaine....' In the *Epistre* prefixed to his translation of the Fourth Book of the *Æneid*, du Bellay expresses himself less confidently: 'Si quelqu'ung se fasche que i'aye le plus souuent retranché l's...quand j'entendray telle obseruation desplaire aux lecteurs, je prendray raison en payement, et ne seray

<sup>1</sup> *Deffence et Illustration*, p. 129.

<sup>2</sup> *Art Poétique*, p. 328.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 333.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>5</sup> Second preface to *La Franciade*, p. 32.

<sup>6</sup> In Gregory Smith, Vol. II, p. 84.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 54.

<sup>8</sup> *Art Poétique*, p. 328; the whole passage is important.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 333.



point heretique en mes opinions': but his practice is none the less bold. And boldest of all was Spenser.

Language, then, was in the eyes of the Pléiade a living thing, capable of development, and requiring cultivation; their metaphors are always organic, of plants or the animal body. The progress of living speech was not to be restricted by the practice of past ages, nor was it fortuitous: it was a positive operation, a positive duty. Language did not occur; it had to be made, and its making was in the hands of the poet. The presentation of this essay, it may be objected, gives a false impression by hardening a loose group of maxims into a code, and still more by presupposing that Spenser had a code also. To this it may be answered, that these maxims were not rules, but suggestions, and that the same expedients suggested themselves, or were suggested, to Spenser. In neither case was the new poetic diction the result of accident: there was thought behind each, and more than a single thought. The main contention of the Pléiade, the most important intrinsically and in its results was their assertion of the freedom of the poet as artist, and it is obvious from all his work that Spenser claimed this freedom and recognised the duty it involved. He had learned much that was valuable from the formal teaching of Cambridge, but he departed entirely from the theory of language held by the great Cambridge scholars, or rather, perhaps, he disregarded it as inapplicable to poetry, a theory of orators and Latinists. He was a student of criticism, but he stood apart from the common position of his contemporaries. He was influenced by courtly friends, but their criticism did not turn him aside from his own path.

We may now complete the dictum of Courthope already quoted: 'Spenser...was making experiments, like Ronsard, *though on very different principles*, in poetical diction.' Courthope appears to have accepted the traditional view of Ronsard, the view expressed by Boileau:

...Sa muse, en François parlant Grec et Latin,  
Vit dans l'âge suivant, par un retour grotesque,  
Tomber de ses grands mots le faste pédantesque<sup>1</sup>.

It is sufficiently evident from the extracts quoted above that this view is untenable, for the principles of the French and of the English experiment were in reality the same. Spenser worked on precisely the same lines as were laid down by du Bellay and Ronsard: the ancient native literature to be studied with a linguistic purpose; dialects, and particularly such as retained some archaic character, to be brought into the main stream of literary speech; technical terms to be put to poetical

<sup>1</sup> *L'Art Poétique*, Chant Premier, vv. 126-128.

use; new forms to be created from existing roots; and lastly, words to be borrowed from ancient and modern foreign languages: the language to be plastic, not rigid, and the poet to be the final judge of fitness. The parallel is slightly obscured by questions of decorum, and by purely personal and circumstantial considerations,—Ronsard, as a court poet, was bound by his very success where Spenser's disappointment left him free—but the main argument is unaffected. The question was one of decorum not in its narrower but in its wider sense; that certain words were fitting or improper, not in any particular poem, but in poetry in general. For Ronsard a poetical dictionary would not be based, like those of the Académie and the Accademia della Crusca, on a principle of exclusion, and it would never be complete. The answer of both Spenser and the Pléiade was very positive: they not only accepted the language of their time and country, but they sought out beautiful and significant terms wherever they were to be found, 'car chacun iardin a sa particuliere fleur'<sup>1</sup>: and they sought in the same directions. To the work of Spenser might be applied without modification the testimony of Binet to that of Ronsard: 'Voyant que nostre langue estoit pauvre, il tascha de la défricher et enrichir, inuentant mots nouueaux, rappelant et prouignant les vieux, adoptant les estrangers et la reuestant de propres epithetes et de motz heureusement composez à la façon des Grecs. Bref, il traça le chemin pour aller chercher des trésors en plus d'un lieu et suppléer a sa nécessité.'

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<sup>1</sup> Second preface to *La Franciade*, p. 34.

<sup>2</sup> *Vie de Ronsard*, p. 374 (in Cimber et d'Anjou, *Archives Curieuses*, 1re Série, tome 10).

## RICHARDSON, WARBURTON AND FRENCH FICTION.

WRITING in the *Modern Language Review* for October 1913<sup>1</sup> on the subject of Richardson's indebtedness to French fiction, the late Mr G. C. Macaulay brought forward a hitherto unnoticed Preface to the fourth volume of the first edition of *Clarissa* (1748) as evidence that in writing *Pamela* Richardson believed that he had been following the lead of the early eighteenth-century school of French realists. This Preface, which, according to Richardson's own statement, had been furnished him at his request by an unnamed 'very learned and eminent Hand<sup>2</sup>,' was omitted from the second edition of *Clarissa* (1749), and did not reappear in any subsequent issue of the work. It opened with a brief sketch of the development of modern fiction, beginning with medieval romance and ending with the French novel of manners of the eighteenth century, the distinguishing characteristics of which it defined as follows:

At length, this great People (to whom, it must be owned, all Science has been infinitely indebted) hit upon the true Secret, by which alone a deviation from strict fact, in the commerce of Man, could be really entertaining to an improved mind, or useful to promote that Improvement. And this was by a faithful and chaste copy of real *Life and Manners*: In which some of their late Writers have greatly excelled.

The remainder of the Preface consisted of a summary of the purpose and method of *Clarissa*, introduced by the following sentence of transition:

It was on this Sensible Plan [that of the French writers just described], that the Author of the following Sheets attempted to please, in an Essay, which had the good fortune to meet with success: That encouragement engaged him in the present Design....

'It is clear,' Macaulay concluded<sup>3</sup>, 'that Richardson acknowledges obligation to the way of writing in which some of the late French writers had greatly excelled, and that he ascribes not to himself but to the French the discovery of the true secret of fiction.'

That this conclusion is open to serious question was the contention of an article published in *Modern Philology* for January 1919<sup>4</sup>, in which I presented evidence showing that in all probability the Preface was the work of William Warburton, and, for that reason, could not safely be used as proof of Richardson's conception of his artistic origins. I now wish to add to the reasons which I there adduced for this belief a striking fact,

<sup>1</sup> VIII, 464-67.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 467.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 466-67.

<sup>4</sup> XVI, 495-99.



overlooked at the time, which not only establishes beyond doubt Warburton's authorship of the Preface and its consequent untrustworthiness as evidence of Richardson's opinion, but casts an interesting light on certain other matters as well.

In 1751 Warburton published his long expected edition of Pope. To the line in the *Epistle to Augustus* which told how, at the Restoration, 'ev'ry flow'ry Courtier writ Romance' (l. 146), Pope himself had appended a brief note explaining the verse as an allusion to 'the Romance of *Parthenissa*, by the Earl of Orrery, and most of the French romances translated by *Persons of Quality*.' Not satisfied with this explanation, Warburton added to it a long comment of his own in which he reproduced, though with one very curious change, the Preface to *Clarissa*<sup>1</sup>. The first six paragraphs of the Preface he reprinted almost in their original form. He was obliged to alter the introduction to fit the passage to its new setting, but from the second sentence through the phrase 'And this was by a faithful and chaste copy of real *Life and Manners*,' he followed the earlier text with no more important changes than appear in the following parallels:

PREFACE TO *CLARISSA*.

BUT as it commonly happens, that in all indulgent refinements on our satisfactions, the Procurers to our pleasures run into excess; so it happened here. Strict matters of fact, how delicately soever dressed up, soon grew too simple and insipid to a taste stimulated by the Luxury of Art: They wanted something of more poignancy to quicken and enforce a jaded appetite. Hence the original of the first barbarous *Romances*, abounding with this false provocative of uncommon, extraordinary, and miraculous Adventures.

\* \* \* \* \*

AT length, this great People (to whom, it must be owned, all Science has been infinitely indebted) hit upon the true Secret, by which alone a deviation from strict fact, in the commerce of Man, could be really entertaining to an improved mind, or useful to promote that Improvement. And this was by a faithful and chaste copy of real *Life and Manners*: In which some of their late Writers have greatly excelled.

EDITION OF POPE.

But as it commonly happens, that in all indulgent refinements on our satisfactions, the Procurers to our pleasures run into excess; so it happened here. Strict matters of fact, however delicately dressed up, soon grew too simple and insipid to a taste stimulated by the luxury of art: They wanted something of more poignancy to quicken and enforce a jaded appetite. Hence in the politer ages those feigned histories relating the quick turns of capricious Fortune; and, in the more barbarous, the ROMANCES, abounding with the false provocative of enchantment and prodigies.

\* \* \* \* \*

At length this great People (to whom, it must be owned every branch of Science has been infinitely indebted) hit upon the true secret, by which alone a deviation from strict fact, in the commerce of *Man*, could be really amusing to an improved mind, or useful to promote that improvement. And this was by a faithful and chaste copy of real LIFE AND MANNERS.

<sup>1</sup> *The Works of Alexander Pope, Esq.* In Nine Volumes Complete... Together with the Commentaries and Notes of Mr Warburton. London, Printed for J. and P. Knapton, H. Lintot, J. and R. Tonson, and S. Draper. MDCCLII, 8°, iv, 166-69.

The rest of the Preface, including everything that had to do with Richardson, Warburton completely excised. In its place, however, he introduced a short paragraph in which, after particularising the vague allusion to certain 'late Writers' of fiction in France, he proceeded to substitute a new name for Richardson's as the chief representative of their style of writing in England:

In this species of writing, Mr De Marivaux in France, and Mr FIELDING in England stand the foremost. And by enriching it with the best part of the *Comic* art, may be said to have brought it to its perfection<sup>1</sup>.

A few words will suffice to indicate the bearing of these facts on the points discussed in my earlier article. Not only can there no longer be the slightest doubt concerning the identity of the 'very learned and eminent Hand,' who furnished Richardson with the Preface to *Clarissa*, but the probability that in composing it Warburton was writing on his own responsibility and not as a mouthpiece of Richardson now becomes almost a certainty. In the first place, the inspiration of the historical part of the Preface, including the allusion to the 'late Writers' in France, is established as Warburton's own not merely by the fact, pointed out in my former article<sup>2</sup>, that he had exhibited a similar interest in the development of fiction as early as 1742, when he contributed an essay on medieval romance to Jarvis's *Don Quixote*, but also by the circumstance that he valued what he had written for Richardson sufficiently to reprint it with only the slightest changes in a later work of his own. In the second place, the connexion made in the Preface between Richardson and the 'late Writers' of fiction in France—the statement on which Macaulay's whole argument rested—is seen to have been merely external and accidental—a compliment to Richardson that implied at most only a general resemblance between his work and that of the French novelists in question; for only a short time afterwards we find Warburton drawing precisely the same parallel between the French 'Writers' (now particularised as Marivaux) and Fielding!

<sup>1</sup> In the edition of 1757 (iv, 166-67) Warburton added to the note as analysed above the following sentence: 'But the ridiculous rage of appetite in the Public for these amusements, and the monstrous things that now serve for their entertainment, put us in mind of a story, which Plutarch tells of Caesar: who observing certain Barbarians, at Rome, caressing young puppy dogs and apes, asked if the women bred no children amongst those strangers, that they were so fond of these grotesque resemblances.' In the edition of 1770 (iv, 166-67) he enlarged the passage still further: 'Yet amidst all this nonsense, when things were at the worst, we have been lately entertained with what I will venture to call, a Master-piece, in the *Fable*; and of a new species likewise. The piece I mean, is, THE CASTLE OF OTRANTO. The scene is laid in *Gothic Chivalry*. Where a beautiful imagination, supported by strength of judgment, has enabled the Author to go beyond his subject, and effect the full purpose of the *ancient Tragedy*, that is, to *purge the passions by pity and terror*, in colouring as great and harmonious as in any of the best Dramatic Writers.'

<sup>2</sup> P. 497.



The interest of the note on the *Epistle to Augustus* does not, however, end here. In an article supplementary to mine, published in *Modern Philology* for May 1919<sup>1</sup>, Miss Helen Sard Hughes undertook to account for the omission of Warburton's Preface from the second and subsequent editions of *Clarissa*. She found at least a partial explanation of this omission in the strained relations which developed between Warburton and Richardson as a consequence of the latter's attitude in the Warburton-Edwards controversy of 1747-8 and later:

Richardson's sympathy with Edwards' critical antagonism, both before and after Warburton's retaliatory utterances [in the edition of Pope], is apparent in the letters that passed between Richardson and Edwards from January 9, 1750, to February 4, 1755. Such partisanship may well have been apparent to Warburton or suspected by him; and it may explain the omission from the edition of 1749 of Warburton's preface published in 1748 and solicited presumably in 1747 or earlier. In any case the correspondence reveals one more of those literary enmities with which Warburton surrounded himself<sup>2</sup>.

Two things are to be noted in this summary of conclusions: first, the intimation that the initiative in the dropping of the Preface was taken by Warburton; and second, the fact that none of the incidents of the quarrel between him and Richardson which Miss Hughes sets forth, chiefly from the latter's published correspondence<sup>3</sup>, antedate January, 1750, although the moving cause of the quarrel existed as early as the end of 1747. Indeed, as appears from a later page of her article, the earliest clear indication which she has found of a coolness on Warburton's part toward the novelist, in distinction from the latter's expressions of sympathy for Edwards, occurs as late as April 1753<sup>4</sup>.

What light, now, is thrown upon these conclusions by Warburton's use of the Preface to *Clarissa*, with the substitution of Fielding for Richardson, in his edition of Pope? Before we can answer this question, we must fix, if we can, the date of the revision. Fortunately it is possible to do this with a fair degree of certainty. The nine volumes of *The Works of Alexander Pope* appeared in June 1751<sup>5</sup>. There is reasonably conclusive evidence, however, that the notes to the *Epistle to Augustus* had been put into final shape nearly two years before. In a letter of June 13, 1749, Warburton promised Hurd to send him his notes on this poem as soon as he could get them 'in a condition to be read<sup>6</sup>.' He had

<sup>1</sup> xvii, 45-50.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 46.

<sup>3</sup> Neither she nor I have had access to the unpublished correspondence of Richardson in the South Kensington Museum, where, as she notes, there are probably letters 'which would throw further light upon the Warburton feud.'

<sup>4</sup> Pp. 48-49.

<sup>5</sup> See *The Monthly Review*, July 1751, v, 97.

<sup>6</sup> *Letters from a Late Eminent Prelate to One of His Friends*, London, 1809, p. 5.



evidently completed this task early in August, for on the 6th of that month he wrote again:

You are so obliging on the subject of the Epistle to Augustus that the least I could do was to send you the copy I have prepared for the press, to convince you there is the same necessity for your pen, as if I had never wrote a word on the Imitation.... You need not send the MS back till I acquaint you with my want of it, or that you have an opportunity of sending it to Mr Knapton, bookseller, in Ludgate Street<sup>1</sup>.

On October 28 he gave further directions concerning the disposition of the manuscript: 'I have now put that volume of which the Epistle to Augustus is part, to the press; so should be obliged to you to send it, by your letter-carrier, direct to Mr Knapton, bookseller, in Ludgate-Street<sup>2</sup>.' On December 14 he informed Hurd that the packet was in Knapton's hands<sup>3</sup>. In view of the silence of Warburton's letters concerning any further work on the notes to this poem and in view of the fact that grounds for displeasure with Richardson already existed, it is surely safe to conclude that the revision of the Preface took place before the autumn of 1749.

We are now in a position to consider the points discussed by Miss Hughes. In the first place, there is nothing in the known facts clearly inconsistent with her theory that Warburton's annoyance at Richardson for his championship of Edwards was responsible for the omission of the Preface from the second edition of *Clarissa*. This edition was published on the 15th June 1749<sup>4</sup>, and Warburton, as we have just seen, was working on the notes to the *Epistle to Augustus* from some time before the 13th June until shortly after the first of August. It is entirely possible that, offended by Richardson's partisanship for Edwards, he had demanded that the Preface be omitted from the new edition of the novel, and then, not willing to discard it altogether<sup>5</sup>, had revised it in harmony with his new attitude to Richardson for use in the edition of Pope. But if the facts may be made to accord with this possibility, they equally permit of the opposite hypothesis that the initiative in the matter was taken by Richardson, whether with or without reference to the changed relations between him and Warburton. Considerable warrant, indeed, if not conclusive proof, is furnished for this latter explanation by Richardson's own remarks on the Preface in a note prefixed to the third edition of *Clarissa*—a text not considered by Miss Hughes:

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 7-8. Knapton was to be the principal publisher of the edition. See above, p. 18, n. 1.      <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 16.      <sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 24.

<sup>4</sup> It was advertised as 'This Day was published' in the *St James's Evening Post* for June 13-15, 1749.

<sup>5</sup> He seems to have had a habit of adapting old work to new occasions. See *Mod. Phil.* xvi, 497, n. 4.

The work having been originally published at three different times; and a greater distance than was intended having passed between the first publication and the second; a Preface was thought proper to be affixed to the third and fourth Volumes; being the second publication. A very learned and eminent Hand was so kind as to favour the Editor, at his request, with one. But the occasion of inserting it being temporary, and the Editor having been left at liberty to do with it as he pleased, it was omitted in the Second Edition, when the whole work came to be printed together<sup>1</sup>.

If we cannot accept this statement as a thoroughly satisfactory explanation of the omission of the Preface, we must at least conclude that the incident was not necessarily connected with the feud between Warburton and Richardson, however much this feud may have influenced Warburton in his subsequent use of the Preface. Fortunately the question is not of the first importance.

A somewhat greater interest attaches to the history of the quarrel between the two men. On this point the facts and dates established above add materially to our knowledge. It may well have been, of course, that Warburton's substitution of Fielding's name for Richardson's in his revision of the Preface had other motives besides animosity to Richardson. We know that he was under special obligations to Fielding for compliments paid him not only in the *Miscellanies* of 1743 but, more recently, in *Tom Jones* (published in February 1749)<sup>2</sup>. All due allowances made, however, for this possibility, the elimination of Richardson in favour of the 'lewd and ungenerous' Fielding in a text originally written at the request of the former could hardly have been other than a studied insult. As such, it has a twofold value for our investigation. In the first place, better than any document printed by Miss Hughes it reveals the strength of Warburton's resentment towards Richardson; and, in the second place, it fixes the explosion of this resentment at a date earlier by over three years than that of the earliest episode of the kind which she has discovered<sup>3</sup>.

Finally, whatever may have been the personal motives involved in the revision of the Preface to *Clarissa*, the successive appearance in the same text and in the same relation to the earlier development of realistic fiction, of the names of Richardson and Fielding, illuminates in an unexpected way the conception of these two novelists prevalent in their lifetime. A recent French study has questioned the legitimacy of attributing to the reading public of the mid-eighteenth century a perception of those

<sup>1</sup> Quoted by Macaulay, pp. 466-67.

<sup>2</sup> See W. L. Cross, *The History of Henry Fielding*, New Haven, 1918, I, 400, II, 127.

<sup>3</sup> That contained in the letter from Richardson to Edwards of April 21, 1753 (see Miss Hughes's article, pp. 48-49). The excuse mentioned in this letter for Warburton's enmity—the fact that in the fourth edition of *Clarissa* Richardson had reflected upon Pope—does not of course preclude earlier and more fundamental grounds for displeasure.

sharp antitheses between the authors of *Clarissa* and of *Tom Jones* which have been so dear to later critics<sup>1</sup>. For contemporary readers like Sarah Fielding, Lady Bradshaigh, or Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, the two men were rivals indeed, but rivals 'sur le même terrain.' 'A n'en point douter, les admirateurs de Richardson et ceux de Fielding ne formaient point deux camps séparés et adverses<sup>2</sup>.' The case of Warburton brings fresh support to this hypothesis. He had reasons of his own, it is true, for transferring his allegiance from Richardson to Fielding. But it is surely significant that he effected the transfer without any sense of incongruity and with but a minimum revision of the views he had expressed in the days of his earlier loyalty.

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<sup>1</sup> Aurélien Digeon, 'Autour de Fielding,' *Revue germanique*, xi (1920), 209-14.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 213, 214.



## TRISTRAM AND THE HOUSE OF ANJOU.

PROFESSOR G. L. HAMILTON in a recent number of this *Review* (vol. xv, p. 425) has written a characteristically learned and illuminating study of early heraldry and its relations to romantic literature. He there challenges my suggestion, stated in an earlier number of the *Review* (vol. xiv, p. 38), that Thomas, the author of *Tristan*, attributed to his hero the device of a golden lion on a red field, and my inference that Thomas wrote under the patronage of Henry II and Eleanor of Aquitaine or of Richard I. No one is more grateful than I for the fulness of Professor Hamilton's discussion, partly because the subject is one in which I am, though ignorant enough, interested; and partly because I find among the works to which he refers much that confirms my own rather than his view. The point for which I am contending might seem hardly worth prolonged discussion, were it not that it is an important part of the evidence which I here propose to assemble, showing the special interest which various scions of the royal House of Anjou manifested in the romantic history of Tristram.

In trying to establish the heraldic charge assigned by Thomas to Tristram, I had pointed out that whereas M. Bédier could cite but one derivative of Thomas, Gottfried von Strassburg, in favour of the boar, there were three derivatives of Thomas which agreed on a lion.

Professor Hamilton believes that Gottfried's evidence is to be rated very highly on this point because, he asserts, the boar is a cognizance so utterly unknown in German heraldry before the end of the thirteenth century that Gottfried would never have adopted it unless he had had the precedent of Thomas. 'Down to the end of the twelfth century, at least, the boar does not appear as armorial bearings, nor is it mentioned as such in French epics and German courtly poetry of the next two centuries<sup>1</sup>.' This statement will not bear examination. Seyler, to whom Professor Hamilton refers, shows that in the twelfth century already the boar was familiar in Germany, if not as a heraldic blazon, at least as a personal badge. The *Kaiserchronik* (ca. 1140) says of Titus: 'Er vuort ainen gruonen van; Mit golde was geworht dar an Ain eber wilde' (ll. 5263-65). Again the *Rolandslied* of Pfaffe Konrad (ca. 1150) says,

<sup>1</sup> *M.L.R.* xv, p. 427.

of the Saracen king, Estorgant: 'Ein vanen fuorter ane there hant; Thar ane stuont ein eversvin, Alrot guldin' (ll. 4878-80). Seyler also figures the seal of Count Rudolph von Ramsberg, attached to a document of the year 1163, on which a boar appears<sup>1</sup>. Though the heraldic character of these instances may be questioned, no such doubt attaches to the boar which appears on the shield, housings, helmet, and pennon of the Margrave Diobold von Vohburg as represented in the Berne manuscript of Petrus de Ebulo's *De Rebus Siculis* (ca. 1196)<sup>2</sup>. When, moreover, we discover that in Konrad von Würzburg's *Trojanerkrieg* (ante 1269) the same beast is, next to the lion and the eagle, the most common charge<sup>3</sup>, Professor Schoepperle's citations from *Partonopier* and *Meleranz* prove to be by no means the irrelevancies that Professor Hamilton implies<sup>4</sup>. For they clinch the evidence that the boar was not a rare device in the thirteenth century, but was from the start familiar in German heraldry. There is therefore no reason for believing that Gottfried must have found the boar specified in his source; there is no reason for attaching special weight to his witness.

What of the three witnesses which I have adduced in favour of the lion? The Norse Saga's mention of the housings of Tristram's destrier as embroidered with gold lions on a red ground Professor Hamilton sets aside on what seem, at first glance, to be the most solid of reasons. In fact, I may confess to having been very gravely impressed when I read them. For Professor Hamilton maintains that the device cannot be derived from Thomas, who wrote before the Angevins had adopted the golden lions on a red field. But it is easily explicable as originating with Brother Robert, for we know that about this time his patron, King Hákon Hákonarson, adopted as the royal arms of Norway a rampant lion or on a field gules. The matter seems settled.

But does not Professor Hamilton contradict himself in this sentence: 'There is not the slightest evidence that Henry II did adopt such armorial bearings even if two, and three, lions are found on the seals of his successors to the throne, Richard I and John<sup>5</sup>? For, if this evidence is not direct, it is at least evidence: and it becomes fairly strong when coupled with the fact that Henry's father, Geoffrey, apparently displayed

<sup>1</sup> G. A. Seyler, *Geschichte der Heraldik*, p. 70.

<sup>2</sup> Ed. E. Rota, pl. 36, 39. See also P. Ganz, *Geschichte der heraldischen Kunst in der Schweiz*, pp. 24 f.

<sup>3</sup> P. Ganz, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

<sup>4</sup> *Romanic Review*, III, pp. 433 f. Professor Hamilton is hardly correct in assigning to 'the late thirteenth century' the *Partonopier*, which preceded the *Trojanerkrieg*, which in turn was finished before 1269. The use of the boar in French heraldry is shown by *Galeran*, S.A.T.F., I. 5931.

<sup>5</sup> *M.L.R.* xv, p. 426.



the golden lions on a blue field very lavishly on his clothing and accoutrements. In fact, this combination of inferential evidence seems to me distinctly stronger than Professor Hamilton's argument *ex silentio*. But it is not necessary for me to prove this disputed point, though I consider it fairly secure. As I pointed out in my article, Bédier's dating of Thomas's poem before 1170 has been questioned. It was possibly written as late as 1189. It was certainly written when fully developed heraldic cognizances were in fashion, as is shown by the description of the shield of Tristan le Nain<sup>1</sup>. It is inconceivable that at a time when the fashion was fully established, the king of England, whoever he was, should not have had his armorial charge. If this king was Henry II, we have a right to infer that his charge consisted of gold lions on a blue or a red field. If this king was Richard, we are practically certain that his charge consisted of two gold lions on a red field. There is, then, at least a possibility that the description of the housings in Brother Robert reflects a feature in his source, deliberately introduced as a compliment to an Angevin king<sup>2</sup>.

This possibility becomes a very strong probability when we examine the passage in the Norse Saga. If it was Brother Robert's intent to flatter King Hákon, he would have introduced an elaborate description of his hero's arms and armour, and have mentioned scrupulously the blazoning of his shield, his pennon, and his horse-trappings. But this is precisely what we do not have. The shield, the kernel of heraldic decoration, is unblazoned. Only the casual mention of the embroidered housings permits us to infer the charge on the shield. Since Brother Robert later became an abbot<sup>3</sup>, he probably possessed diplomatic ability: but is this the calculated flattery of a man 'to been an abbot able'? On the contrary, it seems clear that this heraldic detail possessed little significance for Brother Robert. The whole passage, indeed, seems explicable only in the light of M. Bédier's conclusion that the Norse translator is here condensing from his original<sup>4</sup>. A piece of studied flattery it cannot be: it must be a mutilated version of the French. The Saga, then, definitely witnesses to the presence of the heraldic lion in Thomas.

It may possibly be objected that heraldic housings do not appear

<sup>1</sup> Thomas, *Tristan*, ed. Bédier, I, ll. 2182-84: 'Eseu ot d'or a vair freté, De meime le teint et la lance, Le penun e la conisance.'

<sup>2</sup> That this is by no means an isolated instance of heraldic flattery may be determined by consulting H. L. D. Ward, *Catalogue of Romances*, I, p. 364, and D'Ancona and Monaci, *Una Leggenda Araldica*.

<sup>3</sup> H. G. Leach, *Angevin Britain and Scandinavia*, p. 179.

<sup>4</sup> Thomas, *Tristan*, ed. Bédier, I, p. 61, note 1.



until more than forty years after Thomas wrote<sup>1</sup>. On the contrary, as early as Wace's *Roman de Rou* (1160-1174) we read of a destrier 'tot covert de fer<sup>2</sup>'. In a mosaic of the year 1178, which formerly existed at Brindisi, Bishop Turpin was represented on a horse, whose housings bore the device of the crozier in three places<sup>3</sup>. If, as there is reason to believe, the *Tristan* was composed some time after 1170, further references are in order. The *Lanzelet* (ca. 1195) describes an 'isern kovertiure' covered with green samite worked with golden lions (ll. 4414-19). The manuscript of Petrus de Ebulo, already cited, which is of about the same date, depicts many blazoned housings. They are of the same type as that shown on the seal of William Longespee, Earl of Salisbury (1198)<sup>4</sup>.

The witness of the Saga as to Thomas's account of his hero's heraldic charge is corroborated by two other direct derivatives from Thomas, the Middle English *Sir Tristrem* and the Chertsey Tiles. The value of their testimony Professor Hamilton questions. He says: 'The reference to a "Lyou" on the shield of Tristram in the English version is only a rhyme-tag to go with "dragoun" of a following line<sup>5</sup>.' Now if it were difficult to find rhymes for the word 'boar,' which, according to Professor Hamilton, was Tristram's cognizance in Thomas, there might be reason to believe that 'lyoun' is here a substitution. But since there are plenty of such rhymes, we may perhaps persist in the belief that it was not rhyme but reason which led the author to assign the lion to Tristram: and that reason was that he found it in his source, Thomas.

Finally the evidence of the Chertsey Tiles, which twice represent on Tristram's shield a single rampant lion, comes under fire. Professor Hamilton argues that we need not look to Thomas as the source of this beast, for 'it is quite natural to find the arms of the royal family of England introduced with intention in a work of English art of the end of the thirteenth century<sup>6</sup>.' Now I scarcely need to inform Professor Hamilton that the royal arms were then not a single rampant lion, but three lions passant (otherwise described as leopards). This the designer of the tiles, as we see from his picture of Richard the Lion Heart, knew perfectly, and he could never have supposed that in the single rampant

<sup>1</sup> G. Demay, *Costume d'après les Sceaux*, affords no example of housings before the 'housse de maille' of Robert de Montaut, on a seal of 1214, and no heraldically adorned housings before 1217. See pp. 179, 181.

<sup>2</sup> Wace, *Roman de Rou*, ed. H. Andresen, l. 7512.

<sup>3</sup> E. Bertaux, *L'Art dans l'Italie méridionale*, I, p. 493.

<sup>4</sup> W. L. Bowles and J. G. Nichols, *Annals and Antiquities of Lacock Abbey*, pl. 1, opposite p. 147.

<sup>5</sup> *M.L.R.* xv, p. 427, note.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 428.

lion of Tristram there was any reference to a contemporary sovereign. Indeed Professor Hamilton seems to feel the weakness of his explanation, for he goes on to say that even at that late date blazonings were variable. But the only support he gives for this statement is Konrad von Würzburg's confusion of tinctures in attributing three *red lions* on a *gold field* to the King of England. Now Galle has demonstrated that Konrad's heraldry is full of blunders<sup>1</sup>, and this error of his, far from proving that the arms of England were indeterminate quantities, merely illustrates Konrad's unreliability. The single rampant lion was not the device of the Angevins in the thirteenth century. It may have been, as we have seen, the device of an Angevin king eighty or a hundred years before. The lion on the Chertsey Tiles may well go back through Thomas to this early Angevin device.

Three direct derivatives from Thomas, therefore, concur in ascribing to Tristram the device of the lion. Many remoter derivatives confirm the point. Besides the *Tavola Ritonda* and the list attached to *Gyron le Courtois*, which I have already cited in a previous publication<sup>2</sup>, an English manuscript of the thirteenth century (Bibliothèque Nationale, Français 94) displays on the first page a red lion and above the word 'Tristany<sup>3</sup>.' An illumination in a fifteenth century manuscript of the prose romance shows a number of banners, some depending from trumpets, one floating from Tristram's ship, all blazoned red with a golden lion<sup>4</sup>. That this beast should be so persistently and widely assigned to Tristram cannot be reconciled with Professor Hamilton's hypothesis. For it is highly unlikely that Brother Robert's Saga was ever read south of Denmark. But once grant that this feature is due to Thomas, and the matter is clear.

My contention also dovetails into another set of evidences. I am convinced that the House of Anjou and its immediate connections took a special interest in the romance of Tristram. By whom and for whom were all the Tristram poems of the twelfth century, whose origin we can trace, written? The Lay of *Chievrefoil* was written by Marie de France, who dedicated her work to a king, universally admitted to be King Henry II. The theory has been advanced with a high degree of plausi-

<sup>1</sup> A. Galle, *Wappenwesen und Heraldik bei Konrad von Würzburg*, in *Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum*, LIII.

<sup>2</sup> R. S. Loomis, *Illustrations of Medieval Romance on Tiles from Chertsey Abbey*, p. 51.

<sup>3</sup> E. Hucher, *Sur les Représentations de Tristan et d'Yseult dans les Monuments du Moyen Age*, p. 12, in *Bulletin de la Société d'Agriculture, Science, et Arts de la Sarthe*, 1871. P. Paris, *Manuscrits français*, I, p. 118.

<sup>4</sup> Petit de Julleville, *Histoire de la Langue et de la Littérature française*, I, p. 272.



bility that Marie was no other than Henry's half-sister<sup>1</sup>. Crestien de Troyes, who wrote of King Mark and Isolt la Blonde, enjoyed the patronage of Marie de Champagne, daughter of Eleanor of Aquitaine. Another daughter, Matilda of Saxony, after a visit at the Angevin court, caused the 'estoire' of Tristram to be turned into German by Eilhart von Oberg. It would then be in perfect accord with all the *a priori* evidence that Thomas also, a courtly poet, an Anglo-Norman, a panegyrist of London town, should have written for a patron or patroness of the Angevin House.

Another link connecting Thomas with the dynasty has been generously brought to my notice by Professor W. R. Lethaby. One of the Patent Rolls for 1207 shows King John acknowledging the receipt of his regalia, and in the itemized list we find 'duos enses scilicet ensem Tristrami et alium ensem de eodem regali<sup>2</sup>.' Romantic though the theory appears, there can be little doubt that this sword of Tristram is still represented among the present regalia of England. According to the romance, the hero left a splinter of his sword in the skull of Morhaut. After King John's time we hear no more of Tristram's sword among the regalia, but instead there appears 'Curtana,' the short (French *court*) or blunt sword. Its identity with Tristram's sword, though forgotten in England, was known in France, for the author of the prose *Tristan* (ca. 1250) says that his hero's sword passed into the hands of Ogier the Dane, and, being shortened, was called 'cortaine<sup>3</sup>.' When at the Restoration a new Curtana was made to replace the original, lost during the Commonwealth, it possessed a splintered edge as if the point had been broken off<sup>4</sup>. At some time since, this jagged edge has been smoothed off, and an interesting vestige of the hold of romance upon the sovereigns of the Anjou dynasty has been obliterated.

We may now recur to the Norse translation of Thomas made in 1226 at the instance of King Hákon. Dr Henry G. Leach has brought together a remarkable array of facts demonstrating that the King of Norway not only was in constant friendly communication with Henry III, but also patterned his own court in many significant ways upon the English<sup>5</sup>. His palace at Bergen was modelled after that of Westminster, and, as we have seen, he adopted armorial bearings similar in device and identical

<sup>1</sup> *English Historical Review*, 1910, p. 303.

<sup>2</sup> T. D. Hardy, *Rotuli Litterarum Patentium*, 77 b.

<sup>3</sup> E. Löseth, *Roman en Prose de Tristan*, p. 302.

<sup>4</sup> Sir Edward Walker, *Circumstantial Account of the Preparations for the Coronation of Charles II.* Fig. unnumbered plate, 'Curtana.'

<sup>5</sup> H. G. Leach, *Angevin Britain and Scandinavia*, pp. 50-55, 110 f.



in tincture with those of Henry. Nothing was more natural, accordingly, than that on the occasion of his marriage he should order to be translated into Norse the favourite romance of the English court.

The Chertsey Tiles, again, are an indication of Angevin interest in Thomas's poem. I have already published the grounds given by Professor Lethaby for connecting this magnificent pavement with Henry III<sup>1</sup>. Executed about 1270, probably at the king's instance, it may have been destined for some royal palace and left on the abbey's hands at the king's death. At least, to modern notions, the incongruity of this passionate romance with the hallowed precincts suggests some such explanation. Nevertheless, when the nearly contemporary romance, *L'Escoufle* (ll. 579 ff.), shows us the Count of Montivilliers offering at the high altar of the Holy Sepulchre itself a golden hanap enamelled with scenes from the loves of Tristram and Ysolt (perhaps not unlike that preserved at the Poldi Pezzoli Museum, Milan)<sup>2</sup> as a receptacle for the Eucharist, who will say that Henry would have considered it inappropriate to bestow on the abbey this amorous imagery to pave their church and to furnish matter for the contemplation of the monks?

Finally, one more straw which shows the wind blowing from the same quarter. Though in most cases the information which the prose romances give about their authors and their origin is properly suspect, the version of the prose *Tristan* which attributes itself to Rusticien de Pise has not, so far as I am aware, been challenged. It purports to have been translated 'du livre monseigneur Edouart, le roi d'Engleterre, en celui temps que il passa outre la mer ou service nostre seigneur Dame Dieu pour conquerer le saint sepulchre'. This particular bit of literary history furnished by Rusticien, which has so far obtained acceptance, accords so well with the other facts adduced in this article that it may almost be regarded as proved. And Edward I may be added to those descendants of Geoffrey of Anjou who displayed an interest in Tristram.

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<sup>1</sup> R. S. Loomis, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

<sup>2</sup> Figured in F. Malaguzzi-Valeri, *Corte di Lodovico il Moro*, I, p. 557.

<sup>3</sup> E. Löseth, *op. cit.*, pp. 423 f.

## GIOVAN BATTISTA ANDREINI AS A THEATRICAL INNOVATOR.

GIOVAN BATTISTA ANDREINI is slightly known to English students because a few eighteenth-century critics, beginning with Voltaire, decided that his mystery play, *L'Adamo*, must have been the inspiring origin of Milton's *Paradise Lost*<sup>1</sup>. That theory is now regarded as an interesting supposition merely, and Andreini is ignored far more than he should be by theatrical historians. The importance of this once famous Capocomico and writer of tragedies, comedies, histories, pastorals, lies not so much in his creative power as a writer, for that was not remarkable, but in his unwearied efforts to improve stage production, efforts that influenced the French theatre of the seventeenth century quite as much as the Italian and that left a tradition carried over into England in 1660. Many of the devices which Pepys remarks in the plays he saw, the echo song, the machines, the changes of background, all new and wonderful in the London theatre of his day, were a direct inheritance from the court spectacles that Andreini and his troupe, the Fedeli, invented and elaborated for their patrons, the ducal houses of Mantua and Modena and the royal house of France.

Early in the seventeenth century when Andreini began his independent work for the theatre, after a rigorous training under his parents, the notable actors, Francesco and Isabella Andreini, there was the greatest irregularity in the manner of producing plays, although, contradictorily enough, there was much narrowness of critical dogma as to the way they should be produced. It was believed that scenic magnificence was only appropriate to pastoral dramas or to *intermedj*; tragedies and comedies were given in a less spectacular fashion and usually with a fixed stage arrangement which included painted scenery but not changes of scene. Andreini, working with a group of talented actors and under rich and enlightened patrons, brought into the regular drama much of the magnificence inherited from the *Sacre Rappresentazioni* and the *intermedj*, published his plays with full stage directions which allowed their performance by companies other than his own, recognized and encouraged the *melodrama*, paid close attention to costume and

<sup>1</sup> Cf. E. Allodoli's edition of *L'Adamo*, Lanciano, Carrabba, 1913, for a summary of the history of this question and for a modern judgment of it.



properties in their relation to the plays he gave, in short contributed in every way toward what his age and the next regarded as realism and beauty in the drama.

He had of course a rich background to work from. Since 1491, when Leonardo da Vinci invented the apparatus for plays given before the Sforza in Milan<sup>1</sup>, and 1519 when Raphael painted the setting for Ariosto's *Suppositi* given before Leo X in Rome<sup>2</sup>, great artists and princes had devoted their serious attention to the stage. The principle of realism had been partly recognized; Raphael, in the performance of the *Suppositi* just alluded to, made his background to represent Ferrara, the scene of the comedy, and other artists followed his example, reproducing well-known aspects of certain Italian cities such as were required by the plays they set<sup>3</sup>. Such realism was however confined to comedies, with their 'imitation' of the everyday life of men. Tragedies, often closely following classical originals, had a more general and symbolic setting, as magnificent as the producer could afford, with palaces and towers built up on the stage sometimes to the number of ten, and with particular attention to the lighting, which was early recognized to have a definite relation to the mood of the spectator and to reflect the feeling of the tragedy<sup>4</sup>. For pastorals much license of fancy was allowed, with machinery moved about against an immovable background and with lights, representing the heavenly bodies, turning in the ceiling.

In 1598 at Ferrara Angelo Ingegneri published his interesting little essay on dramatic poetry, *Della poesia rappresentativa*, and summed up toward the end of it his theories as to how plays should be presented in order to make them as true to life as possible. The pages on 'l'apparato' (pp. 62 ff.) contain such statements as:

The stage ought to resemble as closely as may be the place in which the story of the play is laid. For example if the tragedy takes place in Rome, the Campidoglio should be shown with the chief palace, and the principal temples and other buildings. If the play is a comedy, the Pantheon should appear with the column of Antony or of Trajan, and the Tiber and some other points that would cause the city to be recognized.... But if a pastoral is to be played, since the whole thing is rustic, any setting will serve...so that it contain woods, mountains, valleys, rivers, fountains, temples, huts and, especially, distant backgrounds....

<sup>1</sup> W. E. Flechsig, *Die Dekorationen der modernen Bühnen in Italien*, Dresden, 1894, p. 33, and Luzio-Renier, *Delle relazioni di Isabella d'Este Gonzaga con Ludovico e Beatrice Sforza*, in *Archivio storico lombardo*, 1890, p. 941.

<sup>2</sup> A. Ademollo, *Alessandro VI, Giulio II e Leone X nel Carnevale di Roma*, Firenze, 1886, pp. 88-93. Also Flechsig, *op. cit.*, pp. 65 ff.

<sup>3</sup> For one example among several that might be given, cf. the description of the 'bellissima scenetta, la qual era finta Venezia,' in Solerti-Lanza, *Il teatro ferrarese nella seconda metà del secolo XVI*, in *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, 1891, p. 172, n. 1.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. quotation from L. de' Sommi, the actor-manager at the Mantuan Court, 1567 ff., in A. D'Ancona, *Origini del teatro italiano*, Torino, 1891, II, pp. 417 ff., and F. Neri, *La tragedia italiana nel cinquecento*, Firenze, 1904, p. 172.



Ingegneri agrees in the main with de' Sommi in his emphasis on magnificence in the presentation of plays and still more on the importance of natural costumes and manners in actors. He insists again and again that the aim of dramatic art is the imitation of life, suggesting that the time has come to eliminate the ghost from tragedy, 'for I have never seen a ghost on the stage that was not ridiculous,' remarking that the chorus often led the way to absurdities, as when it was brought in revering a king who had just been driven from his throne and who ought therefore to be shown as without a follower (p. 23), and discussing ways of producing naturalness of effect, such as the accounting logically for exits and entrances and the making occasions for choral odes and other music in the introduction of festivals, weddings, dances and other diversions (p. 17). Above all he urges in true classic spirit that tone should be preserved in dramatic art, as one way of bringing the spectator into touch with the story presented.

This essay by Ingegneri Andreini must surely have known, since he was in 1598 an eager young student of drama and an actor in his parents' troupe, the Gelosi, a company frequently engaged to play at Ferrara for the Don Cesare d'Este to whom the little book was dedicated. His own work reflects many of Ingegneri's ideas, though he never mentions this particular authority in any of his numerous acknowledgments of indebtedness to his predecessors in the prefaces to his published works, where he tells how he learned from them and how he ventured to improve upon their practices. His first play, a tragedy, *La Florinda*, printed in Milan, 1606, and written for his wife, whose stage name was Florinda, is illustrated with a frontispiece showing how its author arranged his stage to represent the 'forest of Scotland,' where he set his play. In the midst is a large castle, not unlike the central structure on the Elizabethan stage, with a tower over it, a balcony and numerous windows as well as two doors for its two stories. At one side of the rather large stage is a small pseudo-classical circular temple, with pillars around it, on the other is a rustic hut with a waterfall behind it and a sunburst in the sky overhead; two paths bordered with trees lead to the temple and the hut and in the centre, before the castle, stands a group of four hunters, with a horse, a dog and three long lances. Obviously this set is of the composite kind used in the tragedies of the Cinquecento, demanding no change of scene, since all the three principal places mentioned in the text are on the stage at the same time. It is the point of departure for Andreini's theatrical experiments and shows how conventionally he began his career as actor-manager.

His next plays, *L'Adamo*, Milan, 1614, and *La Maddalena*, Venice,

1616, are almost as traditional in some respects as the tedious tragedy of *La Florinda*, though these two derive from the *Sacre Rappresentazioni* rather than from the classical imitations of learned playwrights in the sixteenth century. Yet both these plays show advance in knowledge of the stage and a great deal of daring in the use of scenic magnificence. All that their author had learned in years of experience with courtly spectacles he uses here, adding to his knowledge his own inventions. He says in the preface to *La Ferinda*, the comedy he printed in Paris, 1622, 'for my happy fortune I saw in Florence and in Mantua many dramatic and musical works; I saw *Orfeo*, *Arianna*, *Silla*, *Dafne*, *Cerere* and *Psiche*, wonderful things, all of them,' and goes on to speak enthusiastically of the 'angelic' music which helped to give them charm. Accordingly he brought into his mystery plays as much music as he could arrange for, giving to *L'Adamo* a chorus of Cherubim and Serafim and an answering chorus of 'spiriti igni, aerei, acquatici ed infernali,' with a ballet of the Seven Deadly Sins and other allegorical characters, and to *La Maddalena* a chorus of many angels, revealed when the 'Gloria' opens 'to the sound of many trumpets.'

Perhaps Andreini was conscious that it would take a good deal of spectacular appeal to cover the tedium of his long poetic dialogues and the amount of moralizing that he managed to insert in the speeches of his principal characters; certainly it is hard for a modern reader to imagine these two long religious plays even as operas, unless he visualizes rather vividly the full stage directions the author supplies. The *Maddalena* is undoubtedly the more beautiful of the two; it opens with a description of the 'apparato,' which 'must be all sea and rocks; and in the distance on the sea a small bark, before the Prologue appears, with some fish frisking about; but after this the fish must never appear except when the symphony plays, and even then rarely. The sky should be all starry and in the midst of it the Moon, full; the Divine Grace (*Favor*) will appear as Prologue, on a car exceedingly bright, all adorned with stars and supported with clouds of both gold and silver, and the clouds shall be borne by two angels'; at the disappearance of the Prologue, 'little by little the stars shall vanish and from the sea shall rise the dawn and after the dawn the sun, and as the Prologue has ended to the sound of melodious music, the setting, which was all maritime, shall represent in part lofty palaces, in the midst of them the residence of Maddalena, the proudest possible.'

<sup>1</sup> Andreini followed Ingegneri's advice in the use of much music in his plays; he also made occasions for his songs and choruses, just as Ingegneri suggested, and varied the style of them, introducing the echo refrain, for instance, in his pastorals, as his father had done in his pastoral, *L'Altezza di Narciso*, Venezia, 1611.



It is hardly an exaggeration to call *La Maddalena*, as does Luigi Rasi, 'il più bel pasticcio comico-drammatico-tragico-melodrammatico-mimo-danzante che sia mai stato visto sulla scena',<sup>1</sup> though perhaps it is hard to agree with him that it is 'rich in original beauties.' The text provides every opportunity for musicians, as Monteverdi and Salomone De Rossi discovered when they set it to music in 1618, and it is equally appealing to the stage carpenter and costumer. The thirty speaking characters outside the chorus are dressed with an eye to their parts in the fable, from the Magdalene herself, with her changes from worldly splendour to a penitential garb of hair shirt, rope girdle and sandals, 'with a skull in her hand,' to the Divine Grace in glory and the Archangel Michael in full shining armour.

*L'Adamo* is less free in its treatment of its theme than is *La Maddalena*. It contains some pageant-like features evidently imitated from the allegorical *intermedj* of Andreini's youth, such as the traditional procession of Pride (*Vanagloria*) drawn on her chariot by a giant, and the beautiful Serpent with the head, breast and arms of a man; mixed with these characters from religious history are several of classical inspiration, equally picturesque on the stage, such as Vulcan with his forge, constructing Hell, and infernal scenes that owe as much to Virgil as to the Biblical source of the story.

In the preface to *L'Adamo* (first edition, Milan, 1613)—a letter 'to the benign Reader'—the poet gives expression to the artistic conscience which was constantly alive in him and which drove him on from one experiment to another. Here he tells his difficulties with dramatic diction.

The dispute of Eve with the Serpent before she ate the apple was difficult.... Equally difficult was the debate of Eve with Adam, persuading him to eat (though she had then the gift of all knowledge). And this language was most difficult for my little strength, because the composition of it had to be naked of all the poetic ornaments so dear to the Muses and deprived of all reference to the things created in the years since then, for in the time of the first man there was nothing made. For instance I had to omit mentioning, when Adam spoke or when anyone talked with him, bows, arrows, pennants, urns, knives, swords, lances, trumpets, drums, trophies, ensigns, harangues, hammers, torches, bellows, funeral pyres, theatres, treasures and similar things...all introduced on account of original sin.... Moreover it was difficult to know in what way to make Adam speak, because so far as his knowledge was concerned he merited long, grand, full, sustained verses, but considering him as a shepherd and an inhabitant of the forest, he ought to be simple and sweet in his language; so I did the best I could with full verses, some broken and some completed. I have reason to think that the kindness of God, regarding my good intentions rather than my defects,...moving my hand, helped me to finish my work.

This nervous care for diction Andreini reveals again and again in the confidences to his patrons or to his 'benign readers' which preface

<sup>1</sup> L. Rasi, *I comici italiani*, Firenze, 1897, I, p. 122.



his various plays. He was among the first playwrights to meditate the Horatian laws for character decorum and to interpret them more liberally than the French academicians later in the century. He believed in the use of dialect as a method of characterization as well as for humorous appeal; in the description of 'l'apparato' prefixed to *Lelio bandito*, Milano, 1620, he says he hopes no one will object to the use of various languages and dialects in this play, for he has followed the rule of making each person speak 'as he would do in real life.' In *La Ferinda*, Paris, 1622, it is perhaps hardly realistic to bring on to the stage at once Frenchmen, Germans, Italians speaking the Venetian, Lombard, Genovese and Neapolitan dialects, a pedant using bad Latin, and a stutterer—here Giovan Battista was following the practice of the actors of the improvised plays who used dialect for comic effect—but he preserves the characteristics of each kind of speech with rather more care than would some of his contemporaries; that is, for all the personages except the German, in whose language no amount of good will can find much likeness to the speech of the Teutons<sup>1</sup>.

Costume, like speech, Andreini regarded as a means of characterization. He criticizes, in the preface to *La Centaura*, Paris, 1622, the practice of some of his contemporaries who write plays about twins, 'a notable and improbable error,' namely the dressing of these twins differently. 'They should be dressed alike,' says Andreini, since in life no two faces are alike, and their being twins must be emphasized in such a way that the audience will understand their relationship, but 'an invention must account for this likeness of costume: such as that used by my father and me in *I due Leli* (a play on which Giovan Battista and his father, Francesco, collaborated); our twins had both heard of their father's death and so came on the stage dressed alike in black of the fashion of that city where the scene was laid.' In *La Centaura* he gives detailed directions for costumes, taking particular care that the two mad characters shall be dressed as wildly and as ridiculously as possible, that the nymphs shall present a 'bizarre' appearance and that the family of four Centaurs, parents and two children, who give their names to the play, shall impress the eye with their strangeness. His symbolic characters in the same play, and in others where such figures appear, are given the usual conventional properties, such as a bellows and rope for Adulation, a bouquet of flowers with a serpent in the middle of it for Deceit, an enveloping black and white mantle for Falsehood, etc. The medieval influence is strong here, as will be seen

<sup>1</sup> 'A real Babel,' says Bevilacqua of this comedy; cf. E. Bevilacqua, *Giambattista Andreini e la compagnia dei Fedeli*, in *Gior. stor. della lett. ital.*, 1895, p. 114.

from the description of Divine Justice in the same play, *La Centaura*: 'A Woman of singular beauty, dressed in gold, with a crown of gold on her head, above it a dove in a halo of light, her hair spread on her shoulders, in her right hand a naked sword, in her left the scales.'

Realism, the confessed aim of Andreini's art, it will be seen is here quite subordinated to scenic appeal and that is aided wherever possible by the use of elaborate symbolic figures. In fact he admits in his most important prefatory letter, that to *La Centaura*, that he could easily have done without allegorical figures such as Deceit, Adulation and their sisters, because the fable 'is knit and unravelled without disguises or miracles,' but that for the adorning of the stage, 'to which one must pay great attention,' and for 'tragic pomp,' which is equally important, he introduced such ornaments as well as his unusual and splendid stage machinery.

It is to be feared that his wish to strike the eye of his spectators led the poet to forget himself in the stage carpenter at times. Certainly he devotes a great deal of careful attention to the magnificent bed on which his sick king is carried in (*La Centaura*) and justifies the use of it on the grounds of royal magnificence and of the improbability that an invalid monarch would stagger into the street to die. In *La Turca*, Venice, 1622, he uses 'warlike maritime accidents,' to great effect; in *Lelio bandito*, Milan, 1620, he describes an 'apparato' which represents 'cavernous and woody mountains; at the right a castle, situated high and distant, from which one can descend into the middle of the stage; at the left a cottage on a hill, from which...one can descend by a stairway which is made to look like living rock.' In the middle is a spacious cavern under which is a chest, covered with 'a most beautiful carpet,' the bed of Lelio, the bandit. The scene was supposed to be the Abruzzi mountains, but there are no directions for peasant costumes.

The scene for *La Turca* was of a different sort and included a 'painted background' (*prospettiva*) with a sea in the distance and around it 'many high mountains, with huts of painted cardboard on them together with certain castles, showing that one could walk in these mountains and descend to the stage from them'; and in the last of the houses 'there must be a window large enough to permit a woman to flee from it; and there must be two towers...one on the one side of three houses and the other on the other side of the other three.'

Such painted scenery, it will be seen, Andreini used in his comedies, combining with the traditional houses of the Italian comic stage, a landscape or seascape background to give some of the beauty and variety which similar sets contributed to the pastoral drama of his day.



He tells how he came to venture upon his innovation, in the preface to *La Ferinda*, Paris, 1622; he realized, he says, how 'poor and bare' his little comedy looked on the stage, lacking the decorations to which his audiences were accustomed in the gorgeous allegorical and pastoral entertainments to which they were attached; 'it lost much in the way of variety of scenes, since into a comedy no god comes nor is there any reason for violent and rapid changes.' Accordingly he set his story in Venice, that picturesque city, half land, half water, and tried to bring into his *commedietta* some of the charm of those other spectacular pieces, by having an allegorical prologue recited by Thalia standing on a shell in the midst of a sea, by introducing a ballet of fishermen and by giving lifelikeness to his Venetian scene through the use of gondolas and gondoliers incidentally. In *La Turca* he repeated the Venetian theme, but bettered his own invention by adding to his maritime scenery Turkish costumes for his chief characters, an enslaved brother and sister, and by concluding the comedy with a 'trionfo,' a 'chariot, ornamented with many Turkish arms and banners with various lights painted on them.'

'Commedia boschereccia et marittima' Andreini calls *La Turca*, in order, probably, to silence academic criticism of his mixing the genres of comedy and pastoral. He was always sensitive to such criticism, being himself a member of the Florentine academy of the Spensierati and well educated in Aristotelian theory, though not such a stickler for it as to permit his learning to stand in the light of his practical experience. He calls comedy 'a mirror of human life, an image of virtue and an example to it' (prologue to *Lo Schiavetto*, Venice, 1620), yet he is always willing to introduce romance and splendour and quaintness in order to vary his plot and his scene. He uses birds in *I due Baci*, another 'commedia boschereccia,' many roses in *La Rosa*, a group of dogs, 'large and small,' in *La Rosella* (1632). The scenery for *La Rosa* (1638) must have been particularly pretty, consisting as it did of a 'prospettiva' painted with rows of cypresses, a lovely fountain in the middle, 'arranged at the pleasure of the man who has charge of such things,' houses on either side, hedged and almost covered by roses in flower, 'so that the Villa where the comedy is to be laid, shall be called Bellarosa because of the abundance of roses there.'

That he used devices for changing his scenery in the middle of some plays is abundantly evident. He remarks more than once that such changes 'are now quite easy,' though unfortunately he does not tell precisely how they were managed. We know that Leonardo invented a 'Paradiso with seven planets which turned about'<sup>1</sup> and that he was

<sup>1</sup> Flechsig, *op. cit.*, p. 33.



followed by other mechanics who helped actors with similar devices, as Inigo Jones helped Ben Jonson with his Masques. Sometimes it was the lights only which were made to revolve<sup>1</sup>, sometimes the whole aspect of the stage changed, as in one of Andreini's most ambitious 'opere reali,' *L'Ismenia*, Bologna, 1639; here the first stage direction reads: 'Here appear many Cupids carrying a Temple, all gilded, putting it down at the right side of the stage, then, singing the following madrigal, they go.' In the same play a Hypogriff 'with a pleasant hiss,' dances a ballet to the tune of his hissing (Act iii), and in Act iv another monster, not particularized, makes off with one of the maidens. The chief sensation comes in the fifth act where 'thunder is heard, the stage shakes, the lights disappear, and, the theatre being darkened for a moment, the lights come on again, showing that the iron Rock of Death has vanished and there remain only the two prostrate persons.'

A still more ingenious device, not, however, involving a change of scene, was used for *La Rosa*, Andreini's reworking into pastoral romance of the Tancred and Gismunda story. He obligingly gives a detailed description of his management of the chief incident in his plot, so that other actors can easily produce the play if they wish. As for the device of Lelio's head in a basin, says the author, it may be well arranged as follows, so that the audience will be quite deceived: 'A basin of brass or of silvered wood' must be filled with flowers, and it must have 'an opening in the bottom like that in a lantern'; when it is brought in to Florinda by Cavaletta, he [the servant] must take care to keep his hands over it as he puts it on the floor; while it is there, 'Lelio from a trap door underneath must put his head up through the bottom of the basin, so that, when Florinda moves the flowers a little, she will at once see the head of Lelio. He withdraws instantly as she drops the flowers in horror and takes up the basin.' Thus the company is saved the expense of having a stucco head made to resemble the hero of the play, and that hero himself, acted by the author of the tragicomedy, keeps in his own power the delicate management of his climax.

For the end of *La Maddalena* Andreini invented a machine similar to that used in modern representations of Berlioz' *Damnation of Faust*, if one can judge from the directions for the tableau of the Magdalene's salvation. 'Suddenly Maddalena shall be raised somewhat from the earth by a subterranean device (*ingegno sotterraneo*) and at the same instant angels shall sustain her on either side, and at the same time the theatre shall be made to look like the most barren desert.' After the

<sup>1</sup> As in a contract for the construction of a 'teatro di legname,' Jan., 1575, quoted by Neri, *op. cit.*, p. 170, n. 3.

heroine looks 'languidly' at the desert and laments her sins for awhile, 'the cavern opens, where an immensity of light shall be seen'; she recognizes the sepulchre of Christ, since 'if it is desired a beautiful Crucifix, not too large may appear there'; she kneels and prays, then 'to the sound of a gentle Miserere,' goes away, the Gloria with its chorus of chanting angels finally replacing all the desert and receiving the penitent to eternal happiness.

I forbear to quote others of Andreini's painstaking stage directions, which have a close likeness to those already given. His taste, it will be evident, was as much toward theatrical magnificence as it was toward emotional and burlesque acting. He of course wrote most of his plays for the use of the Fedeli, in which for many years his wife, the beautiful singer and actress, Virginia, 'called Florinda,' took the prima donna's rôles and he himself played the first lover. It is amusing to trace the way he 'featured' his own and his wife's accomplishments, and prepared here and there little opportunities for 'hits' of different sorts. The tears and laments and fainting fits of Florinda in Andreini's first tragedy must have cost some pains in the performance of them, yet undoubtedly, as contemporaries witness, the fair-haired Virginia carried them off successfully and made the audience forget the interminable length of her speeches. Lelio, as Andreini invariably called himself on the stage, preferred comic effects to tragic, and rarely missed a chance for burlesquing his rôle or for introducing some of those dubious allusions or jests which most of his critics have found it so hard to reconcile with his bigoted piety.

As an actor Andreini was probably less original than as a stage manager. He was surrounded by excellent actors, and had a good deal of trouble at times to keep himself and Virginia from being eclipsed by some of them. Yet no one in the course of his career seems to have challenged his supremacy in putting on plays, either his own or those of his contemporaries. He was in constant demand at the courts of France and Mantua and elsewhere during the fifty years of his active life. Moreover he took a lively part in the controversial literature of his day, defending with unusual intelligence and persistence both his profession and his own innovations in the theatre. He pointed out in true Horatian fashion that the stage was a great prophet of righteousness, teaching the useful through the beautiful, and that he himself never set aside morality for mere amusement. 'If there be here or there some little licentious word,' he observes in the preface to *Lo Schiavetto*, 'put into the mouth of a low character, it is only there like a thorn among roses,' and can but call attention to the contrasting truths and beauties.



More important than these conventional declarations of intent are Andreini's actual practices and the use of his really formidable learning in the bringing the theatre of his time to a sensible and intelligent recognition of its opportunities and its limitations. He never ceased to protest against the tactlessness of beginning plays with long uninteresting speeches which left the audience cold<sup>1</sup>, or, a proof that his thought had surpassed his teachers, against the academic rigidity which forbade the mixing of tears and laughter and of scenes 'proper' to comedy with those associated with the melodrama or the pastoral. He never forgot that spectators like variety and brilliance, wit and movement and an image of their times. He sums up his own theory in a few words, and these might have been used by Ingegneri or any other classicist: 'La forza della Poesia, o sia Epica o sia Drammatica, si riduce sotto questo termine ristretto di facere aut fingere verisimilia' (preface to *La Centaurea*).

It was undoubtedly in large part his influence exercised on and through his company, the Fedeli, that helped actors and dramatists to adopt such aids towards realism as strict localization of action and definition of time, as it was his restless search for novelty that introduced and fixed stage improvements so that at the end of the century Perrucci could say, 'We do not know whether the ancients had as many changes of scene as the moderns, or of such a variety that thought cannot search for more, seeing that in a moment the stage is transformed from a palace into a city, from a hall into a wood, from a gallery into a garden, from a meadow into a heaven, from a heaven into a hell; into so many forms and with such swiftness and art that it seems rather an enchantment of the eyes than the work of machines<sup>2</sup>.' Such magic was universal on the continental stage through the seventeenth century and, passing from Italy to France, from thence to London, transformed the English theatre in the Restoration period and called out the naive raptures of the astonished Pepys and his friends, who found 'the machines' used for the witches of *Macbeth* and the spirits of the *Tempest*, 'beyond description.'

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. in the preface to *La Centaurea*, the sensible comments on the folly of a messenger's beginning his news with 'Deh, perchè non son nato cieco? Deh, perchè non bevei latte avvelenato?' etc., for the poet says such speeches will sooner move an audience to laughter than to pity, for they will not fail to think the messenger out of his mind instead of broken-hearted.

<sup>2</sup> A. Perrucci, *Dell' arte rappresentativa premeditata ed all' improvvisa*, Napoli, 1699, p. 26.



## HEINE, HAZLITT AND MRS JAMESON.

HEINE not only does not hide his contempt for English commentators of Shakespeare, but, more especially where it is a question of Dr Johnson, he very openly flaunts it. The two English writers on Shakespeare in whom he professes to see some good are Hazlitt and Mrs Jameson. It may, accordingly, seem a little strange that his relationship to these writers has not been more fully investigated. Gertrud von Rüdiger has examined the quotations and arrived at the conclusion that many of those which Elster takes to be Heine's own translation were, in point of fact, taken by the poet from existent German versions of Shakespeare<sup>1</sup>. As indicating a borrowing propensity in Heine, this should be borne in mind. A dissertation by Ernst August Schalles, entitled *Heines Verhältnis zu Shakespeare* (Berlin, 1904), gives an account of the genesis and growth of Heine's *Shakespeares Mädchen und Frauen*, as also of Heine's attitude towards his work. In the middle part of this dissertation (pp. 32-34) there will be found some remarks on the connection between Heine and Hazlitt, and between Heine and Mrs Jameson. Schalles observes: 'Heines eigene Charakteristiken enthalten einige Anklänge an Hazlitt.' He goes on to give three instances to which attention will afterwards be drawn; one other is noted later, incidentally (p. 49 and note). As regards Mrs Jameson, Schalles writes: 'Dagegen rühmt Heine Mrs Jameson, deren liebevoll geschriebenes Buch: "Shakespeare's female characters" eben sein Thema, nur ausführlicher und sachlicher behandelt. Heine lobt den Geist der Verfasserin, die übrigens von Geburt Irin ist, nicht Schottin, wie Heine vermutet. Er citiert aus ihrem Werke wörtlich eine ansprechende Charakteristik von Portia und Shylock' (pp. 33-34). Despite the fact that he thus borrows two entire and not short paragraphs from Mrs Jameson, Heine does not actually go back on his previous judgment: 'Der einzige Kommentator Shakespeares, den ich als Ausnahme bezeichnet, und der auch in jeder Hinsicht einzig zu nennen ist, war der selige Hazlitt, ein Geist ebenso glänzend wie tief, eine Mischung von Diderot und Börne, flammende Begeisterung für die Revolution neben dem glühendsten Kunstsinn, immer sprudelnd von Verve und Esprit<sup>2</sup>.'

<sup>1</sup> Die Zitate in 'Shakespeares Mädchen und Frauen' von Heine, in *Euphoriön*, xix, pp. 290 ff.

<sup>2</sup> From the introduction to *Shakespeares Mädchen und Frauen*, Heines *Sämtliche Werke*, Hesse, Bd. iv, p. 85.

There are two considerations which render the examination of the connection between Heine and the English writers more difficult than it otherwise would be. He takes opportunities of introducing general remarks, having no direct bearing on the female characters, more especially where he can achieve a political colouring<sup>1</sup>, or where the Jewish question arises<sup>2</sup>. Also, chiefly when he has no particular conception of the character he should be treating, he has recourse to general witticisms<sup>3</sup>. As Heine had no say in the list of characters of which he was to treat, no estimate of the extent of his dependence on either of the English writers can be formed by comparing the individual lists of characters. Neither is it in any way necessary to suppose that Heine would not have scoffed at Samuel Johnson's criticism of Shakespeare, if Hazlitt had not himself condemned it. The very temperament of the German poet would have rendered this gibing inevitable.

We may begin our survey of the tragedies with *Henry VIII*, as it is chiefly in the comments on the characters from this play that Schalles noticed a connection between Heine and Hazlitt. Thus Hazlitt writes: 'As it is, he has represented such persons to the life—his plays are in this respect the glass of history—he has done them the same justice as if he had been a privy counsellor all his life, and in each successive reign<sup>4</sup>.' Heine reproduces this idea in his remarks on Lady Grey, *Henry VI, Part III*: 'Seine Königscharaktere sind immer so wahr gezeichnet, dass man, wie ein englischer Schriftsteller bemerkt, manchmal meinen sollte, er sei während seines ganzen Lebens der Kanzler des Königs gewesen, den er in irgend einem Drama agieren lässt' (pp. 121–122). Schalles also finds Heine's judgment on the character of Henry VIII himself reminiscent of Hazlitt, but he offers no illustrations. The actual correspondence seems to lie in the following sentences: 'There is also another circumstance in his favour, which is his patronage of Hans Holbein' (p. 184): 'Das Beste an Heinrich war sein Sinn für plastische Kunst' (p. 125). 'The character of Henry VIII is drawn with great truth and spirit' (p. 183): 'Hat aber Shakespeare wirklich den Charakter Heinrichs VIII, des Vaters seiner Königin, ganz geschichtstreu geschildert? Ja, obgleich er die Wahrheit nicht in so grellen Lauten wie in seinen übrigen Dramen verkündete, so hat er sich jedenfalls ausgesprochen, und der leisere Ton macht jeden Vorwurf desto eindringlicher'

<sup>1</sup> Cf. what he says on Virgilia, Queen Margaret, Lady Grey, Portia.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. what he says on Jessica and Portia, *Merchant of Venice*.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. especially the conversation of the mice in the passage purporting to refer to Constance.

<sup>4</sup> *Characters of Shakespeare's Plays* (Everyman Edition), p. 184.



(p. 127). 'He is of all the monarchs in our history the most disgusting.... Other kings before him (such as Richard III) were tyrants and murderers out of ambition or necessity...they destroyed their enemies or those who barred their access to the throne or made its tenure insecure. But Henry VIII's power is most fatal to those whom he loves: he is cruel and remorseless to pamper his luxurious appetites: bloody and voluptuous; an amorous murderer; an uxorious debauchee' (pp. 183-184): 'Dieser Heinrich VIII war der schlimmste aller Könige, denn während alle andere böse Fürsten nur gegen ihre Feinde wüteten, raste jener gegen seine Freunde, und seine Liebe war immer weit gefährlicher als sein Hass. Die Ehestandsgeschichten dieses königlichen Blaubarts sind entsetzlich' (p. 127). There remain two other points to which Schalles makes no reference. Hazlitt writes: 'Among other images of great individual beauty might be mentioned the description of the effect of Ann Boleyn's presenting herself to the crowd at the coronation' (p. 183). And Heine: 'Von der Schönheit der Anna Boleyn giebt uns der Dichter auch in der folgenden Scene einen Begriff, wo er den Enthusiasmus schildert, den ihr Anblick bei der Krönung hervorbrachte' (p. 126). Again Hazlitt here particularly recalls his inability to agree with Dr Johnson, a circumstance which may be reasonably held to account for Heine's remembrance of his aversion to that critic<sup>1</sup>. Indeed, it furnishes no matter for surprise that Schalles, noticing the connection between Heine and Hazlitt in a superficial manner only, should have been struck by Heine's use of the English writer's thought in his examination of *Henry VIII*.

Schalles refers in the third place to 'eine Äusserung über die Hexen in *Macbeth*.' The actual connection may be seen from the following: '...the cold, abstracted, gratuitous, servile malignity of the Witches, who are equally instrumental in urging Macbeth to his fate for the mere love of mischief, and from a disinterested delight in deformity and cruelty. They are hags of mischief, obscure pandars to iniquity, malicious from their impotence of enjoyment, enamoured of destruction, because they are themselves unreal, abortive, half-existences' (p. 16). 'Shakespeare verwandelte sie (die Walküren) in unheilstiftende Hexen, entkleidete sie aller furchtbaren Grazie des nordischen Zaubertums, er machte sie zu zwitterhaften Missweibern, die ungeheuerlichen Spuk zu treiben wissen, und Verderben brauen aus hämischer Schadenfreude<sup>2</sup> oder auf Geheiss der Hölle; sie sind die Dienerinnen des Bösen, und wer sich von ihren Sprüchen bethören lässt, geht mit Leib und Seele

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the opening remarks on the character of Queen Katherine (pp. 124-125).

<sup>2</sup> Hazlitt later also speaks of the Witches' 'malignant delight' (p. 20).



zu Grunde' (p. 128). To a very obvious borrowing in the same play Schalles makes no reference. Heine writes: 'Interessant ist es, wenn man die Shakespeareschen Hexen mit den Hexen anderer englischen Dichter vergleicht' (p. 128). The only other English poet actually mentioned by him is Middleton. Now Hazlitt closes his comment on *Macbeth* with a passage taken from Lamb, in which the latter compares Shakespeare's and Middleton's conception of witches. Heine's comparison is as follows: 'Man bemerkt, dass Shakespeare sich dennoch von der altheidnischen Anschauungsweise nicht ganz losreissen konnte, und seine Zauberschwestern sind daher auffallend grandioser und respektabler als die Hexen von Middleton, die weit mehr eine böse Vettelnatur bekunden, auch weit kleinlichere Tücken ausüben, nur den Leib beschädigen, über den Geist wenig vermögen, und höchstens mit Eifersucht, Missgunst, Lüsternheit, und ähnlichem Gefühlsausatz unsere Herzen zu überkrusten wissen' (p. 128). Lamb writes: 'These (Middleton's Witches) to whom man or woman plotting some dire mischief might resort for occasional consultation....These Witches can hurt the body....Except Hecate, they (Shakespeare's Weird Sisters) have no names, which heightens their mysteriousness. The names, and some of the properties which Middleton has given to his hags, excite smiles. The Weird Sisters are serious things. Their presence cannot co-exist with mirth. But, in a lesser degree, the Witches of Middleton are fine creations. Their power, too, is in some measure over the mind. They raise jars, jealousies, strifes, *like a thick scurf o'er life*' (pp. 23-24).

Schalles' incidental and final allusion to the indebtedness of Heine to Hazlitt is in connection with the character of Cordelia. Hazlitt speaks of the 'indiscreet simplicity of her love (which, to be sure, has something of her father's obstinacy in it)' (p. 119). Heine writes: 'Ja, sie ist ein reiner Geist, wie es der König erst im Wahnsinn einsieht. Ganz rein? Ich glaube, sie ist ein bisschen eigensinnig, und dieses Fleckchen ist ein Vateral' (p. 133).

In his observations on *Hamlet* Hazlitt writes: 'We have been so used to this tragedy that we hardly know how to criticise it any more than we should know how to describe our own faces' (p. 80). At the close of his remarks on Ophelia Heine characteristically expands this into: 'Wir kennen diesen Hamlet, wie wir unser eigenes Gesicht kennen, das wir so oft im Spiegel erblicken, und das uns dennoch weniger bekannt ist, als man glauben sollte; denn begegnete uns jemand auf der Strasse, der ganz so aussähe wie wir selber, so würden wir das befremdlich wohlbekannte Antlitz nur instinktmässig und mit geheimem

Schreck anglotzen, ohne jedoch zu merken, dass es unsere eigenen Gesichtszüge sind, die wir eben erblickten' (p. 131).

Heine writes of Juliet: 'Sie hat weder aus weltlichen noch aus geistlichen Büchern gelernt, was Liebe ist....Der Charakter ihrer Liebe ist Wahrheit und Gesundheit' (p. 135). Hazlitt's words are: 'There is nothing of a sickly and sentimental cast. Romeo and Juliet are in love, but they are not love-sick. Everything speaks the very soul of pleasure, the high and healthy pulse of the passions: the heart beats, the blood circulates and mantles throughout. Their courtship is not an insipid interchange of sentiments, lip-deep, learnt at second-hand from poems and plays' (p. 104). As his only quotation Heine offers one already given by Hazlitt. When we remember that Heine was not called upon to say anything about Romeo, we are the more struck by his reiteration of Hazlitt's doubts as to the felicity of the suggestion that Romeo has had a first mistress in Rosalind. In this connection Heine writes: 'Trotzdem, dass er sich der zweiten Liebe ganz hingiebt, nistet doch in seiner Seele eine gewisse Skepsis, die sich in ironischen Redensarten kundgiebt, und nicht selten an Hamlet erinnert' (p. 134). While Hazlitt makes this pronouncement: 'Romeo is Hamlet in love' (p. 113).

In considering *Julius Caesar* Hazlitt calls special attention to Act I, Sc. 2. He says: 'Cassius's insisting on the pretended effeminacy of Caesar's character, and his description of their swimming across the Tiber together, "once upon a raw and gusty day," are among the finest strokes in it' (p. 27). Heine, after commenting on the nature of republicanism, writes: 'Wenn man dieses bedenkt, muss man erstaunen, mit welchem Scharfsinn Shakespeare den Cassius geschildert hat, namentlich in seinem Gespräche mit Brutus, wenn er hört, wie das Volk den Cäsar, den es zum König erheben möchte, mit Jubelgeschrei begrüsst' (p. 99). There follows in full Cassius' description of Caesar's weakness in the swimming match and his effort to destroy the godlike in Caesar's character. Hazlitt continues: 'But perhaps the whole is not equal to the short scene which follows, when Caesar enters with his train' (p. 27). While Heine continues: 'Cäsar selbst kennt seinen Mann sehr gut, und in einem Gespräche mit Antonius entfallen ihm die tief-sinnigen Worte...' (p. 100). He then quotes from that scene Caesar's judgment on Cassius. Lastly Hazlitt notices the 'burst of tenderness in Brutus' (p. 30), where he is speaking of the conversation between Brutus and Portia in Act II, Sc. 1. Heine says of Brutus: 'mit weicher Seele hängt er an seiner Gattin Portia' (p. 101).

In his remarks on Cleopatra Heine reiterates Hazlitt's praise of



Act I, Sc. 5<sup>1</sup>. Hazlitt speaks of the 'subsequent infatuation of Antony when in the sea-fight at Actium, he leaves the battle, and "like a doating mallard" follows her flying sails' (p. 74). While Heine writes: 'Antonius "gleich einem brünst'gen Entrich," mit ausgespannten Segel-flügeln, flieht ihr nach' (p. 102).

The only reference to the Princess Katherine in Hazlitt's observations on *Henry V* lies in praise of Act v, Sc. 2. Overlooking Act III, Sc. 4, of which one might very rightly have expected him to make something, Heine proceeds at once to Act v, Sc. 2; although he does not repeat Hazlitt's praise.

What Heine has to say on Jeanne d'Arc (p. 115) might, not without some semblance of justice, be regarded as an expansion of Hazlitt's pronouncement: 'She is here almost as scurvily treated as in Voltaire's *Pucelle*' (p. 165).

Finally Heine makes use of quotations to be found also in Hazlitt from the following plays: *The Merchant of Venice* (two), *The Taming of the Shrew*, *Comedy of Errors*, *Twelfth Night*. It ought to be noticed that this last quotation is taken from what Hazlitt calls 'The only passage of a very Shakespearian cast in this comedy' (p. 254).

This brings us to Heine's treatment of the characters from the comedies. Actually he contented himself with supplying an apt quotation. Of the characters for which he chose quotations eight are to be found in Mrs Jameson's *Shakespeare's Heroines*. The quotations used by Heine for Miranda, Perdita, Imogen, Beatrice, Helena, Isabella, had all been previously given by Mrs Jameson. Further, instances of what she considers the felicitous sayings of Rosalind have been definitely listed by Mrs Jameson (ed. of 1897, p. 82): and the first of these, that which would most naturally catch the eye, forms the chief part of Heine's quotation for Rosalind.

In his remarks on Cleopatra, Heine gives her speech beginning 'O Charmian' (Act I, Sc. 5), which is contained also in Mrs Jameson's quotations from that scene. Both writers also give Cleopatra's description of Antony from Act v, Sc. 2.

The two paragraphs from Portia, *The Merchant of Venice*, which Heine took bodily from Mrs Jameson will be found in the English writer, pp. 40-41, and in the German, pp. 146-147. It is not surprising that Heine remains, in company with Mrs Jameson and in opposition to Hazlitt, an admirer of Portia.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Hazlitt, pp. 74-75; Heine, p. 105.



Discussing the parting scene between Queen Margaret and Suffolk, *Henry VI, Part II*, Act III, Sc. 2, Mrs Jameson writes: 'Her criminal love for Suffolk (which is a dramatic incident, not an historic fact) gives rise to the beautiful parting scene in the third act, a scene which it is impossible to read without a thrill of emotion, hurried away by that power and pathos which forces us to sympathise with the eloquence of grief, yet excites not a momentary interest either for Margaret or her lover. The ungoverned fury of Margaret in the first instance, the manner in which she calls upon Suffolk to curse his enemies, and then shrinks back overcome by the violence of the spirit she had herself evoked, and terrified by the vehemence of his imprecations, the transition in her mind from the extremity of rage to tears and melting fondness, have been pronounced and justly, to be in Shakespeare's own manner' (pp. 283-284). She makes also two quotations, one from the concluding speech of the Queen, and one from that of Suffolk. The first is from the passage beginning 'O, let me entreat thee cease,' but does not begin until 'Go; speak not to me; even now be gone,' five lines from the end of that passage. Of Suffolk's reply she omits the first two and the last two lines. The quotations in Heine exactly correspond; and he writes: 'Durch ihre Liebe für Suffolk, den wilden Suffolk, weiss uns Shakespeare sogar für dieses Unweib einige Rührung abzugewinnen. Wie verbrecherisch auch diese Liebe ist, so dürfen wir derselben dennoch weder Wahrheit noch Innigkeit absprechen. Wie entzückend schön ist das Abschiedsgespräch der beiden Liebenden!' (p. 118). Again, in dealing with York's appearance as a captive before Margaret, *Henry VI, Part III*, Act I, Sc. 4, Mrs Jameson writes: 'But soon after follows the murder of the Duke of York; and the base revengeful spirit and atrocious cruelty with which she insults over him, unarmed and a prisoner—the bitterness of her mockery, and the unwomanly malignity with which she presents him with the napkin stained with the blood of his youngest son and "bids the father wipe his eyes withal," turn all our sympathy into aversion and horror' (pp. 284-285); while Heine says: 'Sie (Margareta) ist ein hartes, frevelhaftes Weib geworden. Beispiellos grausam in der wirklichen, wie in der gedichteten Welt ist die Scene, wo sie dem weinenden York das grässliche, in das Blut seines Sohnes getauchte Tuch überreicht und ihn verhöhnt, dass er seine Thränen damit trocknen möge' (p. 117).

Mrs Jameson concludes her remarks on Cordelia by comparing her with the Antigone of Sophocles, and this comparison is briefly repeated by Heine. The two qualities of Cordelia named by Heine schweigsame

Zärtlichkeit' and 'Innigkeit' (p. 133) admirably epitomise what is said by the English writer (p. 215).

In coming to a conclusion on the question of Heine's debt to Hazlitt and Mrs Jameson, we may first consider the matter of quotations. It is true that the appearance of the same quotation in two writers cannot be supposed definitely to indicate any direct connection between the two; there are, indeed, quotations which we should almost expect every commentator to give. Possibly no weight should be laid on the quotations in Heine which had already appeared in Hazlitt, save in the case of that from *The Comedy of Errors*. On the other hand, that six identical quotations are to be found in Mrs Jameson and in Heine, when it would have been possible for Heine to borrow only eight in all, certainly seems to point to the German writer's free use of the earlier work. The circumstance of the quotation for Rosalind is in itself a partial corroboration of this conclusion.

From the various correspondences in the treatment of certain characters, varying degrees of dependence on the English writers may be attributed to Heine. It is obvious, nevertheless, that absolute dependence has on occasion been reached—we have only to recall the comparison of Shakespeare's *Weird Sisters* with Middleton's *Witches*, or the treatment of the character of Queen Margaret. This inclines us the more to suspect that the agreement in the matter of quotations is not always or simply fortuitous. And we feel justified in concluding that Heine benefited markedly by the work of Hazlitt and Mrs Jameson.

KENNETH HAYENS.

DUNDEE.

## THE SOURCES OF GRILLPARZER'S 'WEH' DEM, DER LÜGT.'

GRILLPARZER might have found the story of Leo and Attalus in four places, viz., Gregorii Turonensis<sup>1</sup> episcopi *Historiae Francorum libri decem* (Book III, ch. xv); Aimoini<sup>2</sup> monachi Floriacensis *Historiae Francorum libri quatuor* (Book II, ch. xi); *Deutsche Sagen*, herausg. von den Brüdern Grimm, Berlin, 1816-18 (No. 427; later editions, No. 432); Augustin Thierry, *Lettres sur l'Histoire de France* (first published in the *Courrier français*, 1820, No. 8). Of these the last three are merely versions of the first, which Grillparzer undoubtedly used, as is clear from a note made by him in 1823. He selected four incidents from it for possible dramatic treatment: '1823. Gregor von Tours. Sigismund, König der Burgunder.... III, 5.—Die Geschichte des Küchenjungen Leon, der sich in dem Haus als Sklave verkaufen lässt, wo Atalus, der Neffe seines Herrn, des Bischofs von Langers, als Geißel zurückbehalten wurde und die Pferde hüten musste. Wie er sich durch seine Kochkunst die Gnade ihres gemeinschaftlichen Herrn erwirbt und endlich mit Atalus entflieht und ihn glücklich wieder in die Arme seines Oheims zurückbringt. III, 5.—Childebert und Chlotar.... —König Theodebert.... III, 26, 27.' It is noteworthy that all these incidents are contained in Book III.

Another point that suggests that Grillparzer took his subject directly from Gregory of Tours is the location of the opening scenes of *Weh' dem, der lügt* at Dijon, for in the nineteenth chapter of the third book, i.e., a few pages beyond the story of Leo and Attalus, we are told that Gregory, Bishop of Langres, preferred to reside in Dijon, and a description of the town follows<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Georgius Florentius Gregorius (538-594), great-grandson of Gregory, bishop of Langres (d. 539); bishop of Tours from 573. His *Historia Francorum* deals mainly (Books iv-x) with events that happened in his own life-time.

<sup>2</sup> Aimoin (c. 960-c. 1010), a monk of Fleury, whose *Historia Francorum* begins with the earliest times and stops at the year 653.

<sup>3</sup> 'Erat enim tunc et beatus Gregorius apud urbem Lingonicam, magnus dei sacerdos, signis et virtutibus clarus. Sed quia hujus pontificis meminimus, gratum arbitratus sum, ut situm Divionensis, in quo maxime erat assiduus, huic inseram lectioni. Est autem castrum firmissimis muris, in media planitie et satis jucunda, compositum; terras valde fertiles habens atque fecundas, ita ut, arvis semel scissis vomere, semina jaciantur, et magna fructuum opulentia subsequatur....'



Whether Grillparzer used the Latin text of Gregory's *History* or a translation it is difficult at the present moment, when Grillparzer's papers are inaccessible, to decide. Goedeke (*Grundriss*, VIII, p. 436) remarks: 'In Grillparzers Bibliothek befindet sich L'histoire française de S. Gregoire de Tours.... Paris, 1610.' This is suggestive but not decisive, in the absence of evidence as to when the book came into Grillparzer's possession. It must be remembered that Grillparzer read voluminously while employed in the Hofbibliothek in 1813, and his first acquaintance with Gregory may possibly date from that time. At least one edition of the Latin text merits attention in spite of Goedeke's note, viz., Bouquet's *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France* (Vol. II, Paris, 1739). Bouquet's Preface contains a paragraph entitled *Des Mœurs des Francs*, in which the habit of lying is discussed: 'Je remarquerai seulement que Procope ne leur rend pas justice, lorsqu'il les accuse d'être barbares et cruels, quoique Chrétiens, et d'immoler des victimes humaines: il attribue mal-à-propos à la nation des Francs en general ce qui ne convenoit qu'aux Alemans qui étoient sujets du Roi Theodebert, et qui servoient dans son armée. Pour ce qui est du reproche qu'il leur fait d'être infideles et de violer leurs sermens, il leur avoit été fait long-tems auparavant par Vopisque, qui les accuse d'être si accoutumés à violer leur foi, qu'ils sembloient en faire un jeu. Salvien dit qu'ils regardoient le parjure comme une maniere de parler, non pas un crime; qu'ils étoient menteurs, mais civils aux étrangers....' This more favourable account of the Franks is in distinct harmony with Grillparzer's attitude towards them in the play, but it is not to be found in Gregory's story. The view of lying attributed to them above is fairly well borne out by Leon's behaviour in Act I, e.g.<sup>1</sup>:

So 'n Herr, so brav, dass selbst die kleinste Lüge,  
Ein Nothbehelf, ihn aufbringt.... (257 f.)

Hab' ich gelogen, war's zu gutem Zweck. (248)

Wär' ich nur dort, ich lög' ihn schon heraus. (326)

Wenn nicht ein Bisschen Trug uns helfen soll,  
Was hilft denn sonst? (376 f.)

Another paragraph in Bouquet's Preface is headed *Les Francs n'étoient point barbares*, and Grillparzer, differing from Gregory, as will be seen, makes the clearest distinction between 'Frank' on the one hand and 'barbarian' on the other, whereas in the sources the barbarians are Franks, the civilized people Gallo-Romans. Thierry lays particular emphasis on this, whereas Grillparzer is at great pains to bring out the

<sup>1</sup> The quotations are from my own edition of the text, as yet unpublished.

culture of the Franks and invents an unnamed barbarian race as a contrast. In the same place Bouquet gives an account of the Frankish general, Arbogast, whose name is used as a pass-word in *Weh' dem, der lügt*. It occurs, however, in Grimm's *Deutsche Sagen* (1816-18, No. 432), a few pages beyond the story of Leo and Attalus. It seems natural to suppose that, once Grillparzer's interest in the subject had been roused, he would seek additional information from such sources as were accessible to him. To what extent he is indebted to Aimoinus, Grimm, and Thierry remains to be seen.

It appears then that Grillparzer noted the subject of *Weh' dem, der lügt* for dramatic treatment at least as early as 1823, and we find it mentioned in a list of titles of plays prepared between 1824 and 1828. This is presumably the list mentioned by him in the *Selbstbiographie*<sup>1</sup>, and it is printed by Sauer in Vol. XII, p. 211. It consists of thirty-three titles and begins: 'Libussa. Die ersten Habsburger (Kaiser Albrechts Tod). Weh' dem, der lügt! (Küchenjunge Leon). Zwei gute Hornbläser in Böhmen (Der blinde Jaromir). Krösus. Die Weissen und die Schwarzen. Hero und Leander....'

The actual use made by Grillparzer of the incidents recorded by Gregory of Tours in his *Historia Francorum* will appear from the following summary.

The story begins in Book III, ch. xv.

Theudericus<sup>2</sup> and Childebertus<sup>3</sup> made peace and each took an oath that he would not attack the other. They exchanged hostages, many of whom were the sons of senators. They quarrelled again and the hostages on both sides were made slaves in the public service<sup>4</sup>. These details are vaguely utilized in *Weh' dem, der lügt* to provide the historical background, e.g.:

Es gibt wohl and're Wege noch und bess're,  
Sich durchzuhelfen für 'nen Kerl, wie ich.  
Der König braucht Soldaten.... (39-41)

In diesem Haus, dacht' ich, wär' Gottesfrieden,  
Sonst alle Welt in Krieg... (54f.)

Sein Atalus, nach Trier ward gesandt,  
Als Geissel für den Frieden, den man schloss;  
Allwo er jetzt, da neu entbrannt der Krieg,  
Gar hart gehalten wird vom grimmen Feind.... (103-6)

<sup>1</sup> *Werke* (ed. Sauer, 1892), XIX, p. 141: 'Ich hatte mir eine ziemliche Anzahl Stoffe aufgezeichnet, die alle durchdacht und alle, bis auf die Einzelheiten, obgleich nur im Kopfe, dramatisch gegliedert waren. Diese wollte ich nun einen nach dem andern vornehmen, jedes Jahr ein Stück schreiben und dem hypochondrischen Grübeln für immer den Abschied geben.'

<sup>2</sup> Theodoric or Thierry I, eldest son of Clovis and king of Metz (d. 534).

<sup>3</sup> Childebert I, third son of Clovis and king of Paris (d. 558).

<sup>4</sup> 533 A.D.

Als man—es ist jetzt über's Jahr—den Frieden,  
Den langersehnten, schloss mit den Barbaren  
Jenseits des Rheins; da gab und nahm man Geissel,  
Sich wechselseits misstrauend, und mit Recht.... (278–81)

Kaum war er dort, so brach der Krieg von Neuem,  
Durch Treubruch aufgestachelt, wieder los,  
Und beide Theile rächen an den Geisseln,  
Den schuldlos Armen, ihrer Gegner Schuld.... (290–3)

Those in whose charge the hostages were placed made personal slaves of them.

So liegt mein Atalus nun hart gefangen,  
Muss Sklavendienst verrichten seinem Herrn. (294 f.)

Many escaped and returned to their own country. (Not used in the play.) Several were detained, including Attalus, nephew (grandson?) of Gregory, Bishop of Langres. Attalus was made a slave (in the public service) and his duties were to look after horses. His immediate master was a certain barbarian to the south<sup>1</sup> of the territory of Trier.

These three facts appear in the play. See the quotations above, and also:

Bist Du schon wieder müssig, wie Du pflegst?  
Dort geh'n die Pferde weiden.... (740 f.)  
Die Pferde hühth' ich endlich, weil ich muss.... (812)  
Kaum war er angelangt bei seinen Hüttern  
Im Rheingau, über Trier weit hinaus.... (286 f.)

Gregory sent servants to search for Attalus.

*Leon.* Und hat man nichts versucht, ihn zu befrei'n?  
*Hausverwalter.* Gar mancherlei, doch Alles ist umsonst. (109 f.)

They found him and offered his master a ransom, which was rejected, the barbarian insisting on ten pounds of gold in exchange for a young man of such a good family. Grillparzer alters the amount from ten pounds to one hundred:

Ich hab' um Lösung mich verwendet.  
Doch fordern seine Hüter hundert Pfund  
An guter Münze fränkischen Gepräges.... (296–8)

When the messengers returned, Leo, a kitchen-servant, asked permission to make an attempt to set Attalus free. Gregory gladly gave his consent. Leo's interview with Gregory is the substance of Grillparzer's Act I.

Leo went straight to the place and tried to rescue Attalus secretly but failed. (Not used in the play.) He then arranged with a stranger that the latter should sell him to the barbarian as a slave, the reward

<sup>1</sup> *Infra Treverici termini territorium....* Thierry translates 'qui habitait le voisinage de rêves'; Grimm 'im Trierischen Gebiet.'



being the price paid for Leo. The bargain was made and Leo was sold for twelve pieces of gold. Grillparzer expands this incident into two scenes (end of Act I; beginning of Act II). The price is altered to thirty 'pounds.'

Being asked what he could do, Leo replied that he was a first-class cook, unrivalled in his profession, and able to prepare a banquet fit for a king. 'Er ist ein Koch, berühmt in seinem Fach.' (479.) The barbarian then said that he intended to invite his neighbours and relations to a banquet on the following Sunday and ordered him to prepare a feast such as could not be surpassed even in the king's palace. In *Weh' dem, der lügt* this banquet is combined with a second (see below), and appears as the feast arranged for Edrita's wedding—providing the opportunity for the escape:

und grade jetzt,  
An meiner Tochter Hochzeittag; da zeige,  
Was Du vermagst. An Leuten soll's nicht fehlen,  
Die vollauf würdigen, was Du bereitet. (504-7)

Leo demanded a plentiful supply of fowls. There is a faint allusion to this in the following lines:

Blut auch bei mir, von Hühnern, Tauben, Enten.... (840)  
So thun wir ihm, wie Er den Hühnern thut,  
Und schlachten ihn 'mal ab.... (869 f.)

The feast was a great success, and the guests departed, full of praise; at the end of a year Leo had completely won the confidence of his master.

One day Attalus and Leo went out together into a field near the house, and lying down some distance apart, they began to converse, turning their backs on each other to avoid suspicion. This incident is reproduced in Act II.

Leo said: 'It is now time to think of home. To-night, when you bring up the horses, do not fall asleep, but come when I call you, and let us go.'

Noch einmal, Atalus, bleibt still und hört.  
Eu'r Oheim sendet mich, Euch zu erretten. (774 f.)

The barbarian had invited many of his relations to a feast that night. (Grillparzer reduces the two banquets to one.) Among the guests was the husband of his daughter. Gregory, in the *History*, simply mentions the daughter and adds a little about the son-in-law, but the characters of Edrita and Galomir, her prospective husband, are entirely new to the story.

At midnight, when the guests retired, Leo followed the son-in-law into his room with a draught of liquor. The man said to Leo in jest,

'Tell me, if you can, O trusty butler of my father-in-law, when you intend to take his horses and return to your own country.' Leo, likewise in jest, answered truthfully, 'To-night, if it be God's will.' Whereupon the other said, 'May my servants guard me well, lest you take away any of my property!' They parted laughing.

The whole plot of *Weh' dem, der lügt* turns on this conversation, the point being that truthfulness here has the usual effect of a lie, i.e., it deceives. Bishop Gregor in the play lays down from the beginning the condition that no lies must be told in effecting the rescue of Atalus, and the interest of the plot centres in the maintenance by Leon of this attitude of truthfulness.

*Edrita.* Du willst entflieh'n.  
*Leon.* Ich hab' es nie verhehlt. (1117 f.)

When all were asleep, Leo called Attalus, and they saddled the horses. Leo asked Attalus if he had a sword. The latter replied that he had only a short spear. ('Hätt' ich ein Schwert, der Schlüssel wäre mein,' 948.) Thereupon Leo entered the house and took his master's shield and sword. The barbarian inquired who it was and what he wanted, and Leo replied, 'I am Leo, your servant, and I am waking Attalus, so that he may rise at once and take the horses to pasture, for he is fast asleep, like a drunken man.' 'Do as you will,' said his master and with these words he fell asleep again. Leo then went out again and gave Attalus the weapons.

Grillparzer develops the scene in Kattwald's bed-chamber (Act III) out of this incident, though he changes the motive of Leon's entry. In the play it is a question of obtaining the key of the courtyard, not of providing Atalus with weapons.

They found the yard-gate, which had been nailed up the previous evening to secure the horses, now opened by divine intervention. For this miracle Grillparzer substitutes the action of Edrita, who obtains the key and places it in the lock, so that it catches Leon's eye.

Giving thanks to God, they departed, taking with them the horses that remained, and a wrap (*volucrum*) containing clothes. When they reached the Moselle they were prevented from crossing by certain persons. In the play the attitude of the ferryman is hostile at first.

Am Ufer dann des Flusses wohnt der Fährmann,  
 Verschuldet meinem Vater und verpflichtet.... (1177 f.)

Leaving their horses and the clothes behind, they swam the river on their shields. They then entered a wood under cover of darkness, and lay hidden there. The first scene of Act IV, the pursuit, is laid in a forest.



The third night had now come without their having taken food. Grillparzer's Atalus complains of hunger:

Was nützt es uns, dass wir im Freien sind,  
Wenn wir vor Mangel grausamlich verschmachten? (1242 f.)

God showed them a plum-tree, laden with fruit, of which they partook. Grillparzer dispenses with this miracle, though Leon is made to rely on divine aid throughout:

Vertraut auf Gott, der uns so weit geführt,  
Er wird die Hungernden mit Nahrung trösten,... (1247 f.)

Refreshed for the time, they entered the region of Champagne. Hearing the noise of hoofs rapidly approaching, they threw themselves down behind a blackberry-bush, with swords drawn, so as to defend themselves if necessary. In Act IV Galomir's approach is announced by the sound of a horn, whereupon the fugitives conceal themselves as above:

Dort rückwärts ist, ich weiss es, ein Versteck,  
Wo dichte Sträucher sich zum Schirmdach wölben.... (1345 f.)

The horsemen stopped in front of the bush and one said, 'Alas, that these wretches have escaped and cannot be caught. I swear that if they are found, I will hang the one and have the other cut to pieces with the sword.' The speaker was the barbarian, their late master. This is vaguely reflected in Kattwald's outburst: 'Die Hand, den Arm in ihrem Blute baden' (1557). He was coming from Rheims, looking for them, and would have found them had not darkness come on. Then, putting spurs to their horses, the pursuers departed. The fugitives reached Rheims the same night. In *Weh' dem, der lügt* Leon and his companion reach Metz by night.

They entered the city and inquired the way to the house of a priest, Paulellus. As they went down the street, they heard the bell ringing for matins, for it was Sunday. They knocked at the priest's door and entered, and Attalus told him of the barbarian. The priest replied, 'Then my dream has come true, for this night I saw two doves fly up and settle on my hand. One was white, the other black'. Attalus then said to the priest, 'With all due respect for the Lord's day we must ask for food, for this is now the fourth day that we have eaten neither bread nor meat.' The priest hid them, gave them bread soaked in wine,

<sup>1</sup> Guizot, *Collection des Mémoires relatifs à l'Histoire de France*, 1823, I, pp. 129-134, suggests quite reasonably that Leo must have been a negro. To avoid this conclusion, we must assume that the white dove represents the fugitives, the black dove the pursuers. This assumption is not wholly satisfactory as the character of the barbarians would hardly admit of comparison with a dove of any colour. Guizot is satisfied that black slaves were introduced into Gaul by the Romans.



and went away to matins. The barbarian followed, still searching for his servants, but, being deceived by the priest, went away again; for the priest and Gregory were old friends.

This final escape of Leo and Attalus is worked up by Grillparzer into the critical situation at the beginning of Act v, where Galomir's followers discover the fugitives.

Leo and Attalus remained two days in the priest's house, ate heartily and recovered their strength, and then returned safely to Gregory. The bishop rejoiced to see them and embraced Attalus, his nephew (grand-son?), with tears:

Mein Atalus—mein Sohn!—Gott, deine Gnade!  
(Sie halten sich umarmt.) (1692)

He released Leo from servitude with all his family and gave him a piece of land, on which he lived, a free man, with his wife and family all the days of his life. In the play Gregor takes Leon into his family and hints at obtaining some favour from the king.

The broad features of Grillparzer's treatment of the story now stand out. The chief characters, Leo, Attalus, Gregory, and the barbarian, are made to live, and their personality is clearly defined. The brief conversation between Leo and the son-in-law becomes the mainspring of the plot. The two attempts to release Attalus are compressed into one. Leo's year of service with the barbarian becomes a single day. The two banquets are reduced to one, and a new motive, Edrita's wedding, is supplied. The barbarian, it is true, has a daughter, but we may regard the character of Edrita as a new creation. The same applies to Galomir, who bears no resemblance to the barbarian's son-in-law. The two miracles in the middle of the story are suppressed, but another is invented, viz., the deliverance of the fugitives before the gates of Metz. Metz takes the place of Rheims. Leon does not enter Kattwald's room to steal his sword and shield; he seeks the key of the yard-gate. Both this scene and the sale of Leo to the barbarian are developed at length in the play. The whole of the Paulellus episode is omitted and the route of the fugitives is changed. The barbarians (Franks) in the *History* remain barbarians (unspecified) in the play, but the Gallo-Romans, Gregory, Leo, and Attalus, re-appear as Franks. Gallo-Roman culture is abandoned in favour of an imaginary Germanic civilization.

The account given by Aimoinus is apparently a summary of Gregory's story. He omits to mention the escape of many of the hostages; Leo's attempt to free Attalus secretly; the second feast which the barbarian gives to his relatives; the miracle of the open gate and the conversation

with the priest Paulellus. He substitutes the Meuse for the Moselle. Grillparzer makes partial use of the feast and of the miracle; but he omits the other incidents also omitted by Aimoinus. The river remains unnamed in the play, but all indications point to the Rhine. Only in one place could it reasonably be suggested that Grillparzer followed Aimoinus instead of Gregory, viz., in Act I, where the Bishop explains the position of Atalus to Leon:

Kaum war er dort, so brach der Krieg von Neuem,  
Durch Treubruch aufgestachelt, wieder los.... (290 f.)

Gregory of Tours has '...orto iterum inter reges scandalo...'; Aimoinus, '...Sed quorundam nefandorum molitionibus hominum, qui assiduis gaudent mutationibus rerum, iterum pactae pacis violata sunt iura....' This is perhaps the merest coincidence, as there is, otherwise, no good ground for believing that he used Aimoinus, who adds nothing to Gregory's account, while omitting a great deal.

The Grimms in their version, *Sage von Attalus dem Pferdeknecht und Leo dem Küchenjungen*, refer the reader both to Gregory and Aimoinus, but they clearly ignored the latter. The *Sage*, with the exception of the first sentence, which condenses the introduction, omitting, however, any mention of hostages escaping, is a literal translation of Gregory.

It is noteworthy that the word *barbarus* is everywhere translated by 'Franke,' whereas Grillparzer distinguishes very carefully between the Franks (Leon, Atalus, Gregor) and the barbarians (Kattwald, Galomir). Grimm appears to have read *volucrem* for *volucrum* in the story of the escape, and translates, 'auch einen Falken nahmen sie, nebst den Decken.' Needless to say, this bird plays no further part in the story.

In short, *Weh' dem, der lügt* owes nothing to Grimm as far as the plot is concerned. There is a slight indication that Grillparzer at least read the *Sage* (No. 427), as a few pages further on we find *Chlotars Sieg über die Sachsen* (No. 430), followed almost immediately by *Sanct Arbogast* (No. 432). Both these names were used for quite trivial purposes in the play, viz.: 'Kattwald: Der Neffe —. Leon: Neffe? Kattwald: Von des Königs Kämm'rer, Klotar' (552 f.); and 'Edrita: Das Wort heisst: "Arbogast"' (1176). As previously noted, Arbogast is mentioned in Bouquet's Preface, and Grillparzer had already tentatively recorded the conspiracy of Childebert and Chlotar to murder the children of their brother Chlodomir as a promising subject for a drama (see above).

The eighth of Thierry's *Lettres sur l'Histoire de France* is a picturesque

paraphrase of Gregory of Tours. Practically every point in the original narrative is elaborated<sup>1</sup> and no effort is spared to glorify the Gallo-Romans and to disparage the Franks. At the end he gives a long account of the ceremonies attending Leo's emancipation, which are not described in the original.

Thierry agrees with Aimoinus in writing 'Meuse' for 'Moselle' and he omits the miracle of the opened gate. The reference to divine aid is also omitted, and the discovery of the plum-tree is made to appear accidental. The only grounds for supposing that Grillparzer consulted Thierry are the omission of the miraculous and the location of the last scene at Metz, for Thierry mentions both Trèves and Metz at the beginning of his story. Grillparzer differs completely from the French account in his description of the Franks. He ignores the Gallo-Romans and his selection of Metz for the last scene instead of Rheims is consistent with this attitude. Minor<sup>2</sup> says that Grillparzer is indebted to Thierry's *Récits des Temps Mérovingiens* for many features of his description of the people and the times. On the contrary, there appears to be nothing in *Weh' dem, der lügt* that can, with any certainty, be referred to the *Récits*. Far more striking are the details of feasts, weapons, etc., which Grillparzer might have taken from Thierry, but did not. Altogether, Grillparzer appears to be completely indifferent to historical or geographical accuracy in this play.

The result of this discussion of the possible sources is easily stated. Grillparzer took his material either from the Latin original of Gregory of Tours, perhaps in Bouquet's edition of 1739, or from the French translation in his own possession. He owes nothing to Aimoinus. He may have noticed the names, Chlotar and Arbogast, while turning over the pages of Grimm, and he may have followed Thierry's example in omitting the miracle of the opened door, although the dramatist might have been expected to omit this incident without seeking justification in any of his sources. Possibly the juxtaposition of Trèves and Metz in Thierry's story gave Grillparzer the hint—in view of the geographical difficulties of Gregory's narrative—for the location of the final scene at Metz.

In one respect, Grillparzer differs from all his possible sources, i.e., he makes the heroes of the play Franks, not Gallo-Romans, and he imagines a new, unspecified tribe of barbarians to inhabit the Rheingau. Gregory

<sup>1</sup> For example, 'inlusus a presbytero' is rendered 'il eut beau questionner; malgré la sévérité des lois portées contre les récepteurs d'esclaves, le prêtre fut imperturbable.'

<sup>2</sup> Grillparzer als Lustspieldichter, in Grillparzer-Jahrbuch, III, 1893, p. 46.



of Tours, writing in the sixth century, did not find it necessary to fix the nationality of the characters in his story. Himself a Gallo-Roman, he would naturally regard the conquering Franks as barbarians and so he refers to the master of Attalus as 'barbarus.' Aimoinus follows suit. Grimm translates 'barbarus' everywhere by 'Franke,' thus implying that Gregory, Attalus, and Leo were Gallo-Romans. Thierry goes much farther, declaring explicitly that this was the case and emphasizing at every opportunity the superior civilization of the Gallo-Romans and the cruelty and barbarism of the Franks. Grillparzer could not obviously tolerate this attitude. To the Franks, therefore, are ascribed all the virtues of the Gallo-Romans, and a new race is introduced to inherit the vices of the original Franks. It has been conjectured above that Grillparzer found support for his prejudices in Bouquet's introduction to Gregory of Tours.

The following minor sources may be noted:

Gregory's *History*, Book III, chap. xix, suggested the location of Act I at Dijon, see above.

In *Weh' dem, der lügt* Leon reproaches Gregor with an excess of self-denial and even with miserliness. Some historical ground for this reproach is to be found in the following extracts from Gregory of Tours: *De S. Gregorio episcopo Lingonensi* (in *Acta Sanctorum*): 'Post mortem autem uxoris, ad Deum convertitur, et electus a Clero et populo, Lingonicae urbi ordinatur Episcopus. Cui magna fuit abstinencia: sed ne iactantia putaretur occulte sub triticeis panibus, alios tenues ex hordeo supponebat, triticeum frangens aliis erogabat, ipse vero clam hordaceum, nemine intelligente, praesumans: similiter et de vino faciens, cum aquam ei pincerna porrigeret, ad dissimulandum desuper vinum fundi iubebat, tale vitrum eligens, quod claritatem aquae obtegeret.... Iam in ieiuniis, eleemosynis, orationibus, atque vigiliis, tam efficax, tamque devotus erat, ut in medio mundi positus, novus effulgeret eremita....'

In Act IV of the play Edrita deceives and betrays Galomir as Delilah betrays Samson, though with different motives. In support of this comparison it is to be noted that Grillparzer actually began to write a play entitled *Samson*. It is not included in the list quoted above as the idea does not appear to have been suggested to him until the beginning of 1829, when he attended a performance of Händel's oratorio. Sauer prints the fragment in Vol. XII, pp. 117-122, together with the following extracts from Grillparzer's Diary: '27. Februar 1829: Abends im Theater. Samson von Händel. Die Freude über das herrliche

Werk hat ein bedeutendes Kopfweh zurückgelassen... 28. Februar. Des Morgens, durch die gestrige Aufführung des Händelschen Oratoriums angeregt, den Samson als tragischen Stoff zu betrachten versucht. Keinen Brennpunkt gewonnen, die Händelschen Chöre könnten dem Dinge eingewebt werden.'

Support for a comparison between Leon and Petruchio may be found in the fact that Grillparzer began a translation of *The Taming of the Shrew* in 1821, printed by Sauer in Vol. XIII, pp. 57 ff. The noisy self-confidence of Leon in Act I is not unlike the general demeanour of Petruchio, and his flippant tone at his first meeting with Edrita is faintly reminiscent of Petruchio's brutal wooing.

For one feature of *Weh' dem, der lügt*, Gregory's simple narrative provides no foundation, viz., the love of Leon and Edrita. The character of the former is indicated in outline only by Gregory, and Edrita does not appear at all. Here the imagination of the poet had free play, although he would appear to have written with lively recollections of the Spanish Comedy. The influence of Lope de Vega on Grillparzer is a subject which has been so fully investigated by Farinelli<sup>1</sup> that it would be presumptuous in one ignorant of Spanish to criticize. The following summary represents Farinelli's views in so far as they affect *Weh' dem, der lügt*.

The circumstances under which Grillparzer commenced the study of Spanish are related in the *Selbstbiographie*, the first result being the publication in the *Wiener Modezeitung* (5 June 1816) of a translation of part of the first Act of Calderón's *La Vida es sueño*. The first point of contact between *Weh' dem, der lügt* and the Spanish Comedy is the title, a maxim or proverb, which the play proceeds to illustrate. This method of procedure is common in Spanish dramatic literature, but whereas Grillparzer holds faithfully to his text to the end, the Spanish writers are much more inclined to digress from the main theme.

The Spanish rogue-tales, e.g., *Vida y Hechos de Estevanillo González*, offer many tempting comparisons with the character of Leon, but it would be idle to attribute to Spanish sources incidents or motives which already exist in Gregory of Tours. Leon certainly has many characteristics of the Spanish *gracioso*, the same independence, the same high spirits, the same ready tongue; but he has a serious side, for which Grillparzer required no model but himself. Leon has a far more complicated personality than the *gracioso*, who is usually no more than an irresponsible caricature of his master.

<sup>1</sup> Arturo Farinelli, *Grillparzer und Lope de Vega*, Berlin, 1894.

Five of Lope de Vega's comedies, apparently, suggest themselves as direct sources of portions of Grillparzer's comedy. In *El Gran Duque de Moscovia*, Demetrio, like Leon, enters the service of the Conde Palatino as kitchen-boy and eventually marries the Count's daughter. The savages in *Los Guanches de Tenerife*, Giroto and Mileno in *Las Batuecas del Duque de Alba*, the Indians in *El Nuevo Mundo descubierto por Cristóval Colón* act, like Galomir in *Weh' dem, der lügt*, solely in accordance with animal instincts. In *El Despertar á quien duerme* Anselmo's daughter Estela may well have suggested Edrita. Her lover, Rugero, at first a passive, sleepy nature, like Atalus, is kept a prisoner by her father. The latter, like Kattwald, praises the good qualities of the young man and thus imprudently excites his daughter's interest. Like Edrita, Estela helps her lover to escape. The first attempt fails and the Count threatens to poison Rugero<sup>1</sup>. A second attempt is successful; Estela puts on male attire and brings Rugero, still in chains, to the shelter of a forest.

Such is the evidence that Farinelli supplies in his investigation of Spanish influence on Grillparzer and it would appear reasonable to conclude that our author is indebted in a general way to Lope de Vega for the idea of allowing Leon to fall in love with Edrita, for certain sides, but not all, of the personality of Leon and of Edrita, for a suggestion of the character of Atalus, of Kattwald, and of Galomir, and for the part played by Edrita in the actual escape.

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<sup>1</sup> Conversely, in *Weh' dem, der lügt* Leon threatens to poison Kattwald: 'Doch werf' ich Gift in alle Eure Brühen' (1183).



## MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

'BEOWULF' LL. 1604-5, 2085-91.

(a) Since Kemble, it has been usual among editors to render *wiston* and *ne wendon* 'they wished and did not expect,' the disappearance of the *c* in the former word being illustrated by forms like *gehnistun* < *gehniscetun*. Further, it has been pointed out that *wyscað* and *wenað* occurs as a formula in *Guthlac*, l. 47 (Klaeber, *Modern Philology* III, 458). But there is the distinction in the *Beowulf* phrase that the second verb is accompanied by a negative, and we should expect 'but' rather than 'and.'

In his edition of 1898, Wyatt assumed a 'blending of two constructions; *wiston*, "knew," would require *ne gesāwon*; *ne wendon*, "did not expect," requires *gesāwon* only; the latter construction prevails.' Otherwise, '*ne* has dropped out after the *-ne* of *selfne*; in that case the meaning would be: "they knew, and did not merely expect, that they should not see their lord himself again."' This was a little too definite in view of the highly artificial character of the formula. Perhaps, a better rendering would be, 'They were as certain as they could be.' That the phrase is a genuine one is proved by its descendants, *To wite and nouzt to wene* (*Horn Childe* 432, *Tristrem* 1207, 1401, 1952), *Ywis and nouzt at wene* (*Tristrem* 17), and *Wel ich wot and nouzt ne wene* (*Beues* 3374). For this and other survivals of OE. formulae in Middle English cf. the unpublished thesis on *The Alliterative Diction of Early Middle English Poetry* by Beatrice Allen (University of London).

(b) Ever since the appearance of Ten Brink's *Beowulf-Untersuchungen*, editors have been obsessed by the idea that *glof* must be rendered by some equivalent for his 'sack.' Thus, Harrison and Sharp (1895) rendered 'glove,' Holthausen (1906) 'Tasche,' Sedgfield (1913) 'pouch, bag,' Heyne-Schücking (1913) 'Handschuh (hier Tasche, Sack),' Chambers (1914) 'glove; pouch, bag.' In consequence, the expression *he mec þær on innan...gedon wolde* has been rendered by varying equivalents for 'he wished to put me in there'; cf. *wollte mich da hineintun* (Heyne-Schücking), *tun, stecken* (Holthausen), and the glossary to Harrison and Sharp's edition. It is curious that this mythical sack should have survived so long, side by side with the other notion that

Grendel was a pouched animal or marsupial. It seems clear that *glof* means nothing more than the monster's hand, the hard texture of which reminded the poet of devil's craft and dragon skins: it hung pendent as Grendel advanced; cf. the detailed description in ll. 984-90.

The rest of the passage may be rendered, 'The bold monster wished to make me one of many in that hall, innocent though I was,' i.e. to slay him. For the force of *þær on innan* cf. l. 2244, and l. 2186 for a parallel use of *gedon*.

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#### NOTES ON 'CLEANNESS.'

The appearance in the *Yale University Press Series* of a fully edited text of this poem has suggested the following notes. Mr Menner's is the first adequate edition to make an appearance and will, no doubt, be the forerunner of others. Despite the general excellence of Mr Menner's work, it is inevitable that there should be difference of opinion upon particular points, a number of which are discussed below.

As regards punctuation, the Yale edition makes a considerable advance on that of Morris. Thus, ll. 236 and 237 are correctly associated to the great advantage of the sense, while l. 178 is improved by the pause after *se*. In l. 16, however, Menner reads *lope God and his gere*, although *bo* and *lo* are said to be indistinguishable in the MS. (Introduction, x). But the emphatic *hemself* (15) suggests a contrast, which is best brought out by dropping the comma after *altogeder* (15) and reading *bope* (16). 'Then are they sinful themselves, and both God and his vessels [are] altogether defiled.' Cf. l. 11 for the priests' contact with the Lord's body. A comma after *font* (164) would improve the sense by relating the closing phrase to *laped* (163): similarly, a comma should be inserted after *schene* (170): 'What are thy garments in which thou wrappest thyself, that shall appear so bright, garments of the best?' In l. 470 *blessed* is hardly an adjective, as the glossary indicates, but a verb, as in l. 528: *pyzt-to* (785) is a compound participle in an absolute construction and needs a preceding comma: ll. 1225-8 should run on continuously, *that* being understood before *nas*.

As regards interpretation, the MS. *plate* might be retained in l. 72 in the sense of 'plat, plot': l. 76 means naturally 'Their ill-will is more apparent than any well-bred intention': *smal* (226) refers to the fine meshes of the sieve. Menner's interpretation of l. 230 marks an advance and is undoubtedly correct: *wyȝ* clearly refers to God, the whole passage being related to the doctrine of l. 215. It would be interesting if *corbyal*

(456) could be proved to contain the F.-*aille* suffix, used contemptuously—a partial parallel occurs in the *poraille* of *Richard the Redeless*: *jumpred* (491) and *cagged* (1254) may, perhaps, be associated with the obsolete *jump*, hazard, risk, and *cag*, to insult; cf. N.E.D.

l. 145. *ungoderly* is a possible example of a Norse -*r* type adopted into English. It would bear the same relation to ON. *góðr*, as *hagherly* (18) to ON. *hagr*, *wyterly* (1567) to ON. *vit*, and *wylger* (375) to ON. *viljugr*. The sense of l. 375 would then be 'Water waxed ever ready to destroy the dwellings.'

ll. 433-4. Emerson was the first to suggest that *joyst* in this passage is the past participle of ME. *joissen*. *rozly* has been interpreted as 'glad' (Skeat), 'rough' (Gollancz), while Morris conjectured 'sorrowful': it is probably identical with *rwly* (390) from OE. *hrēowlice*, cf. the variant spellings *doupe* (270) from OE. *dugub* and *drozpe* (524) from OE. *drūgaþ*, and the rhymes in *Pearl*—*rescoghe*, *inoghe* (610-2), *alow*, *innoghe* (634-6). The passage might then be rendered: 'It was pitiful for the ark that the storm drives and within which the species were so happily lodged.' In this case, *remnaunt* refers, at one and the same time, to the vessel and to its inmates.

l. 473. Despite Menner's assertion that the apposition of *bodworde* and *blysse* is impossible here, we have the parallel *gryndel-layk*, *greme*, and *grete wordes* in *Sir Gawayne* (312), and the line clearly means 'Bring a message to the boat, bliss to us all.'

l. 527. I am confident that the correct text of this line is

Bot ever renne restleȝ rengneȝ þerinne,

referring to the fixed courses of night and day; cf. Chaucer's *Fortune*, 'Thou born art in my regne of variance.' The sentiment is inherited from Anglo-Saxon poetry, cf. *Beowulf*, l. 1135.

l. 553. This is a *crux* which still defies editors. Possibly, *þat* = that which, as in l. 580, while *me* simply records the interest of the writer in the event, as in *Patience*, l. 72 (cf. Gollancz, *Modern Language Review*, April, 1919), 'For that which shall appear in those bright houses must needs be pure as the burnished beryl.'

l. 577. *he* is pleonastic, and *þat* a relative pronoun referring to *saueour*.

l. 655. There seems to be no good reason for changing the MS. *tonne* to *teme*, but the passage is improved by including *Sare þe madde* within the inverted commas: 'She said to herself, "Sarah the mad, canst thou believe for wantonness that thou mayest conceive, while I am so advanced



in age and also my lord?"' The change of subject is not unnatural, nor the use of the proper name in addressing oneself.

l. 751. 'afflicted, punished' as a rendering of *þrad* hardly gives sense. *þrad* may be related to OE. *þrægan*, 'to proceed in a course,' just as *breed* (*Patience* 143) to OE. *brēgan*. The sense has weakened to 'to be, exist,' cf. the parallel development of OE. *hweorfan*.

l. 1141. The best sense is secured by rendering *loses* 'praises' and *wyth þewes* 'in respect of its qualities.' *wyth* is hardly the agential preposition but is used idiomatically as in l. 305.

l. 1155. *fader* is singular and *forloyne* an example of the dropping of final *-d*, as in l. 1165. For further examples cf. Miss Day's article in *Modern Language Review*, xiv, p. 413.

ll. 1231-2. Retaining the MS. *colde*, the passage obviously means: 'For if the Father had still been his friend and Zedekiah had not sinned against him, neither Chaldea nor India, nor even Turkey would have had the energy to attack him,—their indignation would have been too slight.'

l. 1502. Reading *amynde*, the closing phrase means 'to settle on reparation.' Caxton uses the singular form, likewise.

l. 1566. *make* is probably subjunctive; otherwise, read *makes*.

l. 1683. *ay* (1684) is probably a mere variant of *fogge*, and means 'hay.' 'By that time many thick thighs crowded about his flesh' renders l. 1687 satisfactorily. Nebuchadnezzar possessed many (i.e. four) thick thighs because he had degenerated into what the poet describes alternatively as a 'horse' or a 'cow.'

P. G. THOMAS.

LONDON.

#### THE AUTHORSHIP OF 'ANCREN RIWLE.'

As the reviewer of Miss Hope Allen's thesis in the *M.L.R.* (vol. xv, p. 99) I may perhaps be permitted to supplement her defence on one or two points of ecclesiastical history. It is only by a full discussion of these facts that we can come to a more probable conclusion either way.

Father McNabb writes (*M.L.R.* vol. xi, p. 2), 'St Augustine's Rule was almost unique in allowing the use of the bath.' But it is there allowed only in sickness (ch. ix) *cum infirmitatis necessitas cogit*, and (in the next sentence following Father McNabb's quotation) *de consilio medici*. My French translation of 1692 has 'quand l'infirmité en rend l'usage nécessaire...par l'avis du Médecin.' This is no more liberal than the Benedictine Rule (ch. 36): 'Balneorum usus infirmis quoties expedit

offeratur; sanis autem, et maxime juvenibus, tardius offeratur.' The Rule of Caesarius of Arles, again, follows St Augustine's very closely here. The fact that *A.R.* allows bathing 'as often as ye please' is, in itself, a very strong argument against these recluses belonging to any existing Order—or, in other words, in favour of Miss Allen's interpretation of 'St James's Order.'

The fact that *A.R.* constantly quotes from other Rules does not tell against this: the Benedictine Rule is full of citations from its predecessors, often in so many words. Father McNabb evidently fails to realize how frequent is the phenomenon in monastic history of a small group of recluses growing finally into a complete convent of some recognized Order; I have for some years been collecting isolated instances of this kind. His demand that Miss Allen should be able to specify the moment at which Kilburn became Augustinian is, therefore, unhistorical.

He writes (XI, 3): 'The writer insists that the Rule shall not bind under vow or sin (pp. 7-9, 413). Now St Dominic had probably been the pioneer in this movement amongst the religious orders.' He offers no evidence for this statement; and he has evidently not read St Bernard's *De Praecepto et Dispensatione*, written two generations before St Dominic's Rule, which treats the whole subject in the sense of *A.R.* It may be noted, by the way, that *A.R.*, on the first page here quoted by Father McNabb, commits itself to a distinctly anti-Dominican and anti-Franciscan rule, that of *stabilitas loci*.

Again (p. 3): 'The rule [*A.R.*] is divided into Distinctions (p. 13),' and so also (he points out) were the Dominican Constitutions of 1228. But so also is Gratian's *Decretum*, written about 1140; so are several of the works of Walter Map and Giraldus Cambrensis at the end of the century, to go no further. These Dominicans of 1228 simply adopted a classification which had become fashionable before any one of them was born.

Again (p. 4): 'The phrase "make your venia," i.e. prostrate yourself on the ground, is a technical phrase still daily used by Dominicans.' And by other Religious nearly two centuries before St Dominic was born. It occurs in the life of St Udalric of Augsburg, who died in 972 (Mabillon, *AA.SS.O.S.B. saec. v* (1685), p. 427); Peter the Venerable, about 1130, speaks of it as a regular Cluniac custom; and it is of constant occurrence in the *Revelation to the Monk of Eynsham*. Ducange gives a long list of early references.

Nor is it possible to take more seriously the reasons urged in *M.L.R.* vol. xv, p. 408. Miss Allen has dealt with the attempt to cite Father



Thurston as a witness; let me therefore take the paragraph which seems most imposing of all: 'Another identification which makes it impossible to assign *A.R.* to an earlier date than c. 1230 is the frequent use of the "Ave Maria" as a prayer.' No evidence, as usual, is offered by Father McNabb for the choice of this date; and it will not bear serious examination. Heriman, Abbot of St-Martin-de-Tournai, wrote his Chronicle about 1130 A.D. In § 57 he relates an event which he refers to a far earlier date, towards the end of the eleventh century, and which was related to him 'in pueritia mea'. Two Belgian Saints, Waletrude and Aldegonde, were seen by an anchorite falling at the feet of the B. V. M. in heaven and crying for vengeance against Thierry of Avesnes, who had burned two nunneries dedicated to them. 'The Virgin replied "Peace, I pray, and trouble me not; for I will not grieve this man at present, since his wife the lady Ada<sup>2</sup> doth a certain service unto me whereby she maketh me so much her friend that I cannot do any hurt either to her or to her husband." And, when the two Saints asked what that service might be, she replied: "She repeateth to me, sixty times a day, that angelic salutation which was the beginning of my joys on earth; twenty times prostrate, twenty times kneeling, twenty times standing in the church or in her chamber, or in some secret place, she saith in memory of me *Ave Maria gratia plena; Dominus tecum; benedicta tu in mulieribus, et benedictus fructus ventris tui.*"'

Nor is this an isolated instance. Herzog's *Realencyclopädie* quotes also, s.v. *Ave Maria*, from S. Pietro Damiani, who died in 1072. Musafia has shown that the two collections of Mary-Legends which Pez printed under the name of Botho belong also to the last quarter of the eleventh century; and these contain more than one reference to the habitual use of the *Ave* as a prayer<sup>3</sup>. A whole catena of early examples is given by S. Beissel, S.J., in his *Verehrung Marias in Deutschland w. d. Mittelalters* (1909), pp. 105, 231 ff. The twelfth-century legend of St Ildefons of Toledo, who died in 667, 'beweist, dass zur Zeit ihrer Abfassung das häufige Beten des *Ave Maria* nicht selten war' (*ibid.*, p. 233).

These facts may suggest that Father McNabb is often most mistaken where he is most dogmatic, and that, when he and Father Dalgairns write of *certainity* on the one hand, *impossibility* on the other, they are pressing those words into a sense which patient research cannot approve.

<sup>1</sup> Dachery, *Spicilegium*, vol. II (1723), p. 905 a. The Count Baldwin who comes into this tale was married in 1085, as Siegbert of Gembloux tells us.

<sup>2</sup> In a later passage she is called Ida.

<sup>3</sup> B. Pez, *Vita Agnetis Blannbekin &c.*, Vienna, 1731, miracles no. XI and XII. The first is of a thieving peasant, whom the B. V. M. saved because he prayed the *Ave* so frequently.



And I must comment also upon Father McNabb's attempt to enlist the late G. C. Macaulay on his side. Mr Macaulay came to consult me about Father McNabb's prefatory letter of March 18, 1915, in which he sketched the outlines of his theory; and we agreed that, though there was no evidence of the 'certainty' there claimed, the suggestion was interesting enough to lay before the public. We met fairly frequently in those days: once or twice he recurred to the subject, but with no hint of change in his benevolent scepticism; he frankly confessed himself untrained to follow the historical arguments. If he had lived to read Miss Allen's article, my own conviction is that he would, at least, have applauded it as the best working theory yet presented.

G. G. COULTON.

CAMBRIDGE.

'THE OWL AND THE NIGHTINGALE.'

It will be best to start with a passage which I feel sure has been misinterpreted; since this, if I am right, may decide the vexed question of the poet's didactic purpose. The Nightingale is reviling the Owl for being such a doleful prophet and counsellor; and he proceeds (l. 1169):

Dahet euer suich budel in tune  
 pat euer bodeþ un-wreste rune,  
 an euer bringeþ yuele tipinge,  
 an þat euer speeþ of vuele þinge!  
 God Almiȝti wrþe him wroþ,  
 an al þat werieþ linnene cloþ.

What is the point of this *linen cloth*? Gadow gives us no note here; Wells tells us in two words that the reference is to 'the clergy.' But the usual meaning of *linen cloth* in medieval English, as in French, is that of *underclothing*<sup>1</sup>. In default of evidence to the contrary—and I think none such has yet been offered—this specification of linen cloth cannot be referred to the outer garments of the clergy (who appeared in linen only for a few hours in the day) in preference to the large class who were

<sup>1</sup> See *N.E.D.* s.v. *linen* and Godefroy s.v. *linge*, who, after citing many instances, adds 'on remarquera que dans plusieurs des exemples cités, *drap linge* et *robe linge* désignent la chemise.' It is possible that Wells's interpretation is based upon what may look at first sight like a parallel passage (*Havelok*, l. 429), where the author invokes upon the villain the malison 'of patriark and of pope, and of priest with locken cope.' But this *locken cope* was not a linen vestment; it was the *cappa clausa* which Canon Law commanded the priest to wear on all but the most private occasions, and which answered in certain ways to the modern cassock. See e.g. Lyndwood, *Provinciale*, lib. III, tit. 1, and T. A. Lacey in *Trans. St Paul's Eccles. Soc.*, vol. IV (1900), p. 128, where the *cappa clausa* is well described, though some of the writer's earlier inferences must be read with caution. Linen did not distinguish the priest; deacon, sub-deacon or acolyte wore linen vestments in church whenever the priest wore them; the acolyte (parish clerk) was perhaps more often seen in linen than the priest himself.

distinguished from the rest of mankind by the linen shirt. For such a class did exist. The peasant and the poor man were generally shirtless by necessity; many others were shirtless for religion's sake. When Langland describes himself as 'wolleward and wete-shoed' (B. 18. 1: cf. *Ancren Riwele*, ed. Morton, p. 418) he speaks either as a beggar or as an ecclesiastical penitent. The monk, the anchorite, and the stricter of the Canons Regular, wore no shirt, but a sort of woollen jersey instead; Innocent III expressly commanded this (*Decret. Greg.* lib. III, tit. XXXV, c. 6) and it was repeated equally solemnly by Gregory IX in 1236; 'utuntur camisiis lineis' is a frequent gravamen of Odo Rigaldi, the famous 13th century visitor. If, then, *linen cloth* is used in *O. and N.* in its commonest sense, the phrase roughly divides society into two classes: (1) the monk and his congeners, with the struggling poor, and (2) the rest of the upper and middle-class population. 'All that weareth linen cloth' would connote all socially respectable people, except the professional puritan. The Nightingale invokes upon the Owl the malison of all decent unmonastic folk.

This passage, perhaps, is in itself only passively consistent with the monk's habits and characteristics; but we can support our interpretation by other passages which seem to supply active evidence in the same direction. The allusion to night-services fits the monk alone among all classes of society; ll. 323—8 definitely specify the four services of Vespers, Compline, Matins and Prime. There is no allusion, it is true, to the three day-services; but for this there is an obvious reason: the owl does not sing by day, and the poet was bound not to break too glaringly with the facts of natural history. But these omitted day-services are not in any sense distinctive of monasticism; the really significant allusion is that to the night-services; if we are to suppose that the author had any other reason than that of the owl's literal habits for omitting the day-services, whatever deductions we may draw from their omission would tell less heavily against the monks than against the rest of the clergy, few of whom said their Hours at night-time.

Again, ll. 860—1, the Owl pleads that the kingdom of heaven is better won by weeping than by singing, and boasts his own frequent tears (876). Is not this one of the many medieval echoes of that sentence of Jerome's, so dear to St Bernard: 'Monachus non docentis sed plangentis habet officium'?—cf. *Ancren Riwele*, p. 109. And this Owl's boast corresponds to the Nightingale's reproach, that his opponent loves to remind folk of death (1151) and to bring evil tidings (1172). The monk, in medieval society, sometimes passed for a creature of evil omen; it

was unlucky to meet him, as it was unlucky to see a raven. The other allusions which seem consonant with this interpretation must here be indicated more briefly: cloister-life may be satirically described in ll. 25—8, 89, 281—2; the monotonous psalmody, 220 and *passim*; melancholy and ascetic view of life, 226, 425—6, 485—92, 878, 895—914, 971—990; religious contemplation, 355—60; charity and good works, 535—40, 603—4, 609—10. Moreover, some of these seem very far-fetched, to suit some preconceived theme, without much care for ornithological truth. The author must have known, for instance, that the owl of natural history is very far from the religious altruist whom he depicts, e.g. in ll. 535—40.

We cannot, it is true, work the whole of this side of the debate into a thoroughly complete and consistent picture of monastic life; but consistency was not the medieval poet's strong point. Moreover, we must deal with the possibility that this poem is, after all, a translation from some Latin or French original; it may be worth noting that the line from which this discussion has started (1174) goes very naturally into French—'E cil ke portent linge drap.' Many of the inequalities in this poem would at once be explained if it turned out to be a not very masterly *rifacimento* of some earlier poem, far more consistent in its theme. Among other things, this would account at once for the noticeable superiority of ll. 433—67 to the rest of the poem.

For I must confess my dissent from the praise bestowed upon this author as an original observer of nature. I can see nothing in it which might not be mere *cliché* taken from people who knew little of birds and beasts at first-hand. The nestling owl fouling the hawk's nest is a scene far less likely to have ever happened, than to have been invented by the same people who invented the chivalrous nobility of lions and eagles, and the plastic power of the she-bear's tongue. The instances singled out by Mr Wells (p. xxxix) seem either desperately commonplace or actually incorrect; the hawk is not baited by 'carrion crows' (which are solitary birds), but by rooks, swallows, and even sparrows; moreover, it does not in real life 'sail from its lofty perch in lordly contempt of its base revilers,' but cuts a very undignified figure and often shows manifest fear. The poem is remarkable for its superiority of structure and metre at so early a date; but is it wise to credit the poet with virtues which will not bear close examination?

G. G. COULTON.



### QUEEN ELIZABETH IN A GAME OF 'TRUTH.'

The festival king or queen whose commands must be obeyed and whose questions must be answered whatever their nature may be—recorded in the thirteenth century as popular in France among courtiers and peasants<sup>1</sup>—has been known for centuries in England in games like 'Questions and Commands' or 'Truth.' In 1592 an account is given of a game of this type as part of the performance of the shepherds who appeared in the entertainments at Sudeley in honour of Queen Elizabeth<sup>2</sup>. 'Questions and Commands' is described in the *Mysteries of Love and Eloquence*, 1658<sup>3</sup>, and more briefly in the *Spectator* of October 2, 1712 (No. 499); it is mentioned in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, February, 1738, in connection with the burlesquing of royalty; and it has survived in the familiar children's game of the present day called 'Truth'. Among the courtiers of the middle ages and the renaissance the questions were usually closely related to those of court of love literature, and the game itself was like a *dubbio*<sup>4</sup>.

The following passage, translated from a letter of Giacomo Surian, Venetian Ambassador in France, written to the Signory, February 19, 1566<sup>5</sup>, shows that Elizabeth and her courtiers played this game in the conventional fashion as part of the Twelfth Night festivities, the question propounded being of a type usual in courts of love and *dubbios*:

I heard lately that Lord Robert [Dudley] was in disgrace with the Queen of England, and on asking her Ambassador resident here [Sir Thomas Smith] he confirmed the fact, and narrated the cause to me as follows.

It being the custom in England on the day of Epiphany to name a King; a gentleman was chosen who had lately found favour with Queen Elizabeth, and a game of questions and answers being proposed, as usual amongst merry-makers, he commanded Lord Robert to ask the Queen, who was present, which was the most difficult to erase from the mind, an evil opinion created by a wicked informer, or jealousy? and Lord Robert, being unable to refuse, obeyed. The Queen replied courteously that both things were difficult to get rid of, but that, in her opinion, it was much more difficult to remove jealousy.

The game being ended, Lord Robert, angry with that gentleman for having put this question to the Queen, and assigning perhaps a sense to this proceeding other than jest, sent to threaten him, through the medium of a friend, that he would castigate him with a stick.

The letter continues with an account of the gentleman's spirited reply, of Dudley's refusal to consider him an equal, of the gentleman's report

<sup>1</sup> Langlois, 'Le jeu du Roi qui ne ment et le jeu du Roi et de la Reine,' *Romanische Forschungen*, xxiii, pp. 163-73.

<sup>2</sup> Bond, *Works of Lyly*, i, pp. 481-84.

<sup>3</sup> Crane, *Italian Social Customs of the Sixteenth Century*, p. 536.

<sup>4</sup> Newell, *Games and Songs of American Children*, pp. 120-22.

<sup>5</sup> See Crane, *Italian Social Customs*, *passim*.

<sup>6</sup> *Calendar of State Papers, Venetian*, 1558-1580, pp. 374-75.

to the Queen, of her anger—which resulted in the banishment of Dudley's messenger from the court and her threat to lower Dudley 'just as she had at first raised him'—of his pining in a room of the castle for four days till Elizabeth pitied him and restored him to favour, and of the English Ambassador's conjecture that his rumoured elevation to the peerage and marriage to the Queen would at least be delayed.

C. R. BASKERVILL.

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# SHAKESPEARE—THE ENGLISH ÆSCHYLUS.

The comparison between Æschylus and Shakespeare, habitual in many of Swinburne's most dithyrambic passages of criticism, occurs also not infrequently in the writings of some of his European contemporaries. Thus, for example, in Carducci, 'Al Sonetto' (*Rime nuove*, 1887):

A l' Eschil poi, che su l' Avon rinacque,  
Tu, peregrin con l' arte a strania arena,  
Fosti d' arcan dolori arcan richiamo.

It is no doubt, directly or indirectly, from Victor Hugo that many of these writers borrow this particular suggestion. But the comparison was not new even in Hugo. It is to be found, for example (to exclude English critics for the moment from our consideration), in Charles Nodier's *Promenade de Dieppe aux montagnes d'Écosse* (1821). I quote from the English translation (Edinburgh, Blackwood, 1822):

'I cast a last look on Shakespeare's Cliff, so admirably described in "King Lear," of which one of the excellent commentators on the English Æschylus says, that he never transported himself in imagination to the brink of the precipice without feeling, as he measured its frightful depth, a degree of giddiness' (*op. cit.* p. 208).

Hazlitt, in his *Lectures on the English Poets* (1818), had remarked of Shakespeare that 'he might be said to combine the powers of Æschylus and Aristophanes, of Dante and Rabelais, in his own mind'; and Ben Jonson had said much the same two centuries before. But this narrowing down of the comparison to one of the Greek dramatists, and to Æschylus in particular, is another matter. Can your readers furnish many earlier instances than Nodier's? The earliest which I have come across is from a sufficiently obscure source, a footnote in the Introduction (To the Reader, Vol. I, p. xxvii) of Antonio Montucci's *Quindici Tragedie di Vittorio Alfieri* (Edinburgh, 1805): 'If the reviewers allow to Alfieri the merit of imitating Shakespeare's style, I conclude he has taken from the English Æschylus the best part of his truly tragical beauties (many



of his other great ones being rather poetical than peculiarly tragical). But here again (as in Nodier) the phrase has a derivative air, and Montucci's critical faculty may be gauged by the dedication of his work, in which he asserts of Alfieri that 'le bellezze tutte assembrò di Sofocle, Corneille, Voltaire e Shakespeare, ogni lor difetto felicemente schifando.'

JOHN PURVES.

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AN EARLY REFERENCE TO DANTE'S CANZONE 'LE DOLCI RIME  
D'AMOR' IN ENGLAND.

English literature owes to Chaucer a very early acquaintance with Dante; and the *Divina Commedia*, as is natural, was the work upon which Dante's fame with Chaucer rested. His minor works became known in England at a much later period. The earliest explicit reference to the *Convivio*, mentioned by Dr Paget Toynbee in his exhaustive work *Dante in English Literature from Chaucer to Cary*, is by William Barker in 1568 (I, p. 41), while the familiarity with the *Vita Nuova* and *De Monarchia* seems to be of still later date. It is true that a possible acquaintance of Chaucer with the canzone heading the fourth treatise of the *Convivio* might be inferred from a passage in the *Wife of Bath's Tale* and from the *Balade of Gentillesse*. Both contain a discussion of the true nature of nobility, and Dr Toynbee thinks it almost beyond doubt that Chaucer was indebted for his arguments to Dante's canzone (*op. cit.*, pp. 13, 16). This seems to me too bold, as the discussion of the origin of nobility was already common from the thirteenth century onward, and the conclusion that nobility is founded in virtue was generally accepted.

In my opinion the similarity between Dante's canzone and Chaucer's views on the true nature of nobility is not strong enough to admit the conclusion that Chaucer knew the Italian poem. Dr Toynbee, nevertheless, is quite right in pointing out that the canzone at a very early date was the subject of a discussion likely to spread some knowledge of its contents far beyond Italy. Messer Lapo da Castiglionchio (c. 1310-1381), in a letter to his son Bernardo, gave an account of the examination of Dante's arguments by the famous jurist, Bartolo da Sassoferrato (c. 1313-1356).

This treatise of Bartolus on nobility has led to an early reference to Dante's canzone by an English author, which, as far as I can ascertain, has, so far, escaped the attention of scholars. It is due not to a poet but to a student of law, Nicholas Upton, who lived from about 1400 to 1457.



His career has been traced by Professor Pollard in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (LVIII, p. 39). He was a fellow of New College Oxford and a bachelor of civil and canon law. Though he took the lower orders and received several prebends, his occupations were of a lay character. He fought in France under Suffolk and Talbot, and was at Orleans during the famous siege as an attendant of the Earl of Salisbury.

After the latter's death Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, 'observing the parts and virtues of Mr. Upton, who at that time was not meanly skilled in both the laws, persuaded him to lay aside the sword and to take up his books again and follow his studies.' At the duke's request, Upton wrote his *Libellus de Officio militari*, a work on heraldry, nobility and military law, consisting of four books. It was published in 1654 by Edward Bysshe, Garter king of arms<sup>1</sup>, who dedicated his edition to John Selden.

Upton appears to be well versed in the work of Bartolus, as might be expected. He even begins the first chapter of his book with this famous name: 'Famosissimus ille pater legum et doctor eximius, dominus Bartholus de Saxoferrato in lege prima C. de dignitatibus li. XII. nobilitatem sic diffinit' (p. 3). He proceeds to quote him several times and especially in chapter XIX of the first book, which is inscribed: 'Ad quos descendit nobilita' (p. 64):

Est vero nobilis et si ex nobili descendat, seu ex vili, vel plebeo, ut concludit dominus Bartholus in tractatu suo de nobilitate, circa medium, quem posuit in lege prima C. de dignitatibus li. XII. Et sic nichil aliud est vera nobilitas, quam vita humana, clara virtutibus per electionem et habitum anime intellectualis exterius operantis. Nec tamen omnis nobilis est generosus, ut supradixi, quia ille est generosus, qui descendit a parentela generosa et<sup>2</sup> semper nota, quod sanguis non purgatur usque ad quartum gradum inclusive: quamvis talis nobilitatus gaudeat regno, sive regalia, ut Rex Cipri, de quo supradixi. Unde adhuc opiniones quorundam referam.

Fuit enim quidam nomine Danty<sup>3</sup>, de Florencia, vulgaris poeta, laudabilis, recolendeque memorie, qui circa hoc fecit quandam cantilenam in vulgari, *La douce Ryme damour*. In qua recitat tres opiniones antiquorum: quarum prima talis fuit. Quidam imperator dixit, quod, Nobilitas est antiqua eris sive divitiarum possessio cum pulcris regiminibus<sup>4</sup> et moribus. Alii dixerunt quod antiqui boni mores hominem faciunt nobilem, et hii de divitiis minime curare videntur. Alii autem dixerunt, quod ille dicitur nobilis, qui descendit de patre, aut avo, nobili. Omnes tamen has opiniones reprobant ipse Bartholus, ibidem, ultimo determinans, quod quicumque est virtuosus, ille est nobilis in illa virtute. Nec nobilitas esse potest ubi virtus deest.

<sup>1</sup> Nicolai Uptoni *De Studio militari libri quatuor*. Johan. de Bado Aureo. *Tractatus de armis*, Henrici Spelmanni *Aspilogia*. Edoardus Bissaeus e codicibus mss primus publici juris fecit, notisque illustravit. Londini, Typis Rogeri Norton, impensis Johannis Martin et Jacobi Allestrye sub signo Campanae in coemiterio D. Pauli, 1654. The library of the University of Leyden possesses a copy of the work.

<sup>2</sup> Bysshe: generosa. Et semper nota quod....

<sup>3</sup> Id.: Danty.

<sup>4</sup> Id.: regibus.

After quoting several other authorities Upton concludes by saying: 'Et sic potest esse verum quod dixit poeta Danty<sup>1</sup>, ut supra dixi.'

Of the six manuscripts mentioned by Bysshe in his preface, the Cottonianus Nero C III appears to have been the basis of his text. Whether the manuscript British Museum Additional MS. 30946, described by Mr Pollard as 'possibly the original,' was among Bysshe's material, cannot be ascertained. Professor Geyl, at my request, was so kind as to compare the passage in these two manuscripts with the printed text. The Add. MS. proved to contain only a few words of the whole citation from Bartolus. Pages 63 and 64 of the edition are entirely omitted to the words: '(Et sic) Bartholus ultimo determinans etc....ubi virtus deest'; pp. 65 and 66 are also missing. As the mention of Bartolus' conclusion without the preceding argument has no sense at all, Add. MS. 30946 cannot be held to represent the original redaction by Upton himself, the more so as it inverts the order of the four books, enumerated by the author himself in his preface (p. 3).

It need scarcely be said that Upton's reference to Dante's canzone does not involve an acquaintance with the poem itself. Rather might it be said that it excludes such a knowledge. He renders the initial words, as far as he could understand them, as if they were French. Moreover, he has not even read his Bartolus with due attention.

Bartolus' treatise on nobility forms an excursus to his commentary *Ad duodecimum librum Codicis De dignitatibus*. It must have had an early and wide circulation as a separate pamphlet. The well-known Dante-scholar Karl Witte published it<sup>2</sup> from an edition of 1493<sup>3</sup>. Witte's remark, however, that the little treatise had been overlooked by the editors of Bartolus' works, so that it remained unknown even to Savigny, is an error, for, though missing in the Turin edition of 1589, the Lyons edition of Bartolus' works, 1581, contains it in the right place<sup>4</sup>.

By comparing Bartolus' text with Upton's it is clear that the latter followed closely his authority, abridging it here and there. Let it suffice to quote the lines in which the opening words of the canzone occur:

Et ut circa haec veritas elucescat, multorum opiniones referam. Fuit enim quidam nomine Dantes Allegeri de Florentia poeta vulgaris laudabilis et recolendae

<sup>1</sup> Bysshe: Dancy.

<sup>2</sup> *De Bartolo a Saxoferrato Dantis Alligherii studioso commentatiuncula*, Halle, 1861, reprinted in Karl Witte, *Dante-Forschungen, Altes und Neues*, I, Halle, 1869, no. xxiv, p. 461.

<sup>3</sup> 'Infrascripti utiles et solaciosi tractatuli Bartoli legum doctoris famosissimi hic continentur...col. Impressi sunt presentes tractatuli Bartoli Liptzk per Gregorium Boticher Anno Domini mccccxiii die quinta mensis Octobris.' A copy of this Leipzig incunabulum is in the Library of the University of Leyden.

<sup>4</sup> Vol. iv, f. 46 v., In tres codicis libros.



memoriae: qui circa hoc fecit unam cantilenam in vulgari quae incipit *Le dolze rime damor che solea trovare li mei pensieri*<sup>1</sup>, etc.

Et ibi recitat tres opiniones antiquorum. Prima est quae dicit quod quidam imperator<sup>2</sup> dixit quod nobilitas est antiqua aeris et divitiarum possessio cum pulchris regiminibus et moribus. Alii dixerunt quod antiqui boni mores faciunt hominem nobilem et isti de divitiis non curant. Tertii dicunt quod ille est nobilis qui descendit ex patre vel avo valenti, et omnes istas tres opiniones reprobant. Ultimo ipse determinat, quod quicumque est virtuosus, est nobilis. Item potest esse nobilitas etiam ubi non est virtus, et sic nobilitas habet in se plus quam virtus: exemplum in puella verecunda. Nam verecundia est diversa a virtute, et tamen in ea est nobilitas, etc.

Bartolus himself misinterpreted Dante by saying: 'Alii dixerunt quod antiqui boni mores faciunt hominem nobilem et isti de divitiis non curant.' For Dante referred to an opinion, which he wished to refute, as he explains himself in the *Convivio*, trattato iv, cap. 3: 'E dico che altri fu di più lieve sapere, che, pensando e rivolgendo questa definizione in ogni parte, levò via l' ultima particola, cioè i belli costumi, e tennesi alla prima, cioè all' antica ricchezza; e secondochè 'l testo par dubitare, forse per non avere i belli costumi, non volendo perdere il nome di gentilezza, definì quella secondochè per lui facea, cioè possessione d' antica ricchezza.'

Upton on his part did not observe that Bartolus is still rendering Dante's opinions in saying: 'et omnes istas tres opiniones reprobant (scil. Dante),' and ascribes to Bartolus the refutation due to Dante. Only where Bartolus in his turn refutes Dante's opinion, expressed in the words: 'È gentilezza dovunque è virtute, Ma non virtute ov' ella, etc.'<sup>3</sup>, Upton correctly states Bartolus' conclusion.

The form *Danty*, used by Upton, could hardly be derived by him from the Latin text of Bartolus, which has *Dantes*. It would seem to occur also in the catalogue of the library of Henry VIII, but, as Dr Toynbee gives the quotation in modern English (p. 32), I cannot make sure of it, and must leave it open, how Upton, apparently not knowing from Chaucer the forms *Dant*, *Dante*, *Daunte*, came to this form *Danty*.

It is a curious coincidence that the rare references to Dante in English literature between Chaucer's time and the sixteenth century have all of them something to do with Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester. Humphrey himself presented books of Boccaccio, Petrarch and Dante to the University of Oxford (Toynbee, p. 20). John Lydgate's *The Falls of Princes*, in which Dante's name is mentioned thrice, was undertaken at the instance of his patron, the Duke of Gloucester (*Ibid.*, p. 18). So

<sup>1</sup> The Lyons edition has corrected the Italian quotation.

<sup>2</sup> By this emperor Dante meant Frederick II of Hohenstaufen.

<sup>3</sup> Explained by Dante in cap. 19 of the *Convivio*, tratt. iv.



was Upton's *Libellus de Officio militari*, in which, probably for the first time, Dante as the author of the *Convivio* was introduced into England in the train of the great Italian jurist.

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#### DANTE IN PORTUGUESE LITERATURE.

Dante, with the exception of the Paolo and Francesca episode in Canto 5 of the *Inferno*, of which there are a dozen or more Portuguese versions (see Dr Esteves Pereira, *Francisca da Rimini* in the *Boletim* of the Lisbon Academy of Sciences, vol. 9, fasc. 1, 1915, pp. 43-70), has never been widely appreciated in Portugal. Apparently his style was not sufficiently smooth for Portuguese taste. Faria e Sousa in his commentary to the sonnets of Camões wrote that 'Dante en sus Rimas tiene un estilo muy áspero,' and José Agostinho de Macedo dismissed him as *tenebroso*. They preferred what Barros calls 'as doçuras de Petrarca,' who had eclipsed Dante even in Italy. There are no early Portuguese references such as that of Alfonso Alvarez de Villasandino ('Dante el poeta grant conponedor' or 'Un letrado que fue grant poeta, Dante') or Francisco Imperial ('El poeta purista, teólogo, Dante'). The Portuguese poets of the new school in the sixteenth century looked chiefly to Sannazaro and Petrarca. Diogo Bernardez in his letters in *tercetos* names Petrarca and 'o culto Tasso,' but not Dante. Francisco de Hollanda, however, bids painters 'not disdain to read Dante in Tuscan.' Couto, we know, read Dante in India in 1563; Mestre Affonso in his *Itinerario* speaks of 'o famoso poeta damte' (p. 96). (The words 'de marauilhosa alteza' refer apparently to Mount Ida, not to the *altissimo poeta*.) Chiado in his *Pratica de Oito Figuras* mentions together Dante, Petrarca, and—Juan de Mena. Antonio de Sousa de Macedo says grudgingly that 'em Italia foi o antigo Dante como o Ennio Latino, entre cujas humildades se acham grãos de ouro' (*Eva e Ave*, 1676 ed., p. 128). The Portuguese poet scattering orange-flowers and rosemary in Oliveira's letter (ii, 27) meets, with Homer, Virgil, and Milton, not Dante but Tasso. Faria e Sousa, who complains of the roughness of Dante's style, elsewhere (*Fvnte de Aganipe*, 1646, *Advertencias contra la opinión moderna de lo que es Poesía*, § 3) admits that 'es tanto menor Poeta el Tasso que el Dante quanto es menor un hombre que un gigante.'

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## 'MYSTÈRE D'ADAM,' l. 482.

It is, I think, clear from internal evidence, that *Cele te sachera le ras* renders the Vulgate *ipsa conteret caput tuum*. Förster's emendation *escachera* is probably correct; cf. 'Et dist ainsi que qui vouloit tuer premier le serpent, il li devoit *esquachier le chief*' (Joinville, ed. Wailly, p. 64). That leaves *ras*, of which this line contains the only O.F. record, unexplained. I do not know whether anyone has thought of the Arabic *rās*, head, which is cognate with the Hebrew *rōsh*, used in the original (*Genesis*, iii. 15). The solitary occurrence of an Arabic word in an Anglo-Norman text would certainly be a startling phenomenon; but it seems to be agreed (Studer, *Introd.*, p. xxxiv) that the writer of the Tours MS. was a southerner, and this southerner may have included Moorish Spain in his wanderings.

[The above was in type before I had seen Mr Raamsdonk's note (*M.L.R.*, July—October, 1921). Without expressing an opinion on his solution, I am inclined to offer my own as an alternative.]

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## ROMANIC ETYMOLOGIES.

Galician *axexar*, Spanish *acechar*.

These verbs, which have the sense of French *guetter*, seem to be based on Arabic *aš-šisš* 'the thief,' meaning one who lies in wait, looking for a chance to steal something. Direct assimilation produced the Galician stem *axex-* (*ašesš*). In Spanish the reverted quality of *s*<sup>1</sup> caused *ts* (with non-reverted *s*), written *z* finally and *ç* otherwise, to be used for the Arabic *s*-sounds. We should expect an early Spanish verb *\*axeçar* (*ašetsar*): the form *acechar* shows blending with *asechar* 'waylay,' derived from *\*assectare* for *assectari*.

Spanish *acetre*, *cetre*, *celtre*.

Arabic *saṭl* 'pail,' derived from Latin *situla* or *situlus*, corresponding to French *seille*, Italian *secchia* and *secchio*, has a remarkable *a* instead of *i*. Probably *saṭl* is an alteration of *\*siṭl*, with *a* due to the influence of the similar word *saṭlah* 'drunkenness'; *\*siṭl* would explain the Spanish forms and Portuguese *acéter*, *acetre*. Spanish stressed *e* does not commonly represent an Arabic short *a*, though it may correspond to long *a*, as *alfaqaque* < *al-fakāk*, *alférez* < *al-fāris*, *alfiler* < *al-ḫilāl*, in accor-

<sup>1</sup> T. Navarro Tomás, *Pronunciación española*, Madrid, 1918, § 108.

dance with the change of  $\bar{a}$  to  $\bar{e}$  in modern Tunisian Arabic<sup>1</sup>. The form *celtre* shows a treatment of the emphatic lingual having parallels in other words, as *aldea* < *aḏ-ḏa' ah*, *alcalde* < *al-qāḏī* (not from *qa'di*, as given by Meyer-Lübke: the root is *q-ḏ-y* 'decide,' not *q-'-d* 'abide').

Portuguese *alcançar*, Spanish *alcanzar*.

Meyer-Lübke tells us in his Romanic dictionary, under *incalciare*, that a connexion of Spanish *alcanzar* with Arabic *qanaṣ* is 'wenig wahrscheinlich, da das Wort erst im 12. Jahrh. erscheint und da an die Stelle von *encalzar* tritt.' If the source had *lc*, the early Spanish form must have had *lç*, not *lz* as given by Meyer-Lübke. His objection is pointless. The Arabs entered Spain before the twelfth century, and we can reasonably assume borrowing to explain an Arabic-like word used at that time, whether recorded earlier or not. The noun *alcanz* or *alcance* may have been adopted, in speech, as early as many other words of Arabic origin. The meaning happened to resemble that of *encalçar*; and (after perhaps two or three centuries of use) the noun developed the verb *alcançar*, which became confused with *encalçar* and finally displaced it. One sense of *alcanzar* is 'grasp' or 'seize': 'coger alargando la mano' says the Academy's *Diccionario*. This is closer to the Arabic verb, meaning 'hunt, catch or kill in hunting,' than to the Romanic verb 'follow' (at one's heels).

Meyer-Lübke fails to discuss the form of *alcance*. He follows Körting and Diez in mentioning only Arabic *qanaṣ* 'what is taken in hunting.' A noun more directly related to the Arabic verb is *qanṣ*, the so-called infinitive. *Al-qanaṣ* would have given \**alcḏnaz*; the source of *alcance* is *al-qanṣ*. Though the Hispanic verb is formally based on *alcance*, its senses presumably include those of *encalçar*. There is no ground for supposing (as Meyer-Lübke does) that Portuguese *alcançar* was taken from Spanish.

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#### ZUM 'WIENER HUNDESEGEN.'

In einer kurzen Notiz in der *Academy*, No. 1255 (1896), S. 428 hatte ich auf eine, wie mir schien, bedeutsame Übereinstimmung zwischen der Eingangszeile des *Wiener Hundesegens* und dem Anfang einer altenglischen Besegnung aufmerksam gemacht und darin eine Stütze für die Ansicht gesehen, dass der *Wiener Hundesegegnung*—oder lieber die hinter

<sup>1</sup> C. Brockelmann, *Semitische Sprachwissenschaft*, Leipzig, 1906, § 67.



seiner ersten Zeile stehende Anschauung—dem germanischen Heidentum angehöre, sich ursprünglich auf Wuotan (Woden) bezogen hätte. A. Brandl hat dann auch in seiner *Geschichte der altenglischen Literatur*, Strassburg, 1908, S. 16 (956), 17 (957) diese Beziehung für den altenglischen Spruch als feststehend aufgenommen und in G. Ehrismanns *Geschichte der deutschen Literatur*, I. *Die althochdeutsche Literatur*, München, 1918, S. 100 liest man mit Rücksicht auf den *Wiener Hundesege*n: 'Wahrscheinlich aber ist der christliche Spruch Umwandlung eines heidnischen, mit Einsetzung christlicher Personen an Stelle heidnischer Götter.' Dagegen äussert sich E. von Steinmeyer, *Die kleineren althochdeutschen Sprachdenkmäler*, Berlin, 1916, S. 395: 'Ich sehe nicht ab, wie Priebisch aus den Worten *ne wolf ne þef* eines dem Milstäter Blutsegen verwandten englischen Segens...ein neues Argument für heidnischen Ursprung unseres Spruches hat herleiten wollen.' Dies ist die Veranlassung, dass ich noch einmal in Kürze auf jene Frage zurückkomme.

Das altenglische Stück, enthalten in einer ehemals Lord Ashburnham gehörigen Hs. (MS. Cxx, Appendix) des 12. Jahrhunderts (1182 nach einigen historischen Daten auf Blatt 3 zu schliessen) lautet unter Aufnahme einiger weniger Emendationen:

God was iborin in Bedlem,  
Ihangid<sup>1</sup> he was to Jerusalem,  
Ifolewid in þe flum Jordan,  
þer nes inemnid ne wolf ne þef.  
Christ and seinte trinite, xpist in seinte trinite,  
Child with wolf and þef, seine<sup>2</sup> ous and alle oure autee.  
And alle godes crafte, Seint Johanne (?)<sup>3</sup> and seint Luc  
Withinne woves and withoute  
Seine ous alle aboute.

Was dann noch folgt ist sinnloses Zauberlatein und für uns ohne Interesse. Man sieht, der Inhalt der Formel ist eine allgemeine Besegnung gegen jegliches Übel, das dem Menschen oder seinem Besitz (*autee*) schaden könnte. Z. 1-3<sup>4</sup> nun entsprechen tatsächlich dem typischen christlichen Anfang mehrerer deutschen und englischen Formeln für Blutstillung (Müllenhoff und Scherer, *Denkm.*<sup>3</sup>, ii, S. 273 f., Ebermann, *Blut- und Wundsegen*, S. 26 f., *Palaestra*, xxiv), jedoch die vierte fällt gänzlich aus diesem Schema heraus. Stellt man sie unmittelbar hinter die drei ersten Worte des Spruches, so ergibt sich eine mit der ersten des *Wiener Hundesege*ns so gut wie identische Zeile: 'God was iborin

<sup>1</sup> MS. Iborin.

<sup>2</sup> fehlt.

<sup>3</sup> h'ne.

<sup>4</sup> Nahe liegt die Umordnung 1, 3, 2. Vgl. M.S.D.<sup>3</sup> ii, S. 274. Hier wie dort hängt die sachliche auffallende Ordnung mit dem Reimanklang Jerusalem: Bedlem zusammen; in der Aufzeichnung des *Milstäter Blutsege*ns hat sie eine weitere Änderung von 2 zur Folge gehabt.

per nes inemnid ne wolf ne þef' und: 'Christ uuart gaboren er uuolf ode diob.'

Birgt sie eine kristliche Vorstellung? Da hat nun freilich E. von Steinmeyer (a.a.O., S. 396) aus der Trierer Hs. 40 saec. x eine lateinische Formel abgedruckt, die beim ersten Durchlesen diese Frage zu bejahen scheint: 'In nomine domini nostri creati! crescite et multiplicamini. Christus uos deducat et reducat. Ante fuit Christus quam lupus: Christus interpretatur saluator. Lupus interpretatur diabolus. Christus liberet canes istos ⁊ alias bestias de dentibus luporum. de manu latronum. et ab omnibus inimicis. Et per intercessionem beati Eustachii. ite cum pace. amen.' Steckt etwa in dieser Formel das Vorbild unserer zwei Sprüche? Von Steinmeyer in seiner vorsichtigen Art zieht diesen Schluss nicht, andere werden dies nun voraussichtlich tun. Wie die Formel uns überliefert ist, zeigt sich ein einschneidender Unterschied zwischen ihr und jenen Sprüchen. Sie enthält zwar als Gegenüberstellung *Christus (saluator): diabolus (lupus)*; allein der *latro* (bzw. *latrones*) wird nur ganz beiläufig unter und neben anderen Schädigern der Herden erwähnt. Es fehlt ihr also die Dreigliederung Christus-Wolf-Dieb und gerade diese bildet das hervorstechende Merkzeichen der beiden vulgärsprachlichen Segen, eignet, so viel ich weiss, nur ihnen. Diese Tatsache scheint m. E. genügend, die Formel in der vorliegenden Gestalt als gemeinsame Quelle auszuschliessen. Wohl aber könnte man da einwerfen, ihre Aufzeichnung in der Trierer Hs. möchte unvollständig, hinter den beiden *lupus* ein *aut latro* ausgefallen sein. Allein abgesehen davon, dass dieser Zusatz schlecht zur stilistischen Ökonomie der Formel passen würde—dem eingliedrigen *Christus interpretatur saluator* steht ganz richtig als Gegensatz das eingliedrige *Lupus interpretatur diabolus* gegenüber—würde es sich auch schwer verstehen lassen, wie diese offenbar ganz isolierte, keineswegs wie der Blutsegeneingang, typische Formel nach England gekommen und dort in verhältnismässig später Zeit, wie lange vorher auf deutschem Boden, genau dasselbe kleine Teilstück *Ante fuit Christus quam lupus (aut latro)*, aus der Mitte der lateinischen Formel herausgerissen, in eine Besegnung ganz allgemeinen Inhalts eingefügt worden wäre. Ist es da nicht einfacher anzunehmen, dass die lateinische Formel ein gelehrter Nachhall des altdeutschen Hirtensegens sei, indem ihr geistlicher Verfasser die ihm auffällige nackte Behauptung *Christus—er uuolf*, entsprechend dem Lehrbetrieb seiner Zeit, symbolisch mit *saluator—diabolus*<sup>1</sup> ausdeutete, *diob* aber, das er ja doch wieder nur auf *diabolus*

<sup>1</sup> Der Vergleich *diabolus—lupus* erscheint schon bei Gregor d. G.; siehe J. Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, 1835, S. 55 f.



hätte beziehen müssen, folgerichtig übergang? Und sollte dann nicht auch der Schluss erlaubt sein, dass sich in dem inkriminierten Satz der beiden volkssprachlichen Besegnungen—einer literarischen Gattung, in der sich ja Altes, Bodenständiges, wenn auch oft un- oder halbverstanden am zähesten hielt—ein, wenschon noch so winziges Stück alten germanischen Erbguts erhalten hätte, das einerseits mit einem der anglofriesischen Stämme nach England, anderseits aus dem nordwestlichen oder nördlichen Deutschland, wo man demgemäss seine Heimat suchen würde, nach den südlicheren Teilen des Landes wanderte, bis es zuerst hier, später dort zufällig seine schriftliche Fixierung fand, beide male in christlicher Gewandung, in Produkten der gleichen literarischen Gattung? Giebt man die Möglichkeit dieser Hypothese zu, so würde alles Weitere auf dieser Basis sich unschwer entwickeln lassen.

Der Satz *er uuolf ode diob* bildet offenbar eine tadellose (zweite) Kurzzeile des Typus B. Als Stabträger der voraufgehenden ersten eines Langverses würde sich unter Berücksichtigung der eben erwähnten Wandertheorie das Wort *Wuotan* (*Woden*) ungezwungen einstellen. Gegen diese ja schon längst vorgeschlagene Ersetzung von *Christ* wandte man besonders ein, 'so geläufig für den Christen die Datierung von Christi Geburt, so ungeläufig und fremd war den Heiden die von Wuotans Geburt.' Ganz richtig; allein ist das *giboran* (*yborin*) dieses Verses wirklich ursprünglich und nicht vielmehr beiderseits—im althochdeutschen wie im altenglischen Segen, natürlich unabhängig von einander—erst durch die Macht der kristlichen Tradition hereingekommen? Es scheint mir nicht zu gewagt, sich auch hier nach einem Ersatz umzusehen und da bietet sich am befriedigendsten, weil damit zugleich die metrischen Bedingungen der Kurzzeile erfüllt werden, das substantivische Partizipium von *waltan* (*wealdan*) dar. Setzen wir dies ein, so erhalten wir die Langzeile (A B):

*Ahd.* Wuotan was waltent er uuolf ode diob.

*Ag.* Woden waes wealdend ær wulf oppe þeof.

*As.* Wodan was waldand er wulf efdo thiof.

Die hinter dieser Langzeile stehende Anschauung scheint mir aus germanischen mythologischen Vorstellungen unschwer verständlich: Der Gott (*Wuotan*) war Herrscher (herrschte), ehe auf der Erde—gleichgültig, ob sie als göttergeschaffen oder vor ihnen existierend gedacht wird—noch das Übel sich zeigte; und dieses wird repräsentiert durch die zwei dem germanischen Bewusstsein fest aufgeprägten Schädiger—Wolf und Dieb<sup>1</sup>. Also ein Bild des goldenen Zeitalters, da 'auf Idafeld

<sup>1</sup> Vgl. Kögel, *Literaturgeschichte*, i, 2, S. 176: Der Wolf im Sprüchwort; Lehrspruch der Cott. Hs. v. 42: *þeof sceal gangan in þystrum wederum*.



kamen die Asen zusammen, Altäre zu schaffen und Tempel zu bauen, doch geschaut vom Standpunkte jener Stämme, die Wuotan als der Götter höchsten verehrten. Damit vermehrte sich uns die Zahl der Wuotan-Formeln (ags. *Neunkräutersegen*, *Erster Merseburger Zauberspruch*) um eine neue. War sie der Eingang eines heidnischen Hirtensegens? Der altenglische Spruch, in den sich ja um die alte Formel offenbar ganz junges kristliches Gut gruppiert<sup>1</sup>, kann nichts für diese Frage entscheiden. Eher klingt im *Wiener Hundesege*n die Phrase *der gauwerdo uualten*, deren Singular schon Kögel, *Literaturgesch.*, I, I, S. 260 mit Recht auffiel, wie ein altes dazugehöriges Stück, vor allem aber spricht zu Gunsten jener Annahme der Umstand, dass die in der Formel aufgeführten typischen Schädiger doch auch gerade die Erzfeinde der Herden sind. Immerhin liesse sich denken, dass diese Formel ursprünglich ein mythologischer Merkvers gewesen sei, der, zunächst selbst verkristlicht, sich auf deutschem Boden eben dieser fühlbaren Beziehung wegen die Aufpfropfung eines kristlichen Hirtensegens musste gefallen lassen, während er in England, weit unpassender, in eine allgemeine Besegnung hineingearbeitet wurde. Das ergäbe dann eine neue Möglichkeit für die Entstehung von kristlichen Segen, in die also ein von Haus aus selbständiges heidnisches Element recht und schlecht Eingang gefunden hätte. Allein das schlimme ist, dass solch ein Vorgang sich zwar theoretisch ansetzen, praktisch aber nicht beweisen lässt. Und auch im übrigen will ich nur Möglichkeit gegen Möglichkeit gesetzt haben.

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<sup>1</sup> Auch die Phrase *Child with wolf and þef* zeigt, wie verständnislos ihr der Verfasser gegenüberstand.

## REVIEWS.

*The Place-Names of Northumberland and Durham.* By ALLEN MAWER.  
Cambridge: University Press. 1920. 8vo. xxxviii + 271 pp. 20s.

Various articles, reviews and notes dealing with place-name studies, as well as an address recently delivered before the British Academy by Professor Mawer, have led those interested in the subject to look forward to his long promised book on the local names of Northumberland and Durham. Other scholars have turned their attention to this field of study for a while and then returned to their earlier pursuits, whereas Professor Mawer continues to take place-name investigation very seriously and is pressing for wider recognition of its necessity and value. Impressed by the scale and thoroughness of the place-name surveys carried out in recent years in the three Scandinavian states he would urge upon our learned societies and even upon the Government to undertake a similar survey in this country.

A residence of over ten years in Northumberland has given Mr Mawer special facilities for the investigation of the place-names of the region north of the Tees, and it is evident that he has neglected no source and spared no pains to make his work exhaustive. In dealing with so large a number of names, some 1500 at the very least, for few of which does the record go further back than the twelfth century, it was inevitable that a good proportion could not be satisfactorily explained. Professor Mawer recognises this, for in his preface he remarks 'the comments should perhaps have been seasoned with "probably" and "possibly" a good deal more frequently than they have been.' We could have wished that he had given some indication of what he judges to be the degree of probability of each of his offered explanations. As is usual in place-name books, a choice of two or even three explanations is in many cases put before the reader, who must often be puzzled and even irritated by the want of certainty. Wideawake and well equipped as he undoubtedly is, Professor Mawer is not altogether free from a tendency to indulge at times in somewhat fanciful and even picturesque explanations. Thus for example in dealing with Snape Gate, where the earlier forms show *-gest* instead of *gate*, he says:

A personal name is out of the question, as we cannot believe that four *Snapes* happened to possess a *gest*, whatever that might be. There is a North. M.E., and Mod. Engl. dial. *sneip*, *snayp*, *snape* meaning 'to be hard on, rebuke, or snub,' and the suggestion may be hazarded that a piece of land which made no response to cultivation, or a farm which was notoriously inhospitable, might be dubbed 'Snape-gest.'

Again, in regard to Thirston, Professor Mawer says:

The first element is M.E. *\*thraistere*, *\*threstere*.... It must have been used as a nickname, perhaps in the sense of a pushful person, a 'thruster.'



Under Ousterley occurs the following puzzling note :

There is a *house-leek tree* or *tree-house leek*, a plant which grows on walls and roofs of houses. It is just possible that this may have been called, for short, *House-tree*, and the place named from it. Alternatively, we may note such compounds as *door-tree*...and *roof-tree*. There may have been a word *house-tree*, and the farm have been so called from a conspicuous piece of timbering.

Of Prudhoe Professor Mawer says :

Pruda's *hōh*....Alternatively, the first element might be L.O.E. *prūd* < O.F. *prūd*, *prōd*, 'proud,' 'gallant,' descriptive of its proud position above the Tyne.

In his writings Professor Mawer has rightly protested against uncritical acceptance of early forms of personal names for which the evidence is either very slender or non-existent. He has, we seem to remember, warned investigators against putting too much faith in Searle's *Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum*. Yet in his book he not only cites names of doubtful authenticity but even invents names 'which might have existed.' For example, of Sheddons Hill a single early form, *Shednes-lawe* 1382, is given. Professor Mawer's comment runs :

Possibly 'Sceldwine's Hill.' The name is not found in O.E. but is a possible formation.

In a list of O.E. names of persons (p. 243) about 60 are marked with an asterisk to denote 'a hypothetical restoration of a lost name.' This number does not include many creations, plausible enough it is true, of diminutives or 'pet-names.'

Our author insists on the strict observance of the 'laws' of phonology, and in most instances he gives a reference to a valuable appendix (pp. 255-266) in which the phonology of the Northumbrian dialect based on the place-names is systematically treated. In a number of instances, indeed, his discussion of details of sound-change, with imposing sequences of hypothetical stages, seems to us out of place in a book of this kind. The disquisitions to be found in connection with Glantlees, Darlington and Birchope are examples of this. Of the more serious defects on the purely philological side, which arise when the offered explanation is not supported by the early forms there are, as might have been expected, very few in this book. Of Gamelspath (the old Roman road) the early forms are: 1380 *Kenylpethfeld*, 1411 *Kemylespathe*, 1456 *Kemblepeth*, 1473 *Gamyllspeth*, 1542 *Kemlespeth*, c. 1580 *Kemblespeth*, 1724 *Gemblespeth*. On the evidence of a solitary instance in a Runic inscription of *kamal* for *gamal* Professor Mawer thinks the first element of the name may have been the M.E. name *Gamel*, from O.W.Sc. *gamall*, 'old.' Apart from the question of the initial consonant, we note that the earliest form has *Kenyl-*, and Professor Mawer should have accounted for the *e* and the *n* coming from an earlier *a* and *m* respectively. In explaining Riddlehamhope as the 'hope by the ridded or cleared *ham*' he does not explain the *l* which occurs in all the early forms. There is a *Hredles sted* in BCS. 741. The early forms of Widdrington show *Woder-*, *Wuder-*, *wider-*, and *weder-*, which, it is suggested, represent a (hypothetical) *Wuduhere* or *Widuhere*, but this does not account for *Weder-*.



We are not altogether satisfied with Professor Mawer's treatment of O.E. and M.E. words. His preference for W. Saxon forms (*eald* for *ald* etc.), and for phrases such as (*æt þæm*) *nīwa(n) hūsum* (Newsham) is not likely to mislead students, but his assumption that in a number of instances the O.E. word forming the second element of a place-name was used in the dative plural and that the inflection *-um* underlies the modern endings *-ham*, *am* and *em*, is open to question. It is very doubtful whether the ending *-um* survived anywhere in England in the eleventh century; it must have been represented by *-an*, *-en*, *-e*, or it may have disappeared, according to the dialect. Professor Mawer is inconsistent in his treatment of this point; for example, all the early forms of Bolam and Crookham end in *-um* (*-om*), or *-un* (*-on*), which represent, he thinks, an earlier *-hām*; whereas in a number of other cases, i.e. Hoppen, Hulam, Kilham, Newsham, Summerhouse, Cowpen, Coatham etc., he refers the ending to the O.E. inflection *-um*. At the same time in Appendix A (p. 269), he admits that some of these 'may be examples of original unstressed *-(h)am* written as *-um*.' It would have been better if in each of the above cases he had at least mentioned both possibilities, as he has done in the case of Downham and Carham. Of Cowpen, whose early forms end in *-um*, *-un*, *-oun*, and which he derives from O.W.Sc. *kúpa*, he remarks 'The name is clearly a dative plural,' yet in connection with Crookham he says 'it is difficult to believe that a Scandinavian loan-word would be thus inflected.' We subjoin a few further notes taken from a number which we have set down in looking through this book. The early forms of Outchester show *ul-*, *ule-*. Professor Mawer suggests 'owl(haunted)chester' as the original meaning, from O.E. *ūle*, owl. We suggest the name *Wulf* or *Ulf* for the first element. For Trickley perhaps the pers. name *Thirkel*, a shortened form of *Thurcytel*, may be accepted in place of Professor Mawer's suggestion 'trickle' = sheep's dung. Whittonstone, 1292 form *le Whystan*, is, we think, better explained as *hwīt-stān* 'boundary-stone' than as 'hwetstone.' Perhaps Cowden, earlier *Colden*, meant originally 'coal-valley,' O.E. *cōl-denu*, rather than *cōle-denu* 'cool valley'; cf. 1255 *Colpittes*. Aldin (Grange) may be from *Aldwine* rather than from *Eal-dinga*.

In general a preference in this book is given to hypothetical names + *ing*, rather than to the common O.E. *-wine* names. Surely Professor Mawer cannot be serious when he suggests the word 'slave' as the first element of Slaley, earlier *slaveleia*, *slaveley* etc., adding that 'the clearing may be so called because cultivated by serfs'! He himself notes that no example of 'slave' is given before 1290 in N.E.D. The first element may be a pers. name such as *Slavin*, *Slavyn* (cf. Weekley, *Surnames*, p. 151), which, like 'slave,' seems to have meant originally 'Slavonic.' The explanation of Bensham as derived from *Beornic* seems to us fanciful. Several of the early forms of Overgrass, 1255 *Oversgare*, 1250 *Overisgar*, 1272 *Eueresgares*, are clearly the possessive case of a pers. name. We suggest the pers. name *Eofor* instead of Professor Mawer's guess, O.E. *ōfer* 'shore' or O.E. *ufere* 'upper,' with what he calls 'pseudo-genitival s in certain forms.' We doubt his explanation of Dewley, earlier *Deue-*

*lawe*, *Dewillawe*, as 'Dew-hill.' We doubt still more his explanation of Emblehope as 'caterpillar-hope,' and Embleton as 'caterpillar-hill'; is not 'Emble' a name? An early form of Emsworth, Hants., is *Emelesworth*. How is the name Foulbridge 'self-explanatory'? And is 'Cold-cheer-hill' a satisfactory explanation of Catcherside, earlier *Calcherside*? Of Yarnspath a single early form *Hernispeth* is given; on this evidence Professor Mawer explains the name as 'Eagle's path,' from O.E. *earnas* *pæð*. We prefer to regard the first element as a pers. name, possibly *Herewine*. None of the three or four suggested originals of Redmarshall seems to us satisfactory; once more we prefer a pers. name as the first element. The key to the original of Roddam lies, we think, in the 1207 form *Rodenham*; the first element is the name *Hroðwine*; cf. Rodington, Salop.

As regards the considerable number of names to which Professor Mawer assigns a Celtic original we do not pretend to have an opinion; the difficult question of Celtic survivals still awaits a thorough large-scale treatment by competent scholars.

In a number of cases we should have been glad to know that the suggested explanation was confirmed by the local features, e.g. in connection with Aycliffe, Cronkley, Boulmer, Hefferlaw, Nookton, Redhills, Sharperton, Carham etc.

We have noticed very few misprints and omissions. On p. 7, l. 63 *Auc-* and *Alc-* should be transposed; on p. 14 O.E. should be O.F.; on p. 258 [in] should be [iu]; on p. 65 *doe-peth* should be *doe-path*.

In the course of a fairly close examination of this book we have come to the conclusion that many seeming defects are in reality due to a failure to remove the scaffolding of the work, or, to change the metaphor, to make the final ruthless purge which all place-name books should receive before being printed off. We are sure Professor Mawer is only too conscious of this and that he, like others who have challenged criticism in this field, feels that there are things in his book he would rather not have said or at any rate would have expressed differently. We fully realise what zeal and hard work have gone to the making of this valuable study, which contributes a large amount of fresh material towards the ultimate goal of those interested in these studies, namely, a synthesis of all the labours of individual workers into a complete survey on a national scale of the place-names of England.

W. J. SEDGEFIELD.

MANCHESTER.

*Donne's Sermons*. Selected Passages. With an Essay by LOGAN PEAR-SALL SMITH. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1919. lii + 264 pp. 6s.

From the one hundred and sixty sermons we possess by John Donne Mr Pearsall Smith has made a selection of one hundred and fifty extracts. The original punctuation of the early published quartos and the three collected folios has been preserved, as also the original spelling, except in the use of 'i' for 'j,' of 'u' for 'v' and vice versa, and of contractions for 'm' or 'n.' The arrangement is not chronological but the



various passages are placed in a certain sequence according to their subjects. First we have the autobiographical extracts; next follow the scanty allusions to contemporary history, the death of Queen Elizabeth, the accession of James I, the Gunpowder Plot, the new settlements in America, the great plague of 1625, the death of King James; then come observations and remarks upon the more secular side of life, poverty and riches and the like; next we have religious faith and the revelation of that faith through the Scriptures and the teaching of the Church. Finally we are given the passages of his most burning eloquence upon the sinful state of the world, the fear of death, the hideous pageant of the Day of Judgement, the agonies of the damned, the everlasting joy and glory of Heaven. The book appropriately ends with extracts from the last sermon he ever preached, his own funeral sermon as it proved, delivered before the King at Whitehall in the beginning of Lent 1639. *Death's Duel*, for so this discourse is called, has imperial and sonorous periods which—as Mr Gosse has admirably said—‘are adorned with fine similes and gorgeous words as the funeral trappings of a king might be with gold lace. The dying poet shrinks from no physical horror and no ghostly terror of the great crisis which he was himself to be the first to pass through....Our blood seems to turn chilly in our veins as we read.’

In spite of the modern interest in Donne's poems the immense body of his theological writings has received but scant attention. In the first place sermons are something out of fashion. The collected editions of the great seventeenth century divines rest unopened upon the topmost shelves. Many of Donne's discourses are of enormous length and must have taken two or three hours to deliver. And yet there is every reason to believe that huge congregations thronged around his pulpit and listened hour after hour with rapt attention broken only by a hum of applause as the preacher rounded off some stately period of impassioned exaltation.

Again Donne's sermons are not easily procurable. Three folios were published, the first in 1640, the second in 1649, and the last in 1660. In 1839, Henry Alford, afterwards Dean of Canterbury, printed 157 sermons out of the 160 contained in these three folios. They occupy about 3000 pages of an edition which he intended should include all Donne's works. This plan was finally abandoned and only the sermons, the *Devotions*, the poems, and the letters were included. Alford has shamelessly mangled the poems, the letters are most carelessly given, and he openly admits that he bowdlerized some of the earlier sermons. Yet with all these drawbacks Alford's edition is the one most accessible to modern readers.

In 1840 Pickering published a beautifully printed volume *Devotions by John Donne D.D.* which contains two sermons ‘Death's Duel’ and the sermon on the decease of Lady Danvers. The little volume is rare.

When we take these difficulties into consideration we are all the more grateful to Mr Logan Smith for having made this admirable selection, for having prefaced it with a most interesting introduction and for having added such ample and reliable notes.



Donne's prose is indeed informed with the most surprising beauty. When he deals with the great themes of Sin and God, his splendid perorations blaze out into ecstatic rapture unequalled for the dignity of its rhythm and the magnificence of its diction. The thought of Death particularly obsessed him. Again and again he returns to it and broods over it with minutest preoccupation. There is almost a morbid delight in his enumeration of the horrors hidden by the grave, the rotting of the cerements, the corruption of the body, the activities of the loathsome worm. And yet beyond all this which is physically horrible and revolting, almost crude it may be, there broods a dark atmosphere of far more terrible spiritual dread, which finds its apogee perhaps in that grand but fearful sermon where he tells of the 'horror beyond our expression, beyond our imagination,' to fall out of the hands of the living God.

The imagination of Webster was akin to the imagination of Donne. In *The Duchess of Malfi* and *The White Devil* we find sepulchral properties such as a dead man's hand, a corpse brought to the murderer's room at midnight, coffins, cords, a bell. His characters can hardly say the simplest thing without some funereal metaphor. They relate their dreams of midnight walks in churchyards where huge yew trees shadow the crammed graves. Mock friars attend death beds and travesty the last rites. Yet all these are mere details on a far darker background of spiritual ruin and despair. Withal 'there is no poet morally nobler than Webster.'

It is to be hoped that these *Selected Passages* from Donne will direct many a student to the original folios or at least to Alford. In any case Mr Pearsall Smith has hereby proved to even the most desultory reader that Donne was not only a great poet and a skilled theologian, but also a supreme master of English prose.

MONTAGUE SUMMERS.

LONDON.

*Milton's Prosody: with a Chapter on Accentual Verse and Notes.* By ROBERT BRIDGES. Revised final edition. Oxford: University Press, 1921. 8vo. v + 119 pp. 12s. 6d.

We have here the ultimate edition of a book which has undergone many developments. Beginning, so far back as 1887, in the shape of an unsigned Appendix to an edition of *Paradise Lost, Book I*, and soon supplemented by an excursus on the prosody of *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes*, it came out several times during the 'nineties of last century as an attractive-looking booklet, receiving as it went on various additions on kindred subjects. In 1901 it appeared in a substantial volume containing also W. J. Stone's treatise on *Classical Metres in English Verse*, with a short Introduction referring to the latter. In these several editions it grew by a simple process of aggregation, Appendices being tacked on without much regard to what went before. Now, after an interval of twenty years, it comes forth revised and recast, without Stone's treatise or the introductory preface describing it. The

old order is for the most part followed, but the old divisions have disappeared, their contents being sometimes differently distributed; new matter has been inserted where the author felt further definition was required. This 'revised final edition,' therefore, justifies its title, and must be regarded as superseding its many predecessors.

The omission of Stone's work seems on the whole desirable. It has, one believes, secured its place in prosodical history both by its youthful brilliance and by its formative influence on Mr Bridges and others; but it has no relevance whatever to Milton's prosody, being an attempt to introduce an altogether different basis of metre. Nor were the prefatory remarks particularly worthy of preservation. Their writer's acquaintance with the history of such attempts seemed limited to the contents of Stone's pamphlet; even the almost contemporary work of Cayley was apparently unknown to him. English prosody historically considered, indeed, is evidently not a thing to which Mr Bridges has devoted much study. He has preferred to deal with the subject by the light of nature—a nature, it need hardly be said, singularly able and in other respects well equipped. Still, more knowledge of what has been done might have showed more clearly what yet required doing, and perhaps have kept people from wandering up certain blind alleys.

An amusing new Preface, unduly modest about the merits of his 'poor little grammar,' refers us to his Notes for an account of its origin, already described above. The book has no Index, and but a meagre table of Contents, but is well furnished with marginal headings, and its general get-up is all that an author could desire, if hardly suited to slender purses. It is divided into four Parts, Part I discussing the metre of *P. L.*, Part II those of *P. R.* and *S. A.*, while Part III contains such of the former Appendices as have not been transferred to other pages. Part IV, 'On the prosody of accentual verse,' blends the old Appendix G with that long Appendix J which was added for the first time in 1901. The largest substantial additions will be found in Part I.

Of these the first to occur is a 'Digression on Quantity' (pp. 2—4). Here the author treads with sure feet as regards generals. Not for him the too common confusion between accent and quantity, or even the fallacy that the former can replace the latter, as if intensification could be a substitute for prolongation. Not for him to call syllables 'long' because they have stress, or to assert that 'there is no such thing as "quantity" in English speech.' But his deductions are less satisfactory. He does not distinguish between the fact of quantity and the rules for its use. Accent he makes a matter of pitch alone, and represents acute accent as a raising of the voice by three and a half tones. Dionysius predicated this of Greek speech, but modern writers make our ordinary English raising a much smaller interval, while restriction of accent to pitch in our speech is at variance with fact. He also, when citing some English words identical in both accent and quantity with *τετυμμένος*, instances 'scientific' as one of these; is its first vowel ever pronounced short? On the other hand he has, I think, omitted a former sentence (1901 edition, p. 79) which rashly asserted that 'syllables are in English



as much [my italics] distinguished by length and brevity as they can have been in Greek and Latin'; and when he still speaks (1921, p. 105) of English verse 'neglecting quantity' I do not understand him to mean that our poets make no use of it whatever.

The longest addition is a 'Digression justifying the use of the term Elision' (pp. 9—18). Mr Bridges has evidently been taken to task by critics for the way he uses this word, and he defends himself by pleading (p. 10) that the term has no phonetic significance, and 'cannot be mistaken for anything but a label.' This plea cannot be accepted. Reference to any common English dictionary will show that *elide* and *elision* are defined as meaning the 'omission' or 'suppression' of a vowel or syllable, and a writer should not speak of elision unless he means this, just as Prof. Saintsbury should not speak of a 'long' syllable which does not perceptibly occupy more time than a 'short' one. In this edition Mr Bridges prefers the term *synaloepha*, which—besides being barbarously technical—is not free from the same ambiguity, but he distinctly states that the sound of the terminal vowel is 'not lost,' and that 'the two vowels are glided together.' This calls for consideration.

The point is admittedly a difficult one. Doubt may be felt whether even in classical verse elision was absolute, whether Romans actually said *monstr' orrend' inform' ingens*. Still more may it be doubted whether our forefathers really said *tatone* for 'to atone,' or what Dryden meant when he spoke of 'sinking' the pronunciation of a vowel in verse. Again, what precisely is intended when we talk of gliding or blending or melting one vowel into another? Do the two form a diphthong, a sound different from the separate sound of either? What do phoneticians say to that? Does Italian speech throw light on it? Was Browning right when he asserted that 'Siena' is a word of two syllables<sup>1</sup>? If so, is there any corresponding action in English speech? These are questions to be discussed, not pronounced on *ex cathedra*.

There is one conception of our verse which gets over questions like these *per saltum*, but it is one to which Mr Bridges has never been very hospitable. This is the conception which regards a line of English verse as primarily a series of equal time-spaces which are normally occupied (wholly or partially) by the same number of syllables (two, three, or four as a rule), but which admit as many additional syllables as can conveniently be comprised within their limits. There is then no elision, no blending, but simply rapid pronunciation. 'To atone' can be easily uttered in the same fraction of time as 'enhance' or any such word, and similar arguments apply to phrases like 'the eternal' or 'And rapture so oft beheld,' where neither *sōft* nor *sŏft* can be an alternative. This conception seems unfamiliar to our author. In Appendix G (1901 edition, p. 103) there was a sentence about regarding the foot as a time-unit, but it has disappeared in this edition. Instead, there is only an allusion

1

Whoever to scan this is ill able  
Forgets the town's name's a dissyllable.

Pacchiarotto.



(p. 2) to the possibility of setting out a line of verse in musical notation, 'with the isochronous musical bars [i.e. bar-marks] (as is necessary) before the accents<sup>1</sup>, followed by a remark at the foot of the same page that 'one very effective and common way of reciting the verse of *P. L.* is to set up an equal-timed musical beat and keep as nearly to it as possible.' These are, I think, the only references to musical time in the book<sup>2</sup>, and we need not dwell on a subject which bulks so slenderly in the author's regard.

But we must not linger over these digressions. The original purport of the book was to formulate the rules which govern Milton's blank verse, tabulating instances and exceptions. Such work, done with sedulous care by a critic so competent, must command respect even from those who disagree with its method. Prosodists who reject elision and advocate time-scansion must yet be interested to see what collocations of syllables Milton preferred to include within a time-unit. At first, perhaps, there was a tendency to make rules too absolute, and there still stands an assertion (p. 12) that certain specified words form 'the only exceptions' to decasyllabic structure<sup>3</sup>. How this squares with the other dictum (p. 34 and elsewhere) that these rules are only 'permissive' and not invariably observed I fail to see, and find that while the instances are carefully enumerated, the exceptions are left unexplained. Thus, while (pp. 6—8) a long list is given of terminations in *-ble* whose vowels are supposed to be elided before another vowel, no rationale is suggested of lines like

A dungeon horrible on all sides round (p. 39)

and

To human sense th' invisible exploits (p. 31).

It is hard to believe that in the doubly 'elided' line

O miserable of happie ! is this the end ? (*ibid.*)

the final vowel of *happie* can blend with the sequent vowel so disjoined from it. I do not know how Mr Bridges would scan the line (*P. L.* x, 931)

Against God only, I against God and thee.

If the *y* in 'only' is elided, a very harsh inversion follows, while is it possible to blend *I* with the first syllable of 'against'? Be it added that while inversion is freely invoked, no explanation is ever given of how iamb and trochee (to use popular parlance) can coexist in the same line. Undue dogmatism also, as before hinted, is evident about disputable matters. Throughout the book occur phrases like 'there can be no doubt,' 'should be scanned,' 'this is the right explanation of this verse,' while on p. 40 we are told that an oft-quoted line 'is to be read' thus:

Rocks, cáves, lakes, féns, bogs, déns, and shádes of deáth.

<sup>1</sup> The writer's musical preconceptions prevent him from seeing that accent can be equally well recognised at the close of a period. But succession must be uniform.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps two dubious sentences (pp. 54 and 55) mentioning 'bars' and 'a time-beat' should be added to the above.

<sup>3</sup> In one place (p. 32) he is driven to suppose 'an error of the text.'

The very first line of *P. L.* is fatal to such dogmatism. Two people may quite legitimately differ about the value belonging to the first syllable of 'disobedience,' and no critic, however eminent, can settle such points by his *ipse dixit*.

With these qualifications, readers can enjoy the accurate collection of examples, and may come to accept the famous pronouncement, 'Milton came to scan his verses in one way and to read them in another,' of which some further exposition is now given in the paragraph which follows (pp. 35-6). The above remarks apply to Part II as well as Part I. Little need be said about the four pages devoted to *P. R.*, which are unaltered from previous editions except as regards two lines which the author thinks he then treated wrongly. Much, on the contrary, might be said about the prosodial analysis of *S. A.*, but it will come better in connection with Part IV. One point, however, may be noticed here. An early poem of Shelley's is given as an instance of rhythmical beauty ignored because unfamiliar. But there was a valid reason for this ignoring. Any poet using novel cadences is bound to make them clear at starting; how else can his readers appreciate them? Shelley began this poem with what seemed an ordinary decasyllabic line:

Away! the moor is dark beneath the moon.

I quite agree that it is not such a line, that it needs to be eked out by pauses, and that Shelley doubtless so read it. But it was his business to make this demonstrably clear, and neither this nor the second line gives such help. He is not the only poet who has similarly lapsed.

The slender residuum of undistributed Appendices which forms Part III is entitled 'On obsolete mannerisms.' These are connected with accenting, spelling, and pronouncing words. The section devoted to the first still begins with the surprising statement 'Recession of accent is not now heard.' His quoted example *Sinjun* (for St John) disproves this, even if *Sinclair* is no longer associated with St Clair, or *Sillinger* with St Leger. In my own lifetime recession has become universal in the name Dunlop, and frequent in Carnegie and Meredith; some one lately was pulled up for saying Lóchaber. The same tendency appears in nouns like *access*, *details*, and many others. Poets have always evinced it, especially in words like *unknown*, *unseen*, etc., though Mr Bridges seems to think Shelley the first to use recession since Milton. Certainly, however, it became more common in nineteenth-century poets, and I do not doubt that a line by one of these still with us,

He left the upland lawns and serene air,

was consciously or unconsciously reminiscent of the fourth line of *Comus*, just as Tennyson's line

Rain, wind, frost, heat, hail, damp, and sleet, and snow

was reminiscent of a line referred to in the paragraph before last. Ample proof is afforded of its frequency in Milton's verse.

The section on spelling need not detain us. Students of Milton's poems will, of course, use the facsimile (as to spelling) edition super-



vised by the late Dean Beeching (Clarendon Press, 1900). Nor need more be said of that on pronunciation than that Mr Bridges inclines to think that the difference between Milton's, or even Shakespeare's, and ours has been exaggerated; a question which may be left to philologists. These three sections, though brief, will repay perusal.

Part IV, about 'accentual verse,' will by many be thought the most valuable portion of this book, and is certainly the most independent and original. It still starts by censuring the metre of Coleridge's *Christabel*, pointing out quite rightly that in such a couplet as

From her kennel beneath the rock  
She maketh answer to the clock

there is no real accent [i.e. speech-stress] on 'From' or 'to,' and arguing that this makes the cadence faulty, and that a verse should be written in which the stresses should all be real, and should themselves constitute the rhythm.

Coleridge was not an accurate describer, and it profits little to point out discrepancies between his account of the metre and the actual facts. But in the respect here queried he was following the practice of all our chief poets. They all, without exception, occasionally omit a speech-stress, and the reason is not far to seek. An unbroken, regular succession of accents soon becomes monotonous. Sudden omission of one startles us into perception, and thus actually reinforces our sense of rhythm. Like a discord in music, or an imperfect rhyme in verse, it has its function, which can be well used by the judicious, abused by the injudicious. 'So long as the mind hears the implied accents in their places,' says an excellent writer in the *Quarterly Review* for July, 1911, the occasional omission of an actual one does not disturb us. In other words, expectancy of accent is more important than occurrence; the mind can be trusted to function for itself. I have never heard any untutored reader object to these weak stresses. It would have been wiser to examine their origin and effect before hastening to condemn them. *Securus judicat orbis poetarum*. Where they are agreed in their practice, we may be sure there is a reason for it.

The arrangement of Part IV is much as in the former Appendices, but the opening paragraphs (pp. 85-7) are new, and some passages here and there later have been rewritten (e.g. p. 102). After the remarks on *Christabel*, he goes on to deal with 'stress-rhythms' in dactylic verse, and more particularly in the English hexameter. Heartily agreeing with him in liking Clough's *Bothie*, I am unable to agree with his method of scanning. Like the late Prof. Skeat—the two wrote simultaneously but independently—he divides lines into their natural prose phrasings, as though these constituted their metrical structure. But verse is not prose, and its units need not be the same. When (p. 107) he asks us to read

And she | gót | úp from her | seát.....

(for that is what his scansion means), or when (p. 93) he gives as 'the right explanation' a division like

Brightest | and best | of the sons | of the morning,



he is misled by his assumed premises. No reader, I feel sure, so regards it. What we do, in reading such lines, is mentally to adjust syllables to the mere primary rhythm |  $\acute{x}$   $x$   $x$  |  $\acute{x}$   $x$   $x$  |, and we expect the poet not to make this too hard for us to do.

| Brightest and | best of the | sons of the | morning  $\wedge$  |

presents no difficulty in doing this, and this is, I am convinced, the way in which people read, think of, and remember the line. The difficulty in making dactylic or trochaic verse in English is that our sentences usually begin with an unaccented word, and poets are often hard put to it to get over this difficulty, and come to grief accordingly. Clough's line beginning 'With a mathematical score' (p. 109) is a case in point. He tried the experiment of substituting two weak initial syllables for one strong one, and the result is failure<sup>1</sup>. Had he boldly prefixed them to his first 'beat,' an English reader would have had no more difficulty with the line than with Byron's

Thou who art bearing my buckler and bow,  
Should the | soldiers of Saul look away from the foe.

It should be added that the distinction drawn (pp. 90-1) between heaviness and length, so that long syllables, and also short syllables, may be either heavy or light, is excellent, and helpful in analysis. So, to go back for a moment, is the recognition (p. 70) of 'a foot of two unstressed short syllables preceding a foot composed of two heavy syllables,' where recent criticism tends to scan '... | sweat, and the | green | corn,' etc. On p. 61 (example 66) I wonder why elision is not brought in to scan 'b' importuning.' 'Equivalence,' with Mr Bridges, is not used in Prof. Saintsbury's sense, but is limited to the classic idea of two short syllables being equal to one long (p. 16), though on p. 17 it seems to have a somewhat wider meaning. The terrible word 'opisthophagic' [backward devouring?] is invented on p. 11, and the archaic 'quantitive' is habitually preferred to the more usual 'quantitative.' The Notes at the end of the book are entirely new, and will naturally invite attention.

Readers must be congratulated on having in this volume the author's view more consistently and intelligibly put than hitherto, and the author himself on having digested into suitable and permanent shape what before was somewhat chaotic and capriciously assembled.

T. S. OMOND.

TUNBRIDGE WELLS.

*French Classicism.* By C. H. C. WRIGHT. (Harvard Studies in Romance Languages, iv.) Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press; London: H. Milford. 1920. viii + 177 pp. \$2.50.

Professor Wright says in his preface that writers on the French classical age confine themselves too exclusively to the principal figures and neglect the secondary ones. In his book 'La Fontaine disappears

<sup>1</sup> It is singular that in twenty years Mr Bridges has not ascertained that 'Inverary' is a double trochee both in quantity and accent.

somewhat behind a Rapin and a Bouhours,' and to La Fontaine he might have added Mme de La Fayette, whose novel (without its author's name) is only mentioned twice, Malebranche, and Bourdaloue, and to Rapin and Bouhours La Mesnardière, Le Bossu, and that prince of dullards, the Abbé d'Aubignac. Now if Professor Wright had given us a real history of the rise of the School of 1660, if he had told us of its long struggle against powerful enemies, and of how, soon after it had obtained a hardly-gained victory, it found itself once more assailed by the same enemies, with fresh weapons and from a new point of attack—if this had been his aim, he would have been justified in his method of procedure. But his book is not in any sense a history, or even a narrative; it is rather a series of disquisitions on different aspects of French classicism. It is true that American undergraduates after reading it will abandon the belief that classicism is 'a play constructed according to the three unities of Aristotle,' but they would have had a clearer idea of what French classicism really is if Professor Wright had confined himself to the great writers and the governing principles.

Another feature of the book to which its author calls attention is that he has tried to show 'that the classicism of the Renaissance deserves almost as serious consideration as that of the seventeenth century.' Accordingly in Part I, which he entitles Foundations, he devotes three chapters (III, IV, V) to sixteenth-century classicism. But can it with truth be said that the classicism of the seventeenth century was built upon that of the sixteenth? 'The spirit of French humanism enters French poetry with the *Pléiade*.' That is perfectly true, but it marks the difference between the two centuries—between humanism, which is the cult of antiquity, and classicism, which is the adoption of classical forms and classical ideals for the purpose of a truly national literature. The non-continuity between the poetry of the *Pléiade* and that of the seventeenth century is shown by the fact that Malherbe made a clean sweep of the former.

On the other hand, Montaigne is a real forerunner of the classical age, and this is clearly seen by Professor Wright when he says that 'the most characteristic form of Montaigne's thought is the moral psychology of man,' and that 'Montaigne, like Molière, is a psychological realist' (p. 53). With Montaigne he might have joined Regnier, who is not only 'a great example of a formal satirist' but a predecessor of Molière in his careful observation of social types. Professor Wright is also right in calling attention to the Christianised Stoicism of Du Vair and Charron, which leads through the still more eclectic Stoicism of Malherbe and Balzac to that of Descartes and Corneille.

In chapter VI, which deals with the first half of the seventeenth century, we come to the real foundations of the classical period. These are set forth with knowledge and insight, but there are one or two points that invite consideration. It is true that French classicism was influenced by Jansenism, as instanced by Pascal, Racine, Boileau, and La Rochefoucauld. Even Bossuet did not press hardly upon the Jansenists, partly because he recognised that they threatened no real danger



to the Church, but partly also because he shared their devotion to St Augustine. But it was not disillusionment—except perhaps in the case of La Rochefoucauld—that created the pessimistic view of human nature common to nearly all the great writers of the reign of Louis XIV. It was rather the Christian doctrine of the sinfulness of man, which was as much over-emphasised by Bossuet and Bourdaloue as by Pascal and Racine.

The part played by the *salon* in the development of classicism is sketched on pp. 64–67. A distinction should have been drawn between the Blue Chamber of Mme de Rambouillet and the *salons* of inferior hostesses. It was in these latter, especially in that of Mlle de Scudéry, that preciosity found a congenial soil, and it is the failure to recognise this that leads Professor Wright, following M. Fidaio-Justiniani, to declare that ‘preciosity forms part of the early background of French classicism.’ On the contrary, the School of 1660, especially Molière and Boileau, recognised in preciosity a formidable enemy. Again, though it is of course true that there were *précieux* as well as *précieuses*, it would have been well to point out that the term *précieux* (as a substantive) was never applied to men, a fact which emphasises the feminine character of the movement.

Can it be said that the *morale des honnêtes gens* had ‘Jesuit graces’ or was anti-Jansenist (p. 76)? Neither La Rochefoucauld, who has enunciated this *morale* better than any one, nor Molière, who has translated it into action in so many of his comedies, had any sympathy with the Jesuits. Alceste is as much of an *honnête homme* as Philinte, and it is only in his attitude towards society that Alceste can be said to be austere like a Jansenist or Philinte accommodating like a Jesuit.

Just as chapters v and vi are the most important part of Part I, so the strength of Part II (The Structure) lies in chapters vii–ix. ‘In Bossuet we find the incarnation of seventeenth century classicism’ (p. 49). There is truth in this, but it might have been expounded with advantage at greater length. ‘Smooth’ is not a very appropriate description of his sermons, which deserve far more attention than they get at the present day, at least from Englishmen. In their absolute sincerity, their hatred of sin, their ardent love of God, they are extraordinarily impressive witnesses to the Christian religion, while their reasoned eloquence, their absolute freedom from affectation, and above all their universality, makes them noble exponents of the classical ideal.

For this universality as a characteristic of classicism Professor Wright rightly quotes Aristotle in Butcher’s translation and refers to the latter’s admirable chapter on the subject. Unfortunately in the passage quoted there occurs that mention of ‘the law of probability or necessity,’ which caused such perplexity to Corneille and other writers on the drama, and which Professor Wright has not very successfully tried to disentangle. *Vraisemblance* in the sense of verisimilitude and as a motive for the three unities was the source of much nonsense, but, as meaning poetic or imaginative truth in contradistinction to scientific or literal truth, it was of the highest importance.



Professor Wright has some just and useful remarks on good sense, and reason, and taste (pp. 102-4), and on the subject of taste he quotes pertinent passages from La Bruyère and Sir Joshua Reynolds, and rightly refers to Saint-Évremond, Bussy-Rabutin, and Bouhours. These three last, though their criticism does not go very deep, were all men of discernment, far superior to D'Aubignac or Rapin or Le Bossu, who, because they wrote formal treatises, had a reputation beyond their deserts.

Professor Wright's last three chapters are too slight to be of much value, especially the last, which deals with Art. Nicolas Poussin was too great a classicist and Le Brun's influence on the whole art of his age too important to be dismissed with a page of appreciation. In fact Professor Wright's chief defect is that he disperses his strength too much. He is well and widely informed and his observations are often just, but had he concentrated his thought more, had he carried his investigation deeper, had he borrowed from the great writers of the French classical age something of their constructive power and sense of form, he would have produced a more impressive work. As it is, he has not, it seems to me, done full justice to his powers or shown his wide reading to the best advantage.

A. TILLEY.

CAMBRIDGE.

GIULIO BERTONI. *L' 'Orlando Furioso' e la Rinascenza a Ferrara.* Con 32 illustrazioni. Modena: Umberto Orlandini. 1919. x+364 pp. 38 lire.

GIULIO BERTONI. *Studi su vecchie e nuove poesie e prose d'amore e di romanzi.* Same publishers. 1921. viii+382 pp. 25 lire

The first of these volumes completes the Ferrara trilogy which the author began, now eighteen years ago, with his *Biblioteca estense e la coltura ferrarese ai tempi del Duca Ercole I*, and followed up with his less generally known *Nuovi studi su M. M. Boiardo*; the second gathers together a part of the scattered fruits of that somewhat discursive activity, for which he tells us that his friends have called him to task.

We had rather expected from Professor Bertoni the definitive biography of Ariosto with a critical study of his works in the light of recent investigation and discovery. Instead he has given us an elaborate and picturesque volume, at times more or less popular in treatment, in which Messer Lodovico is represented as the supreme product of the Renaissance at Ferrara, and it is shown how the *Orlando Furioso* represents the spirit and reflects the life of its epoch. The titles of its four parts indicate the author's treatment: 'Gli elementi costitutivi della mentalità e dell' arte di Lodovico Ariosto,' 'Forme tradizionali e spiriti nuovi della coltura classica e romanzesca dell' Ariosto nell' *Orlando Furioso*,' 'Protettori e amici dell' Ariosto in Ferrara fra luci ed ombre di poesia nel *Furioso*,' 'Usi costumanze e consuetudini della società dei tempi dell' Ariosto nel *Furioso*.' The minor works—the comedies, satires and

lyrics—are comparatively neglected, and the literary criticism strikes us as occasionally somewhat obvious, not to say superficial. But the author's intention is mainly to investigate the influence and reflection of the society of Ferrara in the poet's masterpiece, and, under this aspect, the book is altogether admirable. It is full of minute details of the court life and intellectual conditions of Ferrara in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, abundantly furnished with new documents. For the specialist in Ferrarese matters, to whom the men and women of that curious Ferrarese society are more than mere names, these pages offer continual interest and fascination. If the book is not the complete life of Ariosto for which we had hoped, it is at least one of the very few indispensable works on the poet of the second *Orlando* that have yet appeared, and, as the author reminds us, it is the *Orlando Furioso* 'entro cui Lodovico Ariosto vive intero, quale poeta, con quella sua originale e simpatica fisionomia, con la quale, bonario e sorridente, ha sfidato e sfiderà i secoli.'

We quote the above sentence from an essay in the second volume before us, 'Il soggettivismo di Lodovico Ariosto,' which is a welcome supplement to the larger work, of which it summarises the conclusions. The *Studi*—provided with a rather self-conscious preface and epilogue—touch upon various topics of romance literature and philology from the *Ritmo delle scolte modenese* to Mistral, and are naturally not all of equal value. The first is perhaps the most important; in an essay which is a model of critical reconstruction, Professor Bertoni has restored that wonderful little Latin lyric of the ninth century ('O tu qui servas—armis ista moenia') to its original form and suggested its affinity with the mediaeval *alba*. We would also call particular attention to the study of the *pianto per la donna amata* of Giacomo Pugliese (so familiar to English readers in Rossetti's beautiful version), with a critical reconstruction of the text and a most noteworthy emendation of the final stanza. Among the other subjects dealt with are Marie de France, a poem of Jaufre Rudel, the lyrics of Lanfranco Cigala, 'il bacio di Lancilotto,' and some pieces of Franco-Italian literature. The notes entitled 'San Francesco cavaliere' and 'la Pastorella di Guido' (Cavalcanti) seem rather slight for inclusion in a volume of serious studies. The longest essay in the book, 'Letteratura ladina dei Grigioni,' has a distinct topical importance and interest, besides directing attention to 'una ricca miniera di bellezze peregrine' unfortunately accessible to comparatively few readers.

EDMUND G. GARDNER.

MANCHESTER.

*Fray Luis de Leon. A Biographical Fragment.* By JAMES FITZMAURICE-KELLY. (Hispanic Society of America.) London: H. Milford. 1921. 8vo. xiv + 261 pp. 7s. 6d.

There are few Spanish poets that make a more immediate appeal to an English reader than Fray Luis de Leon. He is essentially a Classical poet, steeped in Latin, enshrining in stately and melodious language



thoughts which, if they have no special claim to originality, are of universal appeal and have never been more exquisitely expressed. The poems are free from the conceits of the Renaissance and instinct with strong and sincere personal feeling. Rich in grave and harmonious colour, they speak in accents familiar to all Western nations, and their music, their classical simplicity, their love of nature, their warm religious fervour find a ready echo in the hearts of all lovers of poetry.

The author of this biography has placed English lovers of Spanish poetry under a fresh debt by his presentment of the poet's life. Known during his lifetime rather as theologian and scholar than as a poet—for his poems were not published to the world till 40 years after his death—the Augustinian Luis de Leon passed a life full of energy and marked by its full share of storm and trouble. Born about 1527, he was appointed in 1561 to the Chair of Theology in Salamanca—one of the many chairs that he was destined to occupy in the University of which he was such a distinguished ornament. He was the most eloquent of professors and his piety was not inferior to his learning. But while thoroughly orthodox, he was over-outspoken and over-pungent in the expression of his views, and the enmities created by the frankness of his criticism won him not a few enemies. Accused of heresy in 1571, he was arrested by order of the Inquisition in the spring of the following year and was not released from prison till more than four years were passed, when he escaped with a solemn reprimand for his indiscretion, a perhaps unexpected piece of leniency, as a majority of his judges had recommended the application of torture. He returned to the University of Salamanca, held chair after chair, incurred the rebuke of the Inquisition yet once again by the honest frankness with which he discussed the views of a writer suspected of unorthodoxy, and ended as Provincial of the Augustinians of Castile, in which office he died (Jan. 11, 1591), full of years and honour. Mr Fitzmaurice-Kelly has given a vivid picture of the man, fiery, angular, indiscreet, but honest to the core, full of learning and practical wisdom, and a true and earnest follower of Christ. Not less vivid is his picture of the tempestuous atmosphere of Academic politics at Salamanca and of the tortuous methods of the Inquisition. The book is a monument of scholarship, though it may be urged that at times it is rather hard to see the wood for the trees. Ample as the notes are, they might with advantage be ampler still. For example, to quote but one out of many instances, the discussion of the authenticity of the delightful story to the effect that Fray Luis on returning to lecture at Salamanca after his long incarceration began 'As I was saying yesterday,' might well have been relegated to the notes. And the book would have been further improved, had the numerous citations from the poems, given in the admirable chapter with which the Life concludes, been given in the original instead of in Churton's elegant but wholly uninspired translation. The book forms the first in the series of Hispanic 'Notes and Monographs' appearing under the auspices of the Hispanic Society of America. The Society are to be congratulated on so admirable an inauguration.

H. E. BUTLER.

LONDON.



*Francisco Rodrigues Lobo. Estudo biográfico e crítico.* Por RICARDO JORGE. Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade. 1920. xv + 474 pp. 50.000 réis.

Dr Ricardo Jorge, already well known for his writings on medical subjects, has lately turned his attention to Portuguese literature, and among other welcome results is this scholarly volume, in every way worthy of its subject, the great poet and prose-writer of the early seventeenth century, Rodrigues Lobo. Born at the little town of Leiria in the last third of the sixteenth century, perhaps in 1578, he went to the University of Coimbra in 1594 and took his degree there in 1602. Before 1604 he formed part of the household of D. Theodosio, Duke of Braganza, at Villa Viçosa, and when little over forty he was accidentally drowned in the Tagus, just two centuries before Shelley met a similar death. Dr Jorge, with his usual preciseness and after careful research, fixes his death in the last quarter of the year 1622. After telling us all that is known—more than has hitherto been known—of Lobo's life, Dr Jorge devotes Sections 5 to 11 of his work to Lobo's poetry and prose. Section 12 is bibliographical and bears ample witness to its author's keenness and ability as a biographer. The last section of the book (pp. 405–69) deals with Lobo's posthumous fame. That his fame is not greater and more universal is due partly to Portuguese neglect in not having published his works in a good modern edition, partly to Lobo himself for having written so much. His prose is excellent and constantly delights by its rich colour and harmony, but the modern reader fights shy of the immense length of his pastoral romances, which contain passage after passage of unusual beauty, and, if he reads him at all, reads him in his briefer *Corte na Aldea*, for which Gracian nearly three centuries ago prophesied an eternity of fame, and which well deserves it by reason of the interest of its subject and the precision of its style, here less trailing than in Lobo's pastoral works.

There is charm and indigenous flavour about most of what Lobo wrote, although very few now read his lengthy epic on the Constable Nun' Alvarez. His first published work (1596)—the first edition has disappeared, to the despair of Dr Jorge, who is only able to give us the facsimile of the edition of 1654—was a volume of *romances*. Lobo was essentially a poet and interspersed in his prose pastorals are to be found many delightful poems. On the subject of the *romances* in Portugal Dr Jorge has some important pages (166–75). He fully acknowledges the Castilian origin of the *romances*, which towards the end of the fifteenth century extended, as 'a kind of literary-musical epidemic,' to Portugal, popularly by means of the bilingual frontier of Tras-os-Montes and Alentejo, and aristocratically through the close relations of cultured families in Spain and Portugal. 'The traditional Portuguese *romanceiro* is not an autochthonous product, parallel and similar to the Castilian *romancero*: it is the Castilian *romancero* naturalised'—a supplement, as Menéndez y Pelayo called it. That Portugal possessed no, or scarcely any, historical *romances* of her own is no ignominy, but Dr Braga's atti-

tude on this question and his attacks on those who believe in the Castilian origin of the *romances* make Dr Jorge's remarks especially welcome. Equally interesting, equally characteristic of the thoroughness of his method, are those on the eclogues, dialogues and Lobo's other works. The author's keen intellect succeeds in enchaining the reader's attention throughout his book, which will always rank very high among Portuguese works of criticism. The edition is limited to 150 copies.

AUBREY F. G. BELL.

S. JOÃO DO ESTORIL.

*Das Buch über Shakespeare.* Handschriftliche Aufzeichnungen von LUDWIG TIECK. Aus seinem Nachlass herausgegeben von HENRY LÜDEKE. (*Neudrucke deutscher Literaturwerke des 18. und 19. Jahrhunderts herausg.* von ALBERT LEITZMANN und WALDEMAR OEHLKE, I.) Halle: Max Niemeyer. 1920. 8vo. xxvi + 524 pp. 30 M.

Tieck's reputation as a critic of the drama already stands again much higher than in the days of Wilhelm Scherer and Rudolf Haym. Had the *Kommentar zu Shakespeare*, which is by far the most important section of the present *Buch*, been published before the year 1800, it could hardly have fallen as low as it did. For Tieck here, in spite of some aberrations, goes beyond his predecessors and these pages, written before he was twenty-one, if Dr Lüdeke's date is correct, support Hans Bischoff's view: 'Gründlich studiert ist Shakespeare erst von Tieck worden' (*L. Tieck als Dramaturg*, Brussels, 1897), if we take 'studiert' in its full sense. And to the young Tieck Shakespeare is not merely, to use Gundolf's phrase, 'Offenbarer des poetischen Sinns der Weltbewegung.' He is also 'der grosse Kenner der Natur,' who exhibits again and again 'seine Kunst und sein tiefes Studium des Herzens.'

The present (and first) editor of Tieck's unhappily belated *Kommentar*, though hampered by war and post-war conditions, has written a useful introduction and added brief notes, with references to the Schlegel-Tieck translation (ed. Brandl), Tieck himself having cited chiefly Steevens' edition (1785) or Eschenburg's translation. (One would welcome an English version of select passages, with references to a good English edition.) The *Kommentar* itself contains much now unimportant matter, and the minor *Entwürfe*, some of which Dr Lüdeke gives reasons for re-dating, have in the main been printed before. On the other hand some important essays on Shakespeare find no place in this volume. May one hope for a supplementary volume, which might well be introduced with an essay on Tieck's place in Shakespeare criticism?

Dr Lüdeke gives a good account of the genesis and 'Sterbezeit' of the *Kommentar*, so far as these are traceable. The latter belongs to the 'zwanziger Jahre in Dresden,' the former most probably to the winter of 1793-94, for Tieck was using throughout the rare Shakespeareana of the Göttingen University Library and in the autumn of 1793 proposed to write in letters to his friend Bernhardt 'manches, was ich über Shakespeare denke.' But even if Köpke's later date (1795) is correct, we



cannot but be amazed at what Max Koch in 1896 well called 'den genialen historischen Blick und die umfassende Kenntniss, durch die schon der junge Tieck alle seine deutschen Zeitgenossen übertraf' (*Jahrbuch d. Deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*, xxxii, p. 338). Reason, feeling, imagination, wide reading, independence of judgment, such were the gifts of Nicolai's protégé and these, but for the break with his protector, he might have revealed to the world in his early twenties. Even now, incomplete and apparently never finished for the press, the *Kommentar* still arouses the reader's keen interest. In the main one is struck by Tieck's freedom from cant, moral and literary, and by his grasp of the essentially dramatic, as opposed to the merely theatrical. His Romanticism is here only embryonic, but his Anti-classicism is plain enough. There is, of course, but *one* unity for him, but he widens its scope: it is 'die der Handlung, oder des Interesse.' This he declares (p. 303) 'beobachtet Sh. immer,' yet admits that the dramatist's interest in his plot often flags towards the end of the play. On *Hamlet* he notes specifically, 'die Handlung selbst interessirt weit weniger, als die Empfindung, die durch die Empfindung der Hauptperson veranlasst wird.' His prose is nearly always clear and crisp and he loves an aphoristic phrase: 'je mehr Wunderbares hinzukömmt, je mehr wird das Wunderbare wahrscheinlich,' he says of *A Midsummer's Night's Dream*, and Hamlet's inaction is summarised thus: 'er leidet, andre handeln, damit er leide, dies war der Zweck des Dichters.'

Shakespeare's plays are nowhere claimed as faultless; he has e.g. a sad tendency to word-play and affectation. But they are the product of genius, genius in evolution, 'erlebt und nicht gemacht' by one who became a 'grosser Menschenkenner' and finally 'ganz vollendeter Künstler.' The foundation of Tieck's criticism is sympathetic understanding, little trammelled by prejudices or authorities. 'Bei ihm,' as Goethe wrote in his review of Tieck's *Dramaturgische Blätter* (1826) 'ruht das Urtheil auf dem Genuss, der Genuss auf der Kenntniss...'; and, one may add, this 'Kenntniss' seems due to a kind of 'elective affinity' for his subject. A crucial case arises with *Richard III*, which Tieck says boldly 'ist ein Beweis, wie dem Genie keine Bahn zu betreten verboten sei.' He is bolder than Lessing, less sophistical than Schiller; he realises, as no German critic before him, that Richard displays 'Seelengrösse' and as Shakespeare 'uns in seine Seele hineinführt,... die erhitzte Phantasie hat für Recht und Unrecht dann einen ganz andern Maasstab...'. 'Kaliban hat eine eigne Sprache und Richard hat die seinige auch...'. Weisse's Richard, on the other hand, 'ist ein gemeiner Bösewicht, ein blutdürstiger Tyrann, ohne feine und individuelle Züge.' And then Tieck pains us by sacrificing Richard's essentially tragic character on the altar of Aristotle-Lessing: 'Freilich ist der Charakter Richards gewiss kein *tragischer* Charakter, er erregt kein Mitleid für sich, und keine lebhaftes Theilnahme, aber Sh. wollte auch keine Tragödie schreiben....' To the really tragic thing—the fact that Richard's 'Seelengrösse' is deformed, like his body—Tieck deliberately shuts his eyes. And yet he is half right; for has not Mr Masefield



written, 'the vision of all this bloodiness is less terrible than that vision of the sheep triumphing, so dear to us moderns?'

The book is essentially stimulating; one feels that Goethe's words on Tieck's *Dramaturgische Blätter* are no less applicable to the earlier *Kommentar*: 'Gar mannigfaltige Betrachtungen erregte mir dies merkwürdige Büchelchen.' While the editors' work is not faultless the first volume of their new *Neudrucke* has a real value.

M. MONTGOMERY.

OXFORD.

## MINOR NOTICES.

Professor G. McLean Harper of Princeton is known as the author of the *Life of Wordsworth*. In *John Morley and other essays* (London, H. Milford, 1920, 6s. 6d.), writing an easy and graceful English, in a tone of unaffected sincerity, he shows his thoughtful interest in many sides of life and literature. His own view of life is revealed in his very sympathetic essay on John Morley, written in 1911: but he is so far from being a narrow agnostic that he devotes one essay to an admiring study of a forgotten Christian mystic of the 18th century, David Brainerd. He writes finely of the austere sonnets of Michael Angelo: and with discriminating enthusiasm of the *Comédie Humaine*, which he has read from end to end. He introduces us to a new critic of marked individuality, W. C. Brownell: and he makes a further contribution to our knowledge of Wordsworth in two notable essays, one on Wordsworth's Love Poetry, the other on his life at Blois. Professor Harper in a visit to Blois read through the manuscript minutes of the Blois revolutionary society, 'Les amis de la constitution,' and found a minute of 3 Feb. 1792 in which permission was given to two Englishmen to attend the meetings of the society—one of them, with little doubt, being Wordsworth—and other minutes relating to the part played by Wordsworth's friend, Beaupuy.

G. C. M. S.

Professor Henry A. Beers' *Four Americans* (New Haven, Conn., Yale University Press; London, H. Milford, 1920, 4s. 6d.) consists of four slight but pleasantly written essays on Roosevelt, Hawthorne, Emerson, Whitman. The treatment of the two former is something fuller than that of Emerson, who only appears as one figure in the society of Concord, and of Whitman who only receives a 'Wordlet' of five small pages, but in no case does the critic allow himself to be shaken from an attitude of rather cool detachment. Those among us whose view of life's values has been profoundly affected by Whitman will rub their eyes at being told that 'his poetry though animal to a degree is not unhuman.' But after this generous concession, the *advocatus diaboli* proceeds:

'Where was his perfect poem, his gem of flawless workmanship?'

'Was he the great poet of America, or even a great poet at all?'

'Our really democratic writers have been such as Mark Twain and James Whitcomb Riley.'

'I do not stand in terror of any critics, however authoritative; remembering how even the great Goethe was taken in by Macpherson's "Ossian."

So if Professor Beers had only been a Goethe, he would probably have felt Whitman's sweep of soul and his sheer power as an artist. As it is, he cannot be 'taken in.'

The 'Wordlet' is provocative: the other essays contain much that will be interesting, at least to English readers. The qualities of Hawthorne are delicately discriminated: and the society of Concord is pictured once more. Professor Beers even assents to the opinion that the one of the Concord authors who will live longest is not Emerson, but Thoreau.

G. C. M. S.

Bacon tells us that he found in his own nature a special adaptation for the contemplation of truth. 'For I had a mind at once versatile enough for the recognition of similitudes, and at the same time sufficiently steady and concentrated for the observation of subtle shades of difference.' Professor L. N. Broughton, author of *The Theocritean Element in the Works of William Wordsworth* (Halle, Max Niemeyer, 1920, M. 18), has hardly this double equipment. His essay, while laboriously showing points of resemblance between the two poets, shows little sense of the differences between them, and seems to me to add very little to our knowledge of either.

G. C. M. S.

We have received the third volume of *Studi danteschi* edited by Michele Barbi (Florence, Sansoni. 1921. Lire 12,50). Under *Il bacio di Ginevra e il bacio di Paolo*, V. Crescini investigates, with illustrations drawn from both romantic and feudal sources, the apparent discrepancy between the scene in the *Lancelot* and Dante's famous lines in the fifth canto of the *Inferno*. Pio Rajna, in *Il casato di Dante*, discusses the history and correct spelling of the surname 'Alighieri.' Michele Barbi (*L'ufficio di Dante per i lavori di via S. Procolo*) places in its right perspective that curious episode in the life of the poet when, in the spring of 1301, he appears as *officialis et superestans*, for the straightening out of a Florentine street. The article is supplemented by an interesting appendix of documents. Among the *Chiose e note varie* are notes by Vandelli, Barbi, and Rajna illustrating readings adopted in the sixcentenary critical edition of the *Opere*; all, we think, convincing. Enrico Bianchi leaves us unsatisfied in an attempted defence of the theory that refers the 'disdegno di Guido' to Beatrice, but gives a suggestive interpretation of the 'cerchie eterne' of *Inf.* XVIII, 72. In addition there are critical notices of recent publications on the question of the *Fiore* and the Garisenda sonnet, and some useful bibliographical matter.

E. G. G.

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CORRIGENDUM. Vol. XVI, p. 271, line 5: Delete the sentence 'Evelyn describes, etc.,' for which the writer desires to express his regret.

## NEW PUBLICATIONS.

September—November, 1921.

### GENERAL.

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## THE SINGLE COMBAT IN CERTAIN CYCLES OF ENGLISH AND SCANDINAVIAN TRADITION AND ROMANCE.

To a generation deeply impressed with the close interdependence of every member of a community upon all the rest, the suggestion that national or international difficulties may be solved by single combat between those directly concerned must appear primitive and inadequate. Yet the device has not altogether lost its appeal. We can conceive of a leader, even in an age when human life counted for little, who should refuse to sacrifice his helpless and innocent followers to his own ambition, or of a people, driven beyond endurance by indecisive war, who, in a flash of almost cynical rationalism, should demand that the quarrel be confined to those who hoped to gain by the event. 'Pugnent soli qui soli cupiunt dominari.'

The *motif*, indeed, is not unknown to legend or to authentic history, but it occurs, as one would expect, sporadically, and seems to express a reaction against a prevailing code<sup>1</sup>. The purpose of this article is to draw attention to the occurrence of such a *motif*, implied or fully expressed, in a certain curiously related series of tradition and romance, linked by the presence of the Scandinavian adventurer, Anlaf Cuaran. It is not intended to base any theory on what, after all, may be no more than a chain of coincidences. The only justification for putting forward so imperfect a survey is the hope that the subject may be further pursued by those who are already at work in the field of tradition and romance.

Before dealing directly with the tradition of Anlaf Cuaran, it is proposed to enter the subject indirectly, by way of a tradition connected with the relations between England and Scandinavia in the eleventh century.

In the twelfth-century chronicle of Henry of Huntingdon<sup>2</sup> is found the story of a duel between Edmund Ironside and Canute of Denmark

<sup>1</sup> The question is touched upon in H. C. Lea's *Superstition and Force* (3rd ed. 1878, pp. 95, 99, 118) and in Arbois de Jubainville's *Cours de Littératures celtiques*, Vol. VII, ch. IV. In both cases a clear distinction is drawn between the wager by battle intended as a direct appeal to Heaven to decide the justice of a quarrel, and the single combat arranged to avert a general slaughter.

<sup>2</sup> Rolls Series. Ed. by T. Arnold, 1879. Lib. VI, p. 185. Translation, T. Forester. Bohn's *Antiquarian Library*.



in the year 1016. Six terrible battles have been fought, and preparations are in train for a seventh. The armies are drawn up in Gloucestershire, but before the battle is joined, dissatisfaction arises among the nobles, presumably of Edmund's party, and the general opinion is voiced in terms of bald common sense, 'Why are we such fools as to be so often putting our lives in peril? Let those who wish to reign singly decide the quarrel by single combat<sup>1</sup>.' The rival kings readily adopt the suggestion, and a meeting place is arranged at 'Olanie<sup>2</sup>.' A fierce combat follows without marked advantage on either side, until Canute, foreseeing that his strength is about to fail him, proposes terms to his opponent. 'Let us be brothers by adoption, and divide the kingdom, so governing that I may rule your affairs and you mine. Even the government of Denmark I submit to your disposal<sup>3</sup>. An agreement is arrived at, to which the people assent with tears of joy, a suitable conclusion to what Professor Earle describes as 'one of the established sensation scenes of History<sup>4</sup>.'

The story is circumstantial enough and not *prima facie* incredible, but since it is apparently unknown to the writers of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* and to Florence of Worcester, it is open to the gravest suspicion. Modern historians have, indeed, brushed it aside somewhat cavalierly<sup>5</sup>, accepting Professor Earle's suggestion that the legend must have arisen from the misinterpretation of a phrase which occurs under the year 1016 in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, 'the kings came together at Olaneg<sup>6</sup>.'

But if the phrase 'comon togædere' is in itself ambiguous, the context makes it perfectly clear, and it would be a negligent and unintelligent chronicler who could so grossly misinterpret his source. There can be no doubt that the compiler of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* has in his mind a friendly meeting, 'then counselled Eadric the ealdorman and the "witan" who were present that the kings should come to terms

<sup>1</sup> 'Cur insensati necis periculum totiens incurrimus? pugnent singulariter qui regnare student singulariter.'

<sup>2</sup> Said by earlier chroniclers to be an island in the Severn. (See Florence of Worcester, Roger of Wendover, Robert of Gloucester, etc.) MS. D of the *A.S. Chronicles* states that Olanige is 'with Deorhyrste.' See J. Earle's *Saxon Chronicles*, 1865, pp. 340, 341.

<sup>3</sup> 'Simus fratres adoptivi, regnumque partiamur, imperemusque ego rebus in tuis, tuque in meis. Dacia quoque tuo disponatur imperio.'

<sup>4</sup> Earle's *Saxon Chronicles*, p. 340.

<sup>5</sup> E.g., E. A. Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, 1877, Vol. I, p. 705. R. Green in his *Conquest of England* and C. Oman in *England before the Norman Conquest* ignore the story completely. For a discussion of the incident, see a paper by J. Hogg in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, Second Series, Vol. v, Part II, 1854: 'On two Events which occurred in the Life of King Canute the Dane.'

<sup>6</sup> 'pa cynegas comon togædere æt Olaneg' (MS. C).

and exchange hostages, and the kings came together at Olaneg, and there confirmed their friendship<sup>1</sup>. It is difficult to believe that so circumstantial and persistent<sup>2</sup> a legend should have arisen simply from the misunderstanding of a perfectly straightforward account. Is it not unnecessarily insulting to ascribe such stupidity to Huntingdon or another? But if we might assume that in the mind of the chronicler there existed the memory of a traditional single combat fought between an English and a Danish prince with the realm of England as the prize, we could more readily believe that he might read into the elastic phrase of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles* the suggestion of such a combat, and that he might then proceed to elaborate the suggestion on the lines of this floating tradition. It is, of course, not uncommon for a story, which has been cut adrift from its moorings or has never been located, to attach itself to some prominent or arresting historical figure<sup>3</sup>.

Did any such tradition actually exist in England at the time at which Henry of Huntingdon was compiling his chronicle?

In approaching this question, it is convenient to consider first the setting of the story of Edmund and Canute in the fourteenth-century chronicle of Henry Knighton<sup>4</sup>. After an introductory chapter the chronicler touches upon the reigns of Edwy, Edgar and Edward the Martyr, and comes in Chapter II to the reign of Aethelred. He then records the series of battles between Edmund and Canute, and gives an account of the single combat without any important divergence from the version given by Henry of Huntingdon. Chapter III deals with the reign of Canute, and Chapter IV with Robert of Normandy. Chapter V returns to the reign of Canute, and is of particular interest. It professes to deal with the grounds of Canute's claim to the English throne<sup>5</sup>, and

<sup>1</sup> The incident of the meeting at Olaneg is told in almost identical language in texts C, D, E and F, while texts A and B do not cover this period. 'Pa gerædde Eadric ealdormann 7 þá witan þe þar wæron þ(æt) þa cyningas seht naman him betwynan 7 hi gislas him betwynan sealdon 7 þa cyneegas comon togædere æt Olaneg 7 hira freondseype þær gefæstnodon.'

<sup>2</sup> For a list of authorities which have adopted the tradition, see Sharon Turner's *History of the Anglo-Saxons*, 6th ed., 1836, Vol. II, p. 331. One form of the tradition represents the single combat as suggested but not actually undertaken. See for example Gaimar's *Estorie*, Rolls Series, I. 4257 ff.

<sup>3</sup> William of Malmesbury, for instance, ascribes both to Alfred the Great and to Anlaf Sietricson the incident of the leader who gains access to the enemy's camp disguised as a harper.

<sup>4</sup> Rolls Series. Ed. by J. R. Lumby, 1889.

<sup>5</sup> The earlier and more reliable chronicles, e.g. the *A.S. Chronicles*, Florence of Worcester, Henry of Huntingdon, do not suggest that Canute attempted to justify his accession to the throne of England on any plea of hereditary right. The connection between Canute's claim and the story of Havelok had been suggested before Knighton, e.g. in Rauf de Boun's *Petit Bruit* (Harl. MS. 902 Brit. Mus.). This chronicle, however, does not record the single combat.



tells how a certain king Egelwoldus, who formerly ruled in England, has a daughter Goldusburgh. At her father's death she is committed to the care of Godric, Duke of Cornwall, and later becomes the wife of a certain Avelec, son of Birkelanus, king of Dacia 'in the neighbourhood of Lincoln, who in later years reigned at the same time both in Anglia and Dacia....For this cause the Danes carried matters with too high a hand in Anglia and long oppressed the English, as is related in the history of Grimsby<sup>1</sup>.'

Although the narrative at this point is far from clear, Knighton's presentation of his subject is of especial interest, if not to the historian at least to the student of tradition. For the present enquiry, its chief importance lies in the fact that we find here combined in one connected narrative the story of the duel between Edmund and Canute and the story of Havelok, with an explicit statement of the supposed connection between the two<sup>2</sup>. It should also be noticed in passing that the story of Havelok is followed by that of Guy of Warwick and his single combat with the giant Colbrand in the reign of Aethelstan, and that no reference is made to the historical Battle of Brunanburh. Whatever the original connection between the two stories, the fact that they are found in juxtaposition in more than one chronicle is an encouragement to search the story of Havelok for traces of a single combat, which might have influenced the tradition of Edmund and Canute. The earliest version of the Havelok story which has come down to us appears to be that of the French *Lai d'Aveloc*, which probably belongs to the first half of the

<sup>1</sup> 'Apud Lineolniam, qui postea regnavit tam in Anglia quam in Dacia simul....Inde Dani sumpserunt nimiam audaciam in Anglia et suppeditaerunt Anglos longe tempore, sicut continetur in historia de Grimsby.' Fortunately the origin of the association between the Havelok story with the town of Grimsby is outside the scope of this article.

<sup>2</sup> There appears to be no doubt that a tradition existed of an early Scandinavian conquest of England. Sir F. Madden, in his edition of the English *Havelok* (Roxburghe Club, 1828), pp. ix-x, footnote, quotes references from Scandinavian sources in support of this. It is not impossible, though undemonstrable, that the story of Havelok had taken form among the Danes in England as early as the eleventh century, and that it may have been exploited by Canute's political supporters to give a colouring of legal right to Canute's accession to the English throne. It might well be some time before a story with so strong a Danish bias would be embodied in the English chronicles, but Henry of Knighton, writing in the fourteenth century, could have no political reasons for omitting the tradition which connected the story of Havelok with Canute's bid for the throne. He does not commit himself as to the justice of the claim. The following passage from Robert of Brune's translation of Pierre de Langtoft's *Chronicle* (ed. T. Hearne, Vol. 1, p. 25) bears out the impression that the story of Havelok was suppressed by certain early chroniclers.

Bot I haf grete ferly, þat I fynd no man,  
þat has writen in story, how Hanelok þis lond wan.....  
Bot þat þise lowed men upon Inglish tellis,  
Right story can me not ken, þe certeynte what spellis....  
Of alle stories of honoure, þat I haf þogh souht,  
I fynd þat no compiloure of him tellis ouht.



twelfth century<sup>1</sup>. The later part of the poem describes how Havelok, at the instigation of Sigar, a Danish noble who has remained faithful to the memory of Havelok's dead father, determines to win back his kingdom from the usurper Hodulf.

The opposing forces are drawn up, but

Haveloc saw the poor folk  
Who had come to help him.  
He did not wish them to be killed.  
To king Hodulf, by his friends,  
He sent word that he would fight him,  
Body against body, and if he conquered him,  
The folk with him should come  
And hold him for their lord.  
'I know not why they should fight  
Who are not in fault<sup>2</sup>.' (ll. 943 f.)

Here, then, stands out clearly the *motif* of a single combat, upon which depends the fate of a kingdom. The combat is suggested as a means of avoiding the slaughter of those who have no stakes in the game. But in this case the initiative comes, not from exasperated subjects, but from one of the protagonists: 'Pitee renneth sone in gentil herte.'

The *Lai* proceeds to describe the combat, which, unlike the combat between Edmund and Canute, appears to have been fought in the open field. Hodulf falls, and his followers crave mercy from Havelok, who readily grants it.

They turned to him  
And he pardoned them all<sup>3</sup>. (ll. 969 f.)

The humanitarian note is curious<sup>4</sup>, and one might be inclined to see in

<sup>1</sup> In dealing with the story of Havelok, three main versions have to be taken into account, viz. the French *Lai*, the version which precedes Gaimar's *Estorie* (both of which are included in Sir T. Duffus Hardy and C. T. Martin's edition of Gaimar's *Estorie des Engles*, 1888), and the English *Lay of Havelok* (edited by W. W. Skeat, from Sir F. Madden's edition of 1828, in the E. E. T. S., Extra Series, No. iv). In addition an epitome is found in the Lambeth MS. of Robert of Brune's translation of Pierre de Langtoft's *Chronicle*, while incidental references to the story are found elsewhere. See Skeat's Introduction.

<sup>2</sup> Haveloc vist la gent menue  
Qen saide estoit venue;  
Ne voelt quil soient occis...  
Au roi Hodulf, par ses amis,  
Manda qa lui se combatist  
Cors contre cors, et, si le venquist,  
Les genz a lui touz se venissent,  
Et a seignur le tenissent.  
'Ne sai purquei se combateroient  
Qui nule culpe nen auoient.'

Translated in Rolls Series, Gaimar, Vol. II.

<sup>3</sup> Cil se sont a lui tourne,  
Et il lur ad tut pardone.

<sup>4</sup> It should be noted that Gaimar's short version and the English *Lay* omit this element, but the earlier date of the French *Lai* is of great weight.

it the refining tendency of French romance, but there is no good reason to doubt that the single combat formed part of the original story.

A very convincing train of argument connects Havelok of the romance with the famous Scandinavian adventurer of the tenth century, Anlaf Cuaran, who held precarious sway now in Northumbria and now in Scandinavian Ireland. It is not possible in this place to discuss the identification. Although the question must remain open<sup>1</sup>, the probable identity of the names of Havelok and Anlaf, and the application of the nickname Cuaran (Cuheran) to both characters, are difficult to explain away, and the fact that the main course of the life of Anlaf Cuaran, his expulsion from his father's kingdom, and his attempts to regain and to hold his inheritance are in broad outline not unlike the career of Havelok, is also of weight<sup>2</sup>.

'Huntingdon,' wrote John Milton in his *History of Britain*, 'still haunts us with this Anlaf (of whom we gladly would have bin ridd).' Anyone who attempts to run to earth this shape-changing personality may well share Milton's irritation. Even in the earliest and most sober chronicles<sup>3</sup>, we find him almost inextricably confused with his kinsman Anlaf Guthfrithson. Irish records serve only partially to distinguish

<sup>1</sup> The question of the origin of the Havelok story has had various solutions. See especially P. F. Suhm, *Critisk Historie*, Bind III, pp. 857, 880 ff.; Gustav Storm, *Englische Studien*, III, p. 533; *Havelok the Dane and the Norse King Olaf Kuaran*; W. Skeat, *Havelok the Dane*, E. E. T. S., Extra Series, IV; K. Køster, *Sagnet om Havelok Danske*, 1868; H. L. D. Ward, *Catalogue of Romances in the Dept. of MSS. in the British Museum*, 1883, pp. 429 ff.; C. W. Whistler, *Saga of Havelok the Dane (Saga Book of the Viking Club, Vol. III, p. 394, 1902)*; M. Deutschbein, *Sagengeschichte Englands*, I, *Wikingersagen*, 1906, pp. 103 ff.; A. Bugge, *Havelok and Olaf Tryggvason*, translated by C. M. E. Poehin in *Saga Book of the Viking Club*, Vol. VI, 1908-9, from *Aarbøger for Nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*, 1908. See also H. E. Heyman, *Studies on the Havelok Tale*, Upsala, 1903.

<sup>2</sup> Is it impossible that ll. 728 ff. of the English *Havelok*:

But or he hauede michel shame,  
Michel sorwe and michel tene,  
Ane thrie he gat it (i.e. the kingdom) al bidene

are reminiscent of Anlaf's accession to the kingdom of Northumbria in 941 (*A.S. Chron. D*), his expulsion in 944, his return in 947, and his second expulsion in 952? It is true that only two occasions are recorded on which Anlaf can be said to have got his kingdom 'al bidene,' but, even supposing that the *Chronicles* have recorded the complete course of events, a touch of exaggeration would not be unprecedented in romance. An account of these events is given in the *English Historical Review*, Jan. 1918, by M. L. R. Beaver; cp. also W. G. Collingwood, 'King Eirik of York' in *Saga Book of the Viking Club*, Vol. II, pp. 318 ff.

Madden interprets the word 'thrie' in the passage quoted above as 'trouble, affliction'; Holthausen amends 'thrie' to 'yete.' Skeat recognises the difficulty and remarks 'without doubt the usual meaning of "thrie" is "thrice," which is easily construed, only it remains to be shown why thrice should be introduced; unless perhaps it signifies in a threefold degree.' Certainly as it stands the statement is inconsistent with the story contained in the English *Lay*, but a trace of an earlier and more authentic tradition of Anlaf-Havelok might persist and escape the attention of the poet.

<sup>3</sup> *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, 937-952.



their separate careers, while, as far as the late chroniclers are concerned, the two Anlafs may be regarded as having merged into one.

As regards Anlaf Guthfrithson, one of the indubitable facts of his career is his appearance at the Battle of Brunanburh, as leader of the Scandinavians of Ireland against King Aethelstan of England. This is the Anlaf who fled overseas to Dublin after the *débâcle*, with his defeated army, 'abashed in mind.' On the other hand, it is by no means impossible that Anlaf Sictricson, who was son-in-law to the 'old trickster' Constantine of the Scots, was also present, and he is undoubtedly associated with the battle in certain later chronicles<sup>1</sup>.

It seems therefore safe to assume that at one stage of its growth the tradition of Anlaf Cuaran included some reminiscence of the Battle of Brunanburh. Is it then possible to trace in the records of this battle any suggestion of a single combat, which might have re-appeared in association with Anlaf Cuaran in his character of Havelok<sup>2</sup>?

No suggestion of a single combat appears in the prose references to the Battle of Brunanburh in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*, nor can the *motif* be read in the pæan found under the year 937 in four out of the six MSS<sup>3</sup>. Three aspects of the battle, however, which emerge clearly both from the general tenor of the poem and from definite statements, deserve attention.

First, the battle was held to be in the strongest sense of the word 'decisive.' The fate of England had hung upon the issue, and England was saved<sup>4</sup>. The account of Constantine's ignominious flight to the

<sup>1</sup> E.g. Florence of Worcester, who writes of the Scandinavian leader at Brunanburh as 'Anlafus, a socero suo rege Scottorum Constantius incitatus,' i.e. Anlaf Sictricson; Henry of Huntingdon, who describes him as Anlaf, king of Hibernia, i.e. Anlaf Guthfrithson; William of Malmesbury, who, in relating the legend of Anlaf's visit to the enemy camp disguised as a harper, calls him the son of Sihtric. Robert of Gloucester, writing of the same person, describes him as 'Anlaf, king of homberlond.'

It would seem that the more romantic figure of Anlaf Cuaran came to overshadow his elder kinsman and namesake, Anlaf Guthfrithson. As a parallel may be cited the development of the tradition of Hrólf Kráki and Hróarr in Scandinavia, as compared with the earlier tradition of Hrothgar and Hrothwulf in England.

<sup>2</sup> For a summary of the records relating to the lives of the two Anlafs see J. H. Todd, *War of the Gaedhill with the Gaill*, Appendix D, pp. 280 ff. In the French versions of the *Romance of Guy of Warwick* a reminiscence of two distinct figures is probably preserved in the statement that the Scandinavian army which invaded England in the reign of King Aethelstan was led by two kings, Anelaph (Hunelaf) and Gonelaph (Gunelaf). H. L. D. Ward's *Catalogue*, pp. 471, 486, cf. Giraldus Cornubiensis' account of this event, quoted in T. Hearne's *Chronica de Dunstaple*, Vol. II, and *Le Petit Bruit* of Rauf de Boun, Harl. 902, British Museum.

<sup>3</sup> MSS. A, B, C and D.

<sup>4</sup> A sense of the magnitude of the issues is conveyed by later chronicles, e.g. Ethelwerdi *Chronicorum Lib. IV* (*Monumenta Historica Britannica*, Vol. I, 1848, p. 520): 'facta est pugna immanis Barbaros contra, in loco Brunandune, unde et vulgo usque ad praesens, bellum praenominatur magnum: tum superantur Barbarae passim turbae nec ultra domnari...uno solidantur Brittannidis arva,' etc.



North and of the return of the Northmen to Dublin, 'æwiscmode' suggests a rout from which the defeated party was not likely to rally. The poem expresses a feeling of relaxation after a great tension. Secondly, the slaughter on both sides was unprecedented. 'Never before this day was greater slaughter of men wrought in this island at the edge of the sword, as books tell us and aged scholars, since the time when the Angles and Saxons made their way hither from the East over the wide ocean, sought the land of Britain, those proud war-smiths, overcame the Welsh, and won for themselves a home, those valiant earls!'

The third aspect of the battle suggested by the Anglo-Saxon poem is the dawning of a sense of nationality, struggling with conceptions of the relation between prince and people inherited from an earlier, heroic age. The poet's interest is not centred wholly upon the prince and his *comitatus*. This is a crisis in which a nation is involved, and one may assume that the poet, in commenting upon the prowess of West Saxons and Mercians, has the rank and file in his mind<sup>2</sup>. At the same time the conception of a kingdom as the personal property of its ruler is not wholly superseded. King and aetheling, as the tradition of their house demanded,

wip laþra gehwæne      land ealgodon  
hord 7 hamas<sup>3</sup>.

Thus in the earliest account of the Battle of Brunanburh can be traced an impression that the fate of England had indeed hung upon the issue of a single battle. The situation was dramatic, and calculated to fire the imagination of chroniclers and romancers. One touch only

<sup>1</sup> MS. A.

	Ne wearð wæl mare
on þis eiglande	æfer gieta
folces gefyllod	beforan þissum
sweordes ecgum	þæs þe us secgaþ bec
ealde upwitan	sipa eastan hider
Engle 7 Seaxe	up becoman
ofer brad brimu	Brytene sohtan
wlance wigsmiþas	Weealles ofercoman
eorlas arhwate	eard begeatan.

The *A.S. Chronicles*, not unnaturally, emphasise the slaughter of the enemy. Their account is supplemented by that of the *Annals of Ulster* (W. H. Hennessy's edition, 1887, p. 457): 'A great, lamentable and horrible battle was stubbornly fought between the Saxons and Norsemen, in which many thousands of Norsemen, beyond counting, were slain.... On the other side, however, a great multitude of Saxons fell. But Athelstan King of the Saxons was enriched with a great victory.'

<sup>2</sup> H. M. Chadwick, *Heroic Age*, p. 332.

<sup>3</sup> 'Hord 7 hamas,' in accordance with the general structure of the verse, would seem to be an explanatory phrase, elaborating the word 'land,' and suggests the equation of the kingdom with the property and estates of the royal house. The poet, however, is no doubt using traditional phraseology, and the meaning of the phrase in this passage should not perhaps be pressed.

was needed to heighten the drama, and it is but a step from the recorded historical facts to the conception of a kingdom staked, deliberately and in advance, upon the issue of a single engagement. The memory of the carnage at Brunanburh might suggest a motive for such a device, and a vague, traditional conception of Aethelstan as a humane and responsible ruler would suggest that the initiative might well come from him.

The account of the Battle of Vinheith in the *Egilssaga* is accepted by most scholars as in some way reminiscent, if not a direct description, of the historical Battle of Brunanburh<sup>1</sup>. In considering, therefore, not the historical fact of the battle but the tradition which sprang from the seed of that fact, we may regard the account in the *Egilssaga* as material of exceptional interest. In C. LII occur the following statements: 'Then they send messengers to king Olaf and put forward this message that king Athelstan wished to hazel a field for him and appoint a place of battle at Vínheith by Vínskógi, and that it was his desire that they should not harry in his land, but that whichever of them had the victory in the battle should rule the realm of England; he appointed a meeting time a week hence, and he who arrived before the other was to await the other one week. Now it was then a custom, that as soon as a field was hazelled<sup>2</sup> for any king, he should not indulge in shameless harrying until the battle was over; king Olaf, therefore, called a halt, and refrained from harrying, and waited till the appointed day and then moved his army to Vínheith<sup>3</sup>.'

Here is a heightening of the drama which undoubtedly enhances the value of the story as artistic material. The momentous character of the engagement is openly admitted. Defeat involves a renunciation of all claims as complete as that demanded from unsuccessful suitors at Portia's Belmont. The motive for such a desperate venture is also suggested; the appointment of a definite meeting place meant the cessation of all promiscuous harrying<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> See Finnur Jónsson's edition of *Egilssaga* in G. Cederschiöld's *Altnordische Saga-Bibliothek*, 1894, III, p. xxii. The substantial identity of the battles of Brunanburh and Vinheith is also assumed by Vigfusson in his *Sturlunga Saga*, Vol. I, Prolegomena, p. xlviii.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. extract from *Kormakssaga* quoted below.

<sup>3</sup> 'Síðan gera þeir sendimenn til Ólafs konungs ok finna þat til ørenda, at Aðalsteinn konungr vill hasla honum völl ok bjóða orrustustað á Vínheiði við Vínuskóga, ok hann vill, at þeir heri eigi á land hans, en sá þeira ráði ríki á Englandi, er sigr fær í orrostu, lagði til vikustef um fund þeira, en sá bfoðr annars viku, er fyrr kemr. En þat var þá siðr, þegar konungi var völlr haslaðr, at hann skyldi eigi herja at skammlausu, fyrr en orrustu væri lokit: gerði Óláfr konungr svá, at hann stöðvaði her sinn ok herjaði ekki ok beið til stefnu dags, þá flutti hann her sinn til Vínheiðar.'

<sup>4</sup> Other passages in the Sagas in which the 'hazelling' of a field for a general engagement is mentioned (e.g. *Hkr. Hakonssaga*, c. xxiv; *Hkr. Olaf Tryggvs*, c. xviii; *Orkneyingasaga*, c. xi) do not mention this provision with regard to harrying. It is perhaps worth noticing that whereas in the case of earlier and later Scandinavian invasions or attacks



One is tempted to press the point still further, and to see in the hazelling of the field recorded in the *Egilssaga* preparations, not for a pitched battle, but for a single combat<sup>1</sup>. Yet the temptation should probably be resisted, since the precise meaning of the phrase 'hasla vǫll' in any particular passage is difficult to ascertain. It is clear that the phrase was closely associated with the 'holmgang' procedure. The well-known passage in the *Kormakssaga* (c. 10), which deals with the laws of holmgang, gives clear directions as to the hazelling of a field: 'There must be three lines round about the cloak of a foot breadth; outside the lines there must be four posts, they are called hazels, and the field is hazelled when this is done<sup>2</sup>.'

On the other hand, the phrase 'hasla vǫll' is undoubtedly used of a field appointed for a pitched battle<sup>3</sup>. In such cases, however, it is probable that the phrase has lost its first precise meaning, and has become a conventional term for the appointing of a place of combat, whether for a single combat or for a pitched battle. It is therefore unwise to press the meaning of 'hasla vǫll' in the case of the Battle of Vinheith, although it may be noted in passing that the statement 'þegar konungi var vǫllr haslaðr' is elaborated by a later statement that 'there were there set up hazel wands as a boundary<sup>4</sup>.'

Here then we seem to have a memory of the great battle seen through the eyes of an Icelfander, who himself took part in the engagement. No evidence of exactly the same class is to be found in England, since we are forced to regard the so-called *Chronicle of Ingulf* with far greater suspicion than is necessary in the case of the *Egilssaga*<sup>5</sup>.

harrying is frequently recorded (e.g. *Annals*, 878, 897, 911, 944) the *A.S. Chronicles* record no harrying in connection with the Battle of Brunanburh. It is curious that the custom referred to in the passage quoted above appears to deprecate harrying only until after the close of the battle. This custom therefore apparently does not involve the withdrawal of the defeated army. Such a condition is however implied by Aethelstan's proposition 'sá þeira ráði ríki,' etc.

<sup>1</sup> G. Nielson, 'Brunanburh,' in *Scottish Historical Review*, Vol. VII, 1910.

<sup>2</sup> 'þrír reitar scolo umhverfiss feldenn fetz breiðer; ut frá reitum scolo vesa stengr fiðrar—oc heita þat hæslor. þat es vœllr haslaðr es svá es goert.' Text and translation from Vigfusson and Powell, *Origines Islandicae*, Vol. I, p. 321.

<sup>3</sup> See references in note 4, p. 121.

<sup>4</sup> 'þa váru þar settar upp heslistengr allt til ummerkja.' In this connection a note on p. 148 of Finnur Jónsson's edition of the *Egilssaga* is of special interest. 'Hasla-voll, eig. "einen zum kampf bestimmten platz mit haselstangen einfriedigen"; diese sitte ist uralt und im eig. sinne konnte der kampfplatz nur dann so eingeschlossen werden, wenn die heere sehr klein waren; wahrscheinlich sogar war dies nur gebräuchlich, wenn zweikampf stattfand....In der historischen zeit bedeutete das wort at hasla vǫll im allgemeinen nur einen kampfplatz bestimmen ohne jeden gedanken an eine umzäunung; die folgende schilderung [i.e. of the Battle of Vinheith] ist kaum historisch.'

<sup>5</sup> But see C. W. Whistler, 'Brunanburh and Vinheith in Ingulf's Chronicle and Egil's Saga,' in *Saga Book of the Viking Club*, Vol. VI, 1908-9, p. 59, where a plea is put forward for a less sceptical attitude towards Ingulf's narrative of the Battle of Brunanburh.



The account in the *Egilssaga* may be taken to represent a stage of tradition intermediate between the plain records of the chronicles and the irresponsible elaborations of the romances.

Turning, then, to the romances, is it possible to discover in them any echoes of the Battle of Brunanburh? We should expect to find the bare facts of the engagement much embroidered with romantic *motifs*, as well as some confusion of names and chronology. We should also expect that whatever dramatic and arresting elements were implicit in the original account would be fully worked out in the romance. The decisiveness of the battle could not fail to be emphasised, and it would not be an altogether unnatural development for the story of a kingdom staked upon a single engagement to be transmuted into the story of a single combat between appointed champions.

Ward, in his *Catalogue of Romances*, writes of the combat between Guy and Colbrand, which he regards as the kernel of the Romance of Guy of Warwick: 'critics have...been inclined to regard this single combat as a sort of symbolical picture of the great Battle of Brunanburh<sup>1</sup>.' However this may be, the story of Guy of Warwick is associated with the rising which led up to the Battle of Brunanburh<sup>2</sup> by the fact that the single combat described in the Romance is said to have taken place in the reign of King Aethelstan, and that the invading Scandinavian army is led by 'kyng Anlaf<sup>3</sup>' of Denmark.

Further, not only is the incident of Guy and Colbrand brought into association with the historical Anlaf, but also with the romantic Havelok. Indeed, in at least one authority<sup>4</sup>, we have this curious situation: Anlaf lays claim to the kingdom in the right of his predecessor Havelok, who, if the theory of the identification be correct, is none other than Anlaf himself in romantic disguise. It goes without saying that the chronicler is unaware of the identification. The following extract from Harleian

<sup>1</sup> H. L. D. Ward, *Catalogue of Romances in the Dept. of MSS. in the British Museum*, p. 471. Cf. Deutschbein, *Wikingersagen*, pp. 220 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The setting of the combat between Guy and Colbrand in Thomas Rudbourne's *Historia Major Wintoniensis* (Wharton's *Anglia Sacra*, I, p. 211) is of interest. Here Aethelstan is said to have completely routed the Danes at a battle which appears to be identical with the Battle of Brunanburh. After this, Aethelstan and Anlaf agree to stake the kingdom upon a single combat between champions; cf. the course of events in a short chronicle of England in the unpublished Harleian MS. 63.

Following up the suggestion of symbolism in the passage quoted from Ward's *Catalogue*, is it fantastic to see in the dragon from Ireland which devastated Northumbria and was slain by Guy, apparently in the neighbourhood of York, a 'symbolical picture' of Anlaf (Sietrieson or Guthfrithson or both), who was so closely associated both with Ireland and Northumbria? *Guy of Warwick*, Camb. MSS., E. E. T. S., Extra Series, xxv, ed. Zupitza, 1875, II, 6813-6966.

<sup>3</sup> *Guy of Warwick*, Camb. MS. 1, 10367.

<sup>4</sup> Harl. 63.

MS. 63 emphasises the connection between the story of Guy and Colbrand and that of Havelok<sup>1</sup>: 'And Adelstone lay at Wychesty(r) and the kyng of denmarke sent unto hym a Harowde of Armes to witte wheder he wolde fynde a man to fight w<sup>t</sup> Colbrande for the right of the kyngdom of Northumbry that the Danes had obtayned byfore by the title of kyng Haneloke that wedded Goldesburgh the kyng is doughter of Northumbr(e)<sup>2</sup>.'

The Romance of Guy of Warwick, linked up, as has been shown, in a curious chain of tradition, contains as one of its essential features a single combat between an English and a Danish champion, with the kingdom of England as the prize.

The king of Denmark, on landing in England, begins to lay waste the country,

The londe he stroyeth and cuntrayse  
And brennyth townes and abbayes. (ll. 9943 f.)

He then sends a challenge to Aethelstan to find a champion to meet the Danish giant Colbrand in single combat<sup>3</sup>. None of the English knights is prepared to accept the challenge, and Aethelstan is at first distracted, but is advised in a vision to entrust his case to an unknown champion, who proves to be the great Guy of Warwick disguised in palmer's weeds.

Before the combatants meet,

Swyþe men broȝt a boke anon  
The kyng of Denmarke swere þeron,  
Yf hys man were to dethe woundyd,  
Slayne or ellys in batell confowndyd,  
That he schulde neuyr aftur þat day  
In peyne of renayenge of hys laye  
Ryght to clayme in Ynglonde,  
But wende whome into hys londe

<sup>1</sup> In Henry Knighton's *Chronicle* (Rolls Series, Vol. i, p. 27) occurs a passage in which a sober historical reference to the reign of Aethelstan, the stories of Guy and Colbrand, Havelok and Edmund and Canute, are brought into juxtaposition. See p. 116.

<sup>2</sup> The statement that the king of Denmark is here represented as claiming Northumbria and not the whole of England is of interest in connection with Anlaf Cuaran's associations with the kingdom of Northumbria.

<sup>3</sup> In view of the lines quoted above the Danish king can hardly be actuated by a respect for human life and property. Presumably the device is conceived as having been suggested by Colbrand's hitherto invincible strength, in which case the incident belongs to the type found in the story of David and Goliath. The fact that a certain motive is suggested in the version which has come down to us does not, however, destroy the possibility that the original version implied a different motive. Ward (*Catalogue of Romances*, p. 472) suggests that the legend is reminiscent of the invasion under Olaf Tryggvason in 993. In any case the character of the English king as depicted in the English romance has far more in common with that of Ethelred the Unready than with that of the august Aethelstan. Ward's suggestion with regard to the association between the Anlaf of the story of Guy and Colbrand and Olaf Tryggvason is critically examined by M. Deutschbein, *Studien zur Sagen Geschichte Englands*, i, *Wikingersagen*, pp. 228 ff. Cf. suggested relation between *Havelok* and *Olaf Tryggvason* discussed in Ward's *Catalogue*, p. 436, and developed by A. Bugge, *Havelok and Olaf Tryggvason*. See p. 118, note 1.

And neuyr more in hys lyue  
 Wyth Englysche nodur fyght nor stryve.  
 And sythen swore kynge Adelston  
 Before the barons euerychon,  
 That, yf hys man be slawe,  
 That he schall stande to pys lawe :  
 Hys sworne man become he schall  
 And of hym holde hys landys all ;  
 Grete trewage he schulde zolde  
 And hys heyres aftur hym hyt holde<sup>1</sup>. (ll. 10199 f.)

The scene of the combat is stated (l. 10134) to be 'an yle wythynne the see,' a curious statement, since the site is also represented as so close to Winchester that after his victory Guy is led

To Wynchestur, the ryche towne,  
 Wyth songe and wyth precession<sup>2</sup>. (ll. 10375 f.)

Perhaps the author has embodied a tradition which in the course of time has lost its original meaning. The 'yle wythynne the see' inevitably recalls the Scandinavian 'holmgang,' and links the story of Guy of Warwick with the story of Edmund and Canute, and possibly with the story of the Battle of Vinheith in the *Egilssaga*<sup>3</sup>.

It has already been suggested that the connection between the *motif* of the single combat and the stories relating to Anlaf Sictricson may have no real significance, and that to follow this apparent clue may lead the investigator into a blind alley. Possibly the emphasis should be laid, not upon the single combat as an episode in the career of any individual, but upon the fact that it is found so frequently in stories relating to Scandinavia. Not only is this the case in the stories already dealt with, but several of the instances collected in Additional Note II, which appear to have no connection with the Anlaf-Havelok cycle, point in the same direction.

It is, for instance, noteworthy that critics have seen in the *Tristram* cycle a suggestion of Scandinavian influence<sup>4</sup>. Again, the romances of *Bevis of Hamtoun* and *King Horn* are commonly grouped with *Havelok* and *Guy of Warwick* as embodying at least some memory of the Scan-

<sup>1</sup> The romance relates that after the death of Colbrand the Danes left England according to their agreement. Cf. *A.S. Chronicles* (C, D, E, F), *Annal* 994: '7 him þá Anlaf behet swa he hit eac gelæste þ(æt) he næfre eft to Angelcynne mid unfriðe cumon nolde.' The Anlaf here referred to is apparently Olaf Tryggvason. See p. 124, note 3.

<sup>2</sup> For a similar instance of fossilized tradition, of which the significance is forgotten by the poet, cf. the English romance of *Tristram*. E. Kölbing in *Germania*, 1889, p. 190, points out that in the single combat described in ll. 10188 ff. of the English romance, the author appears to forget that the combatants are to fight upon an island, and represents the hero as riding direct to the place of meeting.

<sup>3</sup> Ward's *Catalogue*, p. 480.

<sup>4</sup> Gaston Paris, *Poèmes et Légendes du Moyen Age* (1900), p. 122; W. G. Collingwood, *Scandinavian Britain*, 1908, p. 49.



dinavian invasions of England<sup>1</sup>. The case of *Partonope of Blois* is yet more striking. The scene of the chief episodes is France, and certain passages suggest that the invaders are a Saracen rather than a Viking host, but one of the leaders

hathe wythe hym dyuerse nacionys  
and grete Numbere of Cheualrye  
off Norway, of Glygland, of Orcanye  
off Erlond, off Fresselond, of Denmarke, (ll. 2660 f.)

while the followers of Surnegoure, who suggests the single combat, are said to be Danes.

Lastly, it is significant that in five out of the eleven stories referred to in Additional Note III, as well as in the stories of Edmund and Canute and of Guy of Warwick, the single combat is said to have been fought on an island, a fact which clearly points to the Scandinavian 'holmgang.'

There is, of course, no doubt that the single combat as a means of settling private quarrels was a recognised procedure in Scandinavian countries in the Viking Period. There is, however, no evidence that this 'judicial duel' was extended even in Scandinavian countries to national and international disputes, and the question arises: Did the duel in this sense exist in actual fact or only in the imagination of the people? But even if the tradition does not correspond with fact, it cannot rest upon air. Is it then a symbol, as critics have suggested in the case of Guy and Colbrand, or does it reflect, perhaps imperfectly, some half-forgotten custom<sup>2</sup>?

It is this last possibility which is most consistent with what is known of the course of tradition among semi-primitive peoples, and of folk-psychology as revealed by students of folk-lore and ethnology<sup>3</sup>. Here, perhaps, lies the road to a solution, and it is not impossible that some of those already at work in these fields of research might be able to throw light upon this curious subject.

<sup>1</sup> M. Deutschbein groups under the heading 'Wikingersagen' the romances of *Horn*, *Havelok*, *Tristan*, *Bevis* and *Guy*.

<sup>2</sup> M. Deutschbein, *Wikingersagen*, p. 223, remarks upon the absence of any trace of the judicial single combat in Anglo-Saxon laws and other records. In view of this fact he suggests a post-Conquest origin for the episode of the single combat in the romance of *Guy of Warwick*. 'Die Idee, die Sache zweier Völker durch einen Zweikampf entscheiden zu lassen, ist absolut unags., ist aber in der lat. und franz. Literatur des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts nur allzuhäufig.' But since Colbrand represents the Danish nation, and since the combat was widely prevalent in Scandinavia before the Norman Conquest, the influence of a tenth-century Scandinavian tradition is as conceivable as that of a twelfth or thirteenth-century Anglo-French tradition.

<sup>3</sup> This aspect of the subject has been impressed upon me by Miss B. Phillpotts, to whom I am indebted for much valuable criticism and advice.

## ADDITIONAL NOTE I.

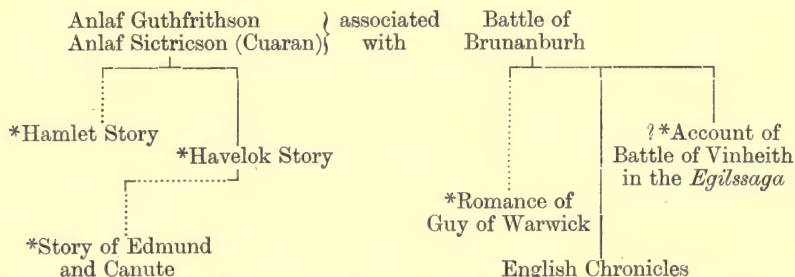
## ANLAF-HAVELOK AND THE HAMLET STORY.

A connection has been suggested<sup>1</sup> between the story of Havelok and that of Hamlet. Although a single combat *motif* could appropriately be associated with Shakespeare's Hamlet, it would be altogether out of keeping with the repugnantly crafty character of his Danish original.

It may, perhaps, be worth noting that Saxo gives an account of a single combat fought upon an island between Horwendil, Hamlet's father, and Koll, King of Norway. The motive suggested, however, seems to be that of personal honour. 'Then Horwendil endeavoured to address the king first, asking him in what way it was his pleasure to fight, and declaring that one best which needed the courage of as few as possible<sup>2</sup>.'

## ADDITIONAL NOTE II.

TABLE ILLUSTRATING THE RELATION ASSUMED BETWEEN THE STORIES DEALT WITH.



The broken line denotes contact rather than derivation. An asterisk denotes the appearance of the single combat *motif* in direct or indirect association with the story concerned.

## ADDITIONAL NOTE III.

A complete study of the single combat *motif* would involve a far wider investigation than has been attempted here, and include at least the consideration of the single combats of Greek and Roman tradition, and would no doubt lead the investigator still farther afield. It would also be necessary to consider the allied *motif* of a battle between a small

<sup>1</sup> K. Køster, *Sagnet om Havelok Danske*; W. Skeat, *Havelok*, E. E. T. S., p. xix; I. Gollancz, *Hamlet in Iceland*, pp. xl ff.

<sup>2</sup> O. Elton's translation. 'Tunc Horwendillus prior regem percontari nisus, quo pugne genere decernere libeat, prestantissimum affirmans, quod paucissimorum viribus ederetur.' Sax. Gram., *Gesta Danorum*, ed. A. Holder, 1886, Bk. III, p. 86.

body of representatives substituted for a general engagement, such as occurs in Herodotus, Book I, c. 82, and Livy, I, cc. 24, 25.

The following list, undoubtedly incomplete, consists of instances drawn from early Teutonic tradition and mediaeval romance. Only such instances have been included as represent the single combat as involving, in a greater or less degree, the fate of a community. The motive for the single combat is stated clearly only in a few cases; in some, therefore, the combatants may be moved chiefly by a passion for personal glory, in which case the episode falls outside the scope of this enquiry. But a clear distinction cannot always be drawn.

Instances of the single combat are cited by E. Kölbing, *Zur Tristan-sage*, in *Germania*, xxxiv, pp. 191 ff., and *Studien zur Bevis Saga*, in Paul und Braune's *Beiträge*, xix, 1894, pp. 121 f.; E. Adam, *Torrent of Portentagle*, E. E. T. S., Extra Series, LI, p. 107; J. Hall, *King Horn*, p. 143; H. C. Lea, *Superstition and Force*, pp. 95, 99, 118 ff.; de Jubainville, *Littératures celtiques*, by which some of the following instances have been suggested.

*Note.* An asterisk denotes the presence or suggestion of the 'holmgang' element.

Story and source	Stakes for which combat is fought	Reason for substituting single combat for general engagement
<i>Early Teutonic Tradition.</i>		
*Offa, king of the Angles. <i>Widsið</i> , ll. 35 ff. Saxo Gram., <i>Gest. Dan.</i> Lib. IV.	Saxo clearly states that the fate of the kingdom depends upon the contest, cf. <i>Widsið</i> , ll. 38 ff.: 'ac Offa geslog ærest monna cniht wesende cynerica mæst; .....ane sweorde merce gemærde wið Myr- gingum.'	Not clearly defined.
Hildebrand and Hadu- brand in <i>Hildebrandslied</i> (edit. and transl. in B. Dickins, <i>Runic and Heroic Poems</i> ).	The poem is fragmen- tary and allusive, and leaves the motive for the challenge to single combat unexplained. Other ver- sions of the same theme suggest that the motive is chiefly personal, but this does not necessarily ex- clude the humanitarian motive: 'Ik gihôrta ðat seggen, ðat sih urhêttun ænon muotin, Hiltibrant enti Haðu- brant untar heriun tuêm.'	



## Story and source

Stakes for which combat  
is foughtReason for substituting  
single combat for general  
engagement*Danish Tradition.*

Saxo Gram., *Gest. Dan.*, edit. A. Holder. O. Elton, Trans. of Books I—IX, 1894. Many instances of wager by battle occur. See Elton's Introduction, pp. xxxviii f., but in many cases the motives of the combatants are not clearly defined. The most pertinent case is that of the 'Kurland Wizard' who challenges the Danes to produce a warrior to meet him in single combat (Book III).

The payment of taxes  
by Kurland to Denmark.

'inquit...publicam stragem privato discrimine precurrere liceat.' *Gest. Dan.* (ed. A. Holder), Bk. III, p. 83.

*Arthurian Romance.*

\*Flollo and Arthur. Geoffrey of Monmouth, *Historia Britonum*, Book IX, c. 11.

'cui victoria provenisset, alterius regnum obtineret.'

'cum Flollo gentem suam fami perire doluisset, mandavit Arturo, ut ipsi soli duellum iniret.'

\*Tristram and Morhaut. Various versions. See E. Kölbing, *Die nordische und die englische Version der Tristan-Saga*, 1878, and *Sir Tristrem*, ed. Sir W. Scott, 1864, also included in Kölbing's edition above. The Scandinavian version omits the 'holmgang' element.

Payment of tribute by  
Cornwall (England) to  
Ireland.

Not clearly defined. *Sir Tristrem*, ll. 1033 ff., emphasises the patriotism of the hero.

'God help Tristrem, þe kniȝt'.  
He faught for England.'

*Romances containing an  
element of English Tra-  
dition.*

\*Bevis of Hamtoun. Combat between Bevis and Ivor. E. E. T. S., Extra Series, XLVI, XLVIII, LXV, ed. E. Kölbing; *Bevens Saga* in *Fornsögur Suð-landa*, utgífna af G. Cederschiöld, pp. 262 ff.

Direct *casus belli* is Ivor's attempt to carry off Josiane, but ll. 3919 ff. of the Chetham MS. of the English romance make it clear that the fate of a kingdom is involved.

Most clearly defined in the Scandinavian version: 'ok potti mikils vm vert, ath suo morg riki ok vel-bornir menn skyldu sinu blodi utt hella firir tuo menn.'

*King Horn*, E. E. T. S., 14, ed. by J. R. Lumby, and J. Hall, 1901.

A trace of the single combat *motif* appears in the challenge of the pay-

<sup>1</sup> M. Deutschbein, *Wikingersagen Englands*, pp. 121 ff., points out the conformity of the *Tristan* saga to the exile-return type to which *Havelok* belongs. A curious link between the story of Guy and Colbrand and that of Tristram and Morhaut is the fact that in the ballad of *Guy and Colbrand* found in the Percy Folio and in the ballad of *Sir Tristrem*, the hero is represented as pushing off his boat from the island, to the astonishment of his opponent (*Guy and Colbrand*, ll. 224 ff.; *Sir Tristrem*, xciii).

# 130 *Single Combat in English and Scandinavian Romance*

Story and source	Stakes for which combat is fought	Reason for substituting single combat for general engagement
<i>French Romance</i> , F. Michel, <i>Horn et Reimenhild</i> , Bannatyne Club.	nim giant who invades Ireland, and with whom Horn offers to fight <sup>1</sup> . <i>King Horn</i> (E.E.T.S.), ll. 857 ff. The sequel is, however, much obscured.	
<i>Other Romances.</i>	The combat is primarily fought for the hand of the lady Desonelle; but ll. 1248 ff. show that the stakes involve a kingdom.	Not clearly defined.
* <i>Torrent of Portentayle</i> , E. E. T. S., Extra Series, LI, ed. E. Adam. Combat between Torrent and a giant fighting on behalf of the Prince of Arragon.	If Partonope is victor, the heathen are to do homage to the king of France and leave the country. If Surnegoure is victor, the French king shall hold his realm in fealty to Surnegoure.	ll. 3418 ff.: 'For welle y wote bytte myzthte nott fayle, And eche of vs bryngge to the fylde hys oste, Many a gode man ther schalle be loste.'
<i>Partonope of Blois</i> , E. E. T. S., Extra Series, CIX, ed. A. Trampe Bödtker. Combat between Partonope and Surnegoure, leader of what is clearly a Viking host (see ll. 2660 ff.).	ll. 7299 ff.: 'Gef he wynneth then the maistrye, Of us he have the seignory: Gef thou him myght perforce aquelle, His folk wolen don thy wille.'	ll. 7293 ff.: 'He may to bataile fynde Fourty hundret thousand. He n'ul nought that ye demere, No that his, no thyn no dere....'
<i>King Alisaunder</i> , H. Weber, <i>Metrical Romances</i> . Single combat between Alisaunder and Por(u)s of Bandas.	Not clearly defined.	'úsannlegt, at swá margr maðr gyldi saka þeirra er vit eigumst við <sup>3</sup> .'
Scandinavian <i>Troja-mannasaga</i> <sup>2</sup> . Combat between Menelaus and Paris (Alexander), <i>Annaler for Nordisk Oldkyndighed</i> , 1848, p. 50, c. 20.	ll. 8477 ff. contain the suggestion that the contest shall decide the issue of the war.	l. 8412: 'For we do evel and mychel synne Off mannes blod that we don spille.'
<i>English Troy Book</i> . Proposed combat between Hector and Achilles, E. E. T. S., 121, ed. by J. E. Wülfing.		

<sup>1</sup> Deutschbein, *Wikingersagen*, p. 21, suggests the identification of Arild, son of the king of Ireland on whose behalf Horn accepts the challenge, with Aralt, son of Anlaf Cuaran, who fell in battle against Brian Boru in the year 1000.

<sup>2</sup> Although the romances only develop incidents found in Homeric tradition, the clearness of motivation in the romances suggests that the theme is a familiar one in Scandinavian and English tradition.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Hethin's words to Hogn in the *Sörla þáttur*, 'dugir þat æigi at omakligir menn gialldi gleþa minna ok illgerða.' *Flateyjarbók*, Christiania, 1860, I, § 235. In this case the followers on both sides refuse to consider the suggestion of a single combat.

## A HITHERTO UNCOLLATED VERSION OF SURREY'S TRANSLATION OF THE FOURTH BOOK OF THE 'ÆNEID.'

### III.

THE collation of the three extant texts<sup>1</sup> of Surrey's translation of *Æneid IV* (Vol. xv, p. 113 seq.) reveals at a glance an exceedingly complex relationship. It is clear from the number of minor variations that the copyist and compositor stand as very potent modifying influences between the present texts and the work of the author. It is also clear that D. and H. are closely related, while, at the same time, the nature of some of the variations between them forbids us to believe that copyist and compositor are a sufficient explanation of their differences. We know that D. was subjected to a certain amount of editing, that it was printed from three MSS., of which the chief was but one stage removed from Surrey's autograph, and that the autograph itself, by reason of the 'spedy writing' thereof, had provided in many passages no clear authority<sup>2</sup>. We know of H. that it is the work of an early Elizabethan scrivener copying a MS. which was more closely related to D. the first, than to T. the second, printed edition. Of the methods and MS. authority of T. we know nothing.

The variations between these three texts can be divided for study into the following groups. For reasons of space, only one or two examples out of many will be given under the majority of the headings.

I. Printers' and copyists' errors. D. shows considerably more blundering than either T. or H. Not the possession of three MSS. seems to have been able to prevent a good deal of incorrect guessing from the context, e.g. :

T. 261. The floores (H. erth) embrude with yelded blood of beastes.	D. Flowers embrused yelded bloud of bestes.
--	--

It misspells frequently even the simpler classical names—teucryne (Teucrian), Tancase (Caucase), nunned (Numid), etc.

<sup>1</sup> Since this article was written a new edition of the *Poems* of Surrey has been issued by Prof. F. M. Padelford, University of Washington Publications in Language and Literature, Vol. I. To the notes in this volume the reader is referred for some similar and some different theories as to the relationship of these texts.

<sup>2</sup> See Owen's Preface quoted in the *Modern Language Review*, Vol. xiv, April, 1919.



H. gives the impression of more careful and accurate work than D. In general, proper names, though the spelling frequently differs from T.'s, are given with fair accuracy:

T. The Libians and Tirans of Nomadane.	D. The Libians and Tirians tirans of Nomadane.	H. The Libian folk and ty- rantes Numydanne.
---	---	---

In this case H. has the smoothest (but not probably the oldest) line and the spelling nearest to the Latin. D.'s compositor seems to have hesitated between *Tirians* and *tirans*, and, in order to make sure, to have put both.

The comparatively unimportant misprints in T. (with indications as to how accurately they are preserved in Bolland's reprint) can be found in Dr Imelmann's article (*Shakespeare-Jahrbuch*, xli) alluded to in the Introduction<sup>1</sup> to this study. Its more accurate workmanship can be illustrated by comparing its proper names with D.'s.

II. 'Colourless' variations, i.e. differences in readings which do not greatly, or do not at all, affect sense or metre. Various explanations of these are possible—alternative readings of Surrey's own, copyists' and compositors' variations, guessing and editing by publishers and owners of MSS.

(a) Cases where H. corroborates D. even in such minor points.

T. 166. *Out at the gates.* D. H. *Unto the gates.*

(b) Cases where D. varies independently of H.

T. H.<sup>2</sup> 236. So many mouthes to speak and *listning* (D. *harkening*) eares.

(c) Cases where H. varies independently of D.

T. D. 450. And prophecies of Licia *me aduise.* H. *me bidd.*

Sometimes the changes are more far-reaching than this, yet of such a kind that the meaning is not greatly affected:

T. D. 40. Thy youth alone in plaint still wilt thou spill.	H. Thi youth all sole in plaintes wilt thou nedes spill.
---	---

T. D. 262. And threshold spred with gar- lands of strange hue.	H. & thresholdes spredd with garlandes strange of hew.
---	---

Some of these lines in H. would seem to be the result of a longer circulation in MS., which in the sixteenth century was more likely than in medieval times, perhaps, to result in considerable variation without blundering. The MSS. were not always copied out by scribes. Authors themselves transcribed their poems, and their friends and fellow-dabblers in literature made their own copies. If a member of a literary coterie felt,

<sup>1</sup> This Introduction (*M.L.R.*, Vol. xiv) and the subsequent Collation (*M.L.R.*, Vol. xv) will in future be referred to as *Part I* and *Part II* respectively.

<sup>2</sup> The numbers refer always to the lines in T. Owing to the omission of certain lines the numbering in D. and H. will differ slightly from T.'s.

in copying out a poem, that he could improve upon style and metre he doubtless frequently did so. The Hargrave catalogue asserts that its MS. frequently differs 'for the better' from the printed text (i.e. T.). This involves a question of taste, but it is clear that only somewhat tentative and elusive criteria based upon a study of the whole work of Surrey can decide whether the 'betterment' is to be ascribed to author or editor.

It was the opinion of Dr Otto Fest<sup>1</sup> that many of the minor variations in H. were prompted by a desire to remove irregularities in rhythm. Some of these can now be shown to be identical with D.'s readings and to be therefore older than T.'s<sup>2</sup>, e.g.:

D. H. 724. *Or skorned me to ther prowde* T. 726. *Or me scorned to their proude*  
shippes receaue. shippes receiue.

But there remain some cases where the reading in H. seems to be dictated by the more exact but conventional notions of verse that would be natural to a contemporary of the authors of *Gorboduc* and the *Steele Glas*:

T. 939. *Commaunded Ireue and thy spirit* H. *I do bereaue & eke<sup>3</sup> the sprite vn-*  
vnloose. loose.

T.'s line belongs to a type very common in the *Certain Bokes* where the unaccented element prevails numerically over the accented, giving the line when read (however it be scanned) a trisyllabic rhythm, and this (apart from any corroboration in D.) would on the whole make for its authenticity. For it is evident from a study of the whole of the *Certain Bokes*, the bulk of which, after making every allowance for corruption, remains Surrey's work, that he had in his mind a more complex verse-pattern than had, for example, a mid-sixteenth century poet like Gascoigne, and that, influenced rather by Italian than English modulation, his ear was in no way governed by the 'old Iambick stroak.' Since this is so, the mere priority of D. H. in the line *Or scorned mé*, etc. does not conclusively destroy the claim of T.'s more irregular, but more powerful and emphatic, *Or mé scorned* to be Surrey's work. For again, the use of the trochee in the second foot with no preparatory pause is characteristic of the *Certain Bokes* and points rather to the original adapter of *versi sciolti* than to any English editor<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> 'Üeber Surreys Virgilübersetzung' (*Palaestra*, 1903).

<sup>2</sup> For proof that D. H., i.e. the element common to both, is older than T. see *post*.

<sup>3</sup> This *eke* also in D.

<sup>4</sup> For the use of this trochee in Italian verse (especially Dante's) and a discussion of its applicability in English see Tozer's *Essay* in Moore's *Textual Criticism of the Divina Commedia*, pp. 715, 716.



III. Differences in vocabulary, grammatical forms and usage. The innumerable small variations that might be quoted under this heading provide an illustration of the sort of gauntlet which an author's style, grammar and syntax had to run. These three texts by themselves would seem to show that it was considered immaterial by copyists and compositors which tense was used in verbs or which number in substantives. As to which of these three texts best represents Surrey's usage some slight evidence can be gathered from the most reliable authorities for the lyrical and other poems<sup>1</sup>. Comparison with the Latin is also of service in individual cases as Surrey's standard of accuracy (as revealed in his translated work as a whole) was unusually high and strict. But this method needs to be used with care, for though there are cases, for example, when H.'s preference for the plural of substantives seems to be more accurate (e.g. 239 T. *cotage*, D. *coltage*, H. *cottages*, Lat. *tecta*), often no question of real accuracy is involved since the Latin frequently employs a formal plural naturally rendered by an English singular (e.g. T. 274 *coast*, H. *coostes*, Lat. *litora*, where, however, no other coast than that of Carthage is intended). A thorough examination of the numberless small variations between T. and D. H. shows a consistent tendency on the part of T. to stick close to the Latin, sometimes in the minutest points of detail. A number of slight alterations are made that the Latin clause construction may be more exactly followed. Unobvious changes in form and vocabulary can be found, prompted apparently by no other cause than a determination to represent some point of Latin balance or emphasis, e.g.:

H. 218 <sup>2</sup> . Aye me! this was the <i>fore most</i> daye of myrthe & of mischief the <i>first</i> occasion eke.	T. Ay me! This was the <i>first</i> day of their mirth, And of their harmes the <i>first</i> occasion eke.
--	---

The reason for this change (which also involves a characteristic departure from Gavin Douglas, see *post*) emerges when the Latin is compared:

Virg. 169. Ille dies *primus* laeti, *primus*que malorum.

Not one of the three texts preserves a consistent control over the sequence of tenses. The inconsequent use of present and past, is largely responsible for the jerky and unfinished effect which frequently mars the dignity of Surrey's Virgilian translations. The wavering of the three

<sup>1</sup> For some illustration of this see Padelford, *Poems of Surrey*, p. 206. Thus it appears that H.'s retention of the archaic 3rd person plural suffix *-en* is not in accord with Surrey's later practice. But it is not certain that the translation of the Fourth Book is contemporary with Surrey's maturer poems. It may be earlier work.

<sup>2</sup> And D. with minor variations.



texts renders it uncertain how far Surrey himself was responsible. On the whole T. shows a preference for the historic present, encouraged in many cases (though not all) by the use of that tense in the original.

The ordinary rules of concord are violated in all three texts. The careless workmanship of D. would lead one to expect this, but the otherwise careful H. offends frequently in this respect, especially in the 2nd pers. sing. of verbs (e.g. H. 552 The metist tymes *thow knew*). There is no need to regard Surrey as responsible for this.

There remain some interesting differences in vocabulary. Some archaisms (mostly derived from Gavin Douglas) are removed in T., e.g. T. has (259) *waking*, (759) *all spread*, (782) *peping* for D. H. *waker*, *skalt all*, *creking*. Several Latin or Romance words in D. are replaced by 'Saxon' words in T. Sometimes H. corroborates D. and sometimes not. Thus we have:—D. *tymerous*, T. H. 204 *ferefull*; D. *residence*, T. 456 *risting seat*, H. *rested ende*; D. H. *Destenie(s)*, T. 581 *the werdes*; D. H. *la(y)menting*, T. 890 *shril yelling*<sup>1</sup>. This would seem to be deliberate on someone's part, yet it is not quite consistently done, e.g. 216 T. *descrive*, D. *tell*, H. *behold*.

The extent to which T. stands alone as against D. and H. was apparent in *Part II*. It would only be as a version revised *by the author* that it could maintain its unique readings against the unanimity of the other two texts. This statement will receive abundant illustration from an important group of variants of which only one or two of the most characteristic and significant are selected here.

IV. Instances where the priority and authenticity of D. H. can be proved by reference to Gavin Douglas.

In many cases where D. and H. contain a striking difference from T., a glance at the corresponding passage in Douglas's *Æneid* will show how their reading was arrived at—by Surrey working over the Scots translation. In these passages in T. the likeness to Douglas has been lessened or eliminated. In other words, although the *Certain Bokes* show a close dependence on Douglas, D. and H. show a dependence closer still which results at times in following the Scotsman's errors. There can be no doubt that theirs are the older readings and the work of Surrey. No outsider would be likely to use Douglas to alter a passage from the form (usually in these cases superior) in which it occurs in T., to that in which it is found in D. H., nor would any 'editor,' however blundering, be likely to revert by accident to a mistranslation identical

<sup>1</sup> T. has *once* before shown a preference for this word: l. 216. *yelled* for D. H. *wayled*.

with one of Douglas's lapses. It may be taken as certain that T.'s are later *revised* readings, showing not only less dependence on the earlier translation, but also, in general, a more scholarly aim and finer poetic tact. Examples are :

(a) Virg. 80. *lumenque obscura vicissim luna premit.*

D. H<sup>1</sup>. & the dimme moone repressed the daielight.

This line misunderstands and mistranslates the Latin, in which the reference is to the moon withholding her own light. It is not Surrey's habit to mistranslate like this. Douglas has led him astray, though there has been no verbal borrowing :

After all was voydit and the lycht of day  
Ay mair and mair the mone quencht away.

For the no-meaning based on this error, the reviser in T. substitutes both sense and poetry :

101. And the dimme moone doth eft withhold the light.

(b) Virg. 337. *pro re pauca loquar.*

D. H. 434. It is not greate the thing that I requyer.

Douglas has here merely supplied the verb *requyer*.

As the mater requiris a litill heris.

The reviser in T. rejects the line altogether, and substitutes an almost word for word translation :

For present purpose (pro re) somewhat (pauca) shall I say (loquar).

(c) A slightly different case.

Virg. 530. *non aequo foedere amantes.*

D. H. 696. Of lovers (trwé) unequall in behest.

This is directly derived from Douglas's *luifaris inequhale of behest*, meaning 'lovers not promising, not vowing, equal things,' i.e. lovers who do not recognise as equally binding the compact between them because the heart of one is less engaged than that of the other. Into his phrase *non aequo foedere* Virgil characteristically packs the whole situation between Æneas and Dido. The reviser in T. once more abandons Douglas altogether and translates, this time less literally, though not less accurately :

700. Of louers harts not mouded with loue alike.

This brief list of examples could be considerably extended. In the opinion of the writer there can be no other explanation but revision.

<sup>1</sup> Quotations will in most cases be made from H., the accessible text.

The changes are deliberate and well thought out, and represent work of a different order from the 'editing' of Owen which resulted in D.

The evidence afforded by the class of variants just illustrated may be said to be clear and conclusive as far as it goes. The same cannot, unfortunately, be claimed for the next group—perhaps the thorniest of all.

V. Additions and omissions. Another feature of the uniqueness of T. is that it is the only complete text of the three. In both D. and H. several lines are left untranslated, but these texts only partially corroborate each other. Each instance, in fact, constitutes a peculiar problem, textual, stylistic, and sometimes metrical. The solution of these problems, the hypothesis which would explain them all, would probably give us the solution of the whole matter.

It will be simplest to put first cases where D. and H. corroborate each other. H. merely omits, while D. prints the untranslated Latin in the middle of the English text. These cases are:

(a) Virg. 121. *Dum trepidant alae saltusque indagine cingunt.*

D. <i>Dum trepidant ale.</i>	H. <i>lacking.</i>	T. 152. And whiles the winges
And whyles theraunger	And while the range	of youth do swarm
doth set the groues	doth sett the groues	about.
about.	about.	And whiles theyraunge
		to ouerset the groues.

The meaning of the omitted clause is somewhat doubtful and is taken by editors of Virgil in at least two ways. Douglas's translation is vague and wordy and has supplied Surrey only with some form of the word *range*. The opinion of the writer (after long oscillation of theory) is that this passage is one of those which go to show revision, or rather, editing, of a *second, lower* order in T. T.'s unique line is an attempt to fill up *what was regarded as a gap*, to which by 1557 the printing of the Latin in D. had, of course, drawn attention. In some cases D.'s Latin marks genuine omissions which were, perhaps, not filled in in any authentic MS. But in this instance there was no real omission, merely a very condensed translation in a line which soon became corrupt. The first part of T.'s second line stands nearest to the first part of this original line and contains the translation of *Dum trepidant alae*. Surrey, aware, doubtless, of the uncertain force of *alae*, made no attempt to be exact, and, choosing its metaphorical meaning (= scouts, outlying portions of an army) contented himself with *they range* for the whole expression. He then probably (and characteristically) proceeded with a co-ordinate clause as in the Latin, the wording of which is best represented by the latter part of D. H.'s only line. Surrey's whole original line ran therefore thus:



And while they range (*dum trepidant alae*) and set the groues about (*saltusque indagine cingunt*).

The writing of *the* for *they* by a copyist reduces the first part of the line to nonsense<sup>1</sup> which the change to *doth sett* in H. does little to remove. D. at the expense of the metre gets a new sense into the line by reading *raunger* (= keeper, beater). T.'s 'editor'<sup>2</sup> under the impression that *dum trepidant alae* was untranslated adds a rendering of his own and makes the change to *to ouerset* in order to complete the meaning of *they range* as if this formed part of the translation of *cingunt*, etc. If this train of reasoning be correct, then this passage not only affords an interesting example of how the original text has sometimes to be arrived at by combining the extant versions, but also introduces a new, important and disturbing factor into the authenticity of T. For if this be admitted then the first line (*And...swarm about*) is spurious and the second (*And...groues*) is partly corrupt, and certain other passages, especially any which seem to be uncharacteristic of the author, will at once be placed in jeopardy.

(b) Virg. 190. [*Fama canebat*] *venisse Aenean*, etc.

- |  |   |   |
|--|---|---|
| D. Aeneas comen sprong<br>of Troyan bloode<br>To whom fair Dido<br>wold herself be wed<br>In Natures lust the<br>winter for to passe<br><i>Regnorum immemores,<br/>turpique cupidine<br/>captos.</i> | H. Aeneas that of Troiane<br>bludd is sprong<br><i>like D.</i><br><i>like D.</i><br><i>lacking.</i> | T. 247. (1) Aeneas, one outsprong<br>of Troyan blood<br><i>(2) like D. H.</i><br>(3) And that the while the<br>winter long they passe<br>(4) In foule delight forget-<br>ting charge of reigne,<br>(5) Led against honour<br>with vn honest lust. |
|--|---|---|

Here Owen was undoubtedly right in finding an omission, which, however, no ambiguity or difficulty in the Latin explains. The agreement of D. and H. practically proves the authenticity of their reading at least for MSS. of their type or stage. The gap was in Surrey's autograph. It would at first sight appear obvious that the same 'editor' whose work has been traced under (a) above, should be credited with the remodelling of the third line here (*And that...passe*) and with the two unique lines supplying the omission. There is nothing impossible in this, and it is certainly the easiest way out of the difficulty. Yet a close scrutiny of the lines in T. reveals the following three points which seem to show that this example should not be too readily accepted as parallel to (a).

<sup>1</sup> The presence of one or two common errors in D. and H. points to the existence of a linking ms. between them—one of the three from which D. was printed.

<sup>2</sup> It will be convenient for the present to assume a distinction between *reviser* and *editor*.

(i) If T.'s line (3) be compared with D. H.'s and both with the Latin (Virg. 193 *nunc hiemem...fovere*), the change from D. H.'s infinitive of purpose (*for to passe*) to T.'s co-ordinate clause (*And they...passe*) results in a more accurate rendering of the Latin second infinitive in an oblique narration. This is the kind of minute correction which is typical of the 'reviser's' work. (ii) line (5) *Led against honour with unhonest lust*, though containing a slight expansion, has, perhaps, a certain Surrey-ring. (iii) line (4) *In foule delight forgetting charge of reigne* contains an echo of Douglas's *In fowll delyte ibund by Cupid King* which, if it points to anyone, points to the author. It is by no means clear, therefore, though it is possible, that one explanation covers (a) and (b).

One example (c) may be given now where D. and H. apparently concur in the omission of a line (in T.), but where D. prints no Latin.

(c) Virg. 628-9. *litora litoribus contraria...arma armis; pugnent ipsique nepotesque.*

T. 840-3. Our costes be them contrary be for aye,

Armes unto armes; and offspring of eche race  
With mortall warr eche other may fordoe!

D. and H. have nothing to correspond to the last line of this. Each ends the speech and the paragraph at *ofspringe of ech race* (H.). The only part of the Latin actually omitted, however, being the predicate *pugnent*, Owen clearly did not consider this an occasion for printing the Latin. That the line he prints and leaves slightly wrests Virgil's construction was to him immaterial. It brings *ofspringe* into the same construction as *armes unto armes* all elliptically depending on the last predicate (*contrary be*). The addition in T. marks the recognition of Virgil's new predicate. It would thus point to the 'reviser'.

There is another very similar case (d) where D. and H. apparently concur in telescoping T.'s reading by the omission of two half-lines.

(d) Virg. 227 seq. *non illum...sed fore...*

D. H. 289. His faire mother behight him      T. 290. *like* D. H.  
not to us

Such one to be, ne therfor  
twise him savde

*like* D. H.

From Grekishe armes, but  
Italie to rule

From Grekish arms, but *such a*  
*one*

Dreddful in armes & chargde  
with seignorie.

*As mete might seme* great Italie  
to rule

Dréedfull in arms, chārgèd with  
seignorie.

<sup>1</sup> It is of course a somewhat over-full translation for one Latin verb, but what will seem to many readers its particularly clumsy feature—the use of *may*, with no inversion to translate the jussive or optative subjunctive—can be paralleled from authentic lines of the same speech.



The correct explanation is, of course, that in T. we have an expansion, the object of which is to represent more fully the force of the Latin *non illum...talem* balanced by *sed fore qui* with the generic subjunctive. T.'s reading is also a stylistic improvement upon the strained ellipsis in D. H. Metrically, the slight change in its last line, by which the initial trochee is balanced by a second after the caesura, is an improvement upon the smoother reading of H. Everything here points to the assumed 'reviser.'

(e) Of very similar significance is T.'s translation of Virg. 261 seq.—the passage describing Æneas' appearance when greeted by Mercury.

D. H. Gyrt with a sworde of iasper, starrie bright;	T. 336. (1) like D. H.
Of Tyrian purple hynge his shawl- dres downe	(2) A shining parel, flameed with stately eie
His shininge pawle of mightie Didos gifte,	(3) Of Tirian purple hong his shoulders downe,
Striped throug out with a thinn threde of golde.	(4) The gift and work of wealthy Didoes hand.
	(5) like D. H.

These three points emerge from a comparison: (i) T.'s expansion and re-arrangement in l. (2) remove the strained inversion in D. H. l. (2). (ii) T.'s *gift and work* brings in both *munera* and *fecerat* in the Latin, and marks a typical departure from Gavin Douglas who supplied the earlier reading (*Of mychty Didois gift wrocht al his wedis*). (iii) T.'s *wealthy* is obviously a more suitable adjective than *mightie* to translate *dives*. All this is consistent with the methods of the 'reviser.'

There remain two cases of real or apparent omission which differ from each other and from those already given.

In all the cases quoted so far D. and H. clearly stand together as against T. On one occasion (f) however, D. quotes the Latin, as if there was a gap, where both T. and H. are complete. This is a passage very unsatisfactory in style and metre translating Virg. 300–303. In the first place Surrey has allowed Douglas to lead him into an 'indecorum,' an unfortunate expression of a type rare with him but destined to become common later on. Dido *whisketh through the towne like Bachus nunne* T. 389. That Surrey wrote this there can be no doubt. All three texts agree and the expression is merely Douglas' verbiage condensed. After this D. prints three lines of Virgil (301–303) for which the following translation, identical except for minor variations, is supplied in T. and H.

T. 390. As Thias stirres the sacred rites begon, And when the wonted third yeres sacrifice Doth prick her fourth, hering Bachus name hallowed, And that the festful night of Citheron Doth call her fourth with noyes of dauncing.
--



The sense of this is near enough to the Latin, but both wording and metre are ugly. The names and allusions would supply an easy explanation of why the passage should have been omitted in the first place. Surrey consistently omits or simplifies such as were not readily understandable by the ordinary educated reader of his day. What is difficult of explanation is how this translation should occur in both T. and H. when it was clearly not present in any of the MSS. which Owen had before him. If, in the previous part of this section, as example was added to example, any tendency seemed to be shaping itself, any theory forming as to the relation of T. to D. H. and to Surrey himself, this passage must take the theorizer back to his initial uncertainty.

It is not, of course, the only instance in which H. resembles T. more closely than it does D. There are a few others which may well be worked into the argument here, although they are not concerned with omissions:

(i) H. and T. regularly use *Cinders* (= *cineres*) for the remains of the dead. D. uses *Dust*.

(ii) T. and H. agree in their translation of Virg. 21 *sparsos fraterna caede* as *with brothers slaughter stained*. D. renders *with brothers fewde defiled*.

(iii) H. is closer to T.'s reading in l. 174.

T. *Awayted with great train*. H. *awayted with a train*. D. *backed with a grete rout*.

(iv) T. H. 177. *Knotted in golde*.

D. *Wounde up in golde* (Douglas, *envelopit...and wound*).

<sup>1</sup>(v) T. H. 548. *The streming sailes abiding but for winde*  
(H. *abyden*).

D. *The strayned sayle abideth but for winde*.

It is clear that these are due to more than one cause. Some have the appearance of being corrections common to T. and H. and would therefore be parallel to the *Bachus nunne* passage. The last has at first sight the appearance of a correction (it is not the *strayned*, but the *streming*, or flapping, sail which waits for the wind) but *strayned* has probably arisen by a copyist's differentiation from *streming* followed by an editorial guess. *Dust* for the un-English *cinders* was perhaps a substitution of Owen's. Even those which appear to be corrections are more easily susceptible of other explanations than the disputed passage. For one thing they are all slight points, involving at most no more than three words at a time. It must be remembered that D. was printed from three MSS. When the reading of the copy of Surrey's autograph was illegible by reason of its 'spedy writing,' Owen had recourse to the other two, which he considered inferior as having passed through more hands with the usual consequences. They would contain many minor deviations, some of which, through the illegibility of the main

<sup>1</sup> To these may be added some of the examples quoted (*ante*) under Vocabulary.

MS. (which may be styled D.') passed into D.'s text. We may take (ii) as an example. Surrey may never have written anything but *slaughter staind*. These words, however, being unreadable or corrupted in D.' Owen took an inferior reading from another MS.—inferior, because *fewde* has a special limited sense in English which Virgil's *caede* does not connote. These examples of common readings in T. and H. do not, therefore, shed much light upon the more important passage in question. The further discussion of this will be reserved until the summing up of all the evidence provided by this section. The final example (g) to be quoted here is, unlike the preceding, clear and conclusive.

(g) Virg. 484. [*sacerdos...*] *Hesperidum templi custos, epulasque draconi quae dabat.*

D.<sup>1</sup>H. [A nunne] Of thesperian sisters  
                   temple (old)  
 The garden that gives the dragon  
                   foode.

T. 641. [A nunne] That of thesperian  
                   sisters temple old  
 And of their goodly garden keper  
                   was  
 That gives unto the dragon eke  
                   his foode.

At first glance, so natural seems the allusion to the garden of the Hesperides, it might appear as if D. and H. concurred in a clumsy abridgment of T., but the Latin contains no reference to *garden*, and Surrey (if we may trust the *Certain Bokes*) set his face rigidly against unwarrantable expansion. That Douglas should mention here the *gardingis hecht Hesperida* makes no difference. Surrey rejects all his amplifications. The word (*wardane*) used by Douglas to translate *custos*, however, gives us the clue. There can be no doubt that Surrey wrote its doublet *gard(i)en*<sup>2</sup> in apposition with *nunne*, exactly as *custos* is in apposition with *sacerdos*. Except for the metrical expletive *old* (present only in H.) the Latin is thus closely translated. The ambiguous spelling *garden* misled T.'s 'editor,' to whom as to everyone else the 'garden of the Hesperides' was a more familiar idea than that in the text; the passage appeared to him corrupt and he accordingly 'emended' it. The line in T. *And...keper was* is certainly, as the earlier *And whiles...swarm about* (a) is probably, spurious.

A brief summary may now be given of the evidence so far collected. There are four points the certainty of which appears to be established. (1) T.'s text like D.' and H. has been subjected to a certain amount of 'editing,' i.e. as the term is used here, to an occasional rather uninspired 'cooking,' the result of which is sometimes a misrepresentation of the

<sup>1</sup> This passage is quoted from D. as illustrating more clearly the explanation to be given.

<sup>2</sup> This explanation was partly anticipated by Imelmann, *op. cit.*

original Latin and the original English version. Examples (*a*) and (*g*) show this<sup>1</sup>. (2) T.'s text has also been subjected to a closer and more careful overhauling to which the name of 'revision' has been given. This was carried out by one who was a good Latin scholar, sensitive to the fine shades of Virgil's construction and style, and himself a poet, thoroughly in tune with Surrey's manner and sympathetic towards his masculine and mature conception of blank verse rhythm. Several examples, varying from correction of obvious errors to minute moves in the direction of greater accuracy, have been quoted to illustrate the 'reviser's' work. (3) From all the examples it is clear that T. represents a later version than D. H., though the actually latest text (H.) will naturally contain some innovations that are later even than T. (4) Further proof of the authenticity of D. H. can in many cases be supplied by a comparison with Gavin Douglas.

It has been assumed that H. represents a version which had developed independently of the printed editions which came into circulation some years before it was written down. This view is in accordance with the ascertainable relationship between MS. and printed book in the sixteenth century (see *Part I*). But the fact remains that the owner of H., or a predecessor, could, if he wished, refer to both D. and T. If it could be shown that he had done so to any considerable extent, then H. would be a text of far less independent authority than has been assumed for it in this study. The only passage, however, which points disturbingly in this direction is (*f*) *As Thias stirres*, etc. The fact that these lines correspond to Latin lines in D. (testifying to a gap in all Owen's MSS.) reinforced by the poorness of their style and metre, would seem to point to T.'s 'editor,' who was, as has been seen, a blundering person. If T.'s 'editor' is responsible for them then they passed from T. to H.<sup>2</sup>,

<sup>1</sup> The hand of this same 'editor' is probably to be traced in at least one other passage:

Virg. 177. [*Fama*]. . . . . *ingrediturque solo*.

D. H. Per(e)cing the erthe. T. Stayeth on earth.

D. H. makes no sense at all. T. makes fair sense, but not Virgil's sense. Yet *ingreditur* is a common, obvious verb. The writer suggests tentatively that Surrey wrote 'Pacing the erthe.' The verb 'pace' is first recorded from Douglas's *Aeneid* (N.E.D.). It does not occur in this context, but Surrey's familiarity with Douglas's vocabulary may have prompted him to have used the verb here as an exact translation of 'ingreditur.' As a neologism it may have easily been corrupted into 'perce,' a common verb in Surrey. Even if correctly, though possibly not clearly, written in T., T.'s 'editor' may have been puzzled by it and have 'emended' as in the text.

<sup>2</sup> Space and the demands of clarity alike render it impossible to include in the text all the stages and complexities of textual change, for which, however, allowance should continually be made. Thus it is not to be understood that this passage necessarily went direct from the printed T. to H. as we have it. There may have been intermediate MS. stages. Indeed, this is rendered highly probable by the slight variations in H., which would seem to show that the scribe was not copying T.



together with, it may be, one or two other T. H. readings. But the debt of H. to T., even if this view be accepted, amounts to very little. Its independence as an authority can scarcely be considered infringed. The question, however, may fairly be asked: Why, if the person responsible for H. had this gap filled in from T., did he not also fill in the previous gaps? The most obvious explanation is that in this case the greater length of the omission led, in the first place, to its being noticed, and, in the second, to the feeling that it ought to be filled in. The others were passed over.

Though, on the whole, probability points to T.'s 'editor' as responsible for these lines, this should not be too hastily assumed. There is no reason why all the editing should belong to one stage. The greater prominence of this omission may have prompted some earlier owner of a Surrey MS. to fill it in, and his attempt may have passed into several MSS. Nor can the ugliness of the style and harshness of the metre be held conclusive proof of another hand than Surrey's. These three lines follow immediately upon that in which Dido *whisketh through the towne like Bachus nunne*, the authenticity of which is proved up to the hilt. If Surrey, himself, carried the poem through more than one stage, he may have felt that the length and obviousness of this gap were unsatisfactory and have filled it in more hastily than successfully, leaving the lines to be polished at some future time. It is the longest omission, and was therefore filled in before the other minor gaps. If there was more than one *authentic* version of the poem, then H. in possessing this and a few other readings, shows a stage intermediate between D.' and T.'

This brings the argument to the point where it is necessary to consider the possibility of author's revision, particularly with reference to T.

The nature of the 'revision' which the poem has undergone as a translation has already been illustrated. This revision stands in such marked antithesis to the 'editing' of which indubitable examples have also been cited, that it must appear more than doubtful if we can ascribe both to the same hand. The editing is easily accounted for. Some omission, ambiguity or difficulty lies at the back of each example. Surrey's text was 'emended' as Shakespeare's has been in later days. The 'revision' is a different matter—how different can only be appreciated when the general level of poetry, scholarship and culture in the period 1540–1557 is kept in mind. For the numerical majority of the alterations are made in lines and passages which, to the average editor, or even poet, of the mid-sixteenth century, would appear adequate in sense and style. Nor do the alterations betray only a scholarly working over

of the translation. To the examples of the reviser's method already quoted under different headings may be added others dictated by a poet's reasons. In most by a slight change a line or phrase is lifted from mediocrity and clumsiness to something, perhaps a little clumsy and halting still, but not mediocre. In every case it is a poet's touch.

For D.'s clumsy 'Dido loves and burnes, the rage her boones doth perse,' T. substitutes 'Dido doth burne with loue; rage *fretes* her bones'; for D.'s weak 'a maryed man' (*uxorius*) the more forceful and original 'a wife-bound man.' T. removes the prosaic and metrically barely adequate *hyer* and writes (808) 'Amid the rocks thy *guerdon* shalt thou find.' Sometimes there is scarcely a shade of difference of meaning to account for the change—merely a question of the value of syllables. For this reason only, apparently, the earlier line 'If Cartage turrettes thee, *of Phenis land*' is changed into the far more sonorous 'If Cartage turrettes thee, *Phenician borne*.' Of a similar nature, combined with a definite improvement in metre, is the substitution of *ungraued* for *unburied* which results in the fine alexandrine (832) 'But fall before his time *ungraued* amid the sandes.' Sometimes the removal of repeating words or syllables is the object aimed at:

T. 609. And oft the owl with rufull song complained,  
From the housetoppe drawing long *doleful* tunes.

D. and H. use *playning*, excellent for the sense, but in sound repeating the stem of the verb which closed the preceding line. Sometimes T. gets rid of a tautology and says more in the same space :

D. H. Whereas the Sonne descendeth  
and declynes. T. 636. Where as the *wandering* sun dis-  
cendeth hence<sup>1</sup>.

The reviser must have been a poet, like Surrey, of a naturally classical bent, not, of course, a scholar as Erasmus was a scholar, but of the right scholarly habit of mind, and with a certain gift of succinct and sinewy style, capable of occasional grave music and occasional austere grace.

These mental and stylistic considerations would by themselves make it natural to equate author and reviser. In this way T. would be able to maintain its unique readings except in a few instances, and the value of the whole of the *Certain Bokes* as evidence of Surrey's standards and methods would be enhanced. For if some of the finer touches in Book IV were shown to be from another hand, doubt would naturally be thrown on lines of the same quality in Book II for which Tottel is our only

<sup>1</sup> The reviser, more especially if he were Surrey, would probably consider that both *wandering* and *discondeth* were contained in the Lat. *cadentem* (Virg. l. 480). This is the term frequently employed by Virgil to describe the passage of the stars across and down the sky, without any explicit reference to their setting.



authority. There are, however, some textual difficulties which oppose themselves to any such simple equation. Nevertheless, the nature and quality of the alterations are such as to render it desirable to examine carefully what evidence may be brought forward in favour of author's revision.

(i) There is nothing inherently improbable in the idea of such revision on the part of Surrey, experimenter and innovator as he was. What interested him mainly in the beginning was the new Italian form; for the translation he was content to use Douglas as something more than guide. It is not difficult to imagine that he kept a copy of the poem by him and tinkered with it occasionally, with the natural result that as his taste matured, and his standard of scholarship and expression grew higher, the poem moves away from Douglas and nearer to the Latin. This supposition may be strengthened by reference to the MS. habits of the period. Surrey was, we need not doubt, frequently called upon to make copies for his friends. Owen's words in his preface do not imply that he thought of the autograph MS. from which D.' was copied as the only one—rather the reverse<sup>1</sup>. When Surrey wrote out a copy of his poem, he would, as author, feel free to make any alterations he thought fit—to embody in it any improvements which had recently occurred to him. In this way different authentic versions would grow up, of which H.' would represent a stage a little later than D.' and considerably earlier than T.'

(ii) There is nothing in the nature or style of the alterations which conflicts with the impression of Surrey derived from D. H. and from the lyrical and miscellaneous work. The literary personality displayed in these is definite and clear-cut. The revisions in T. reveal no discrepancy<sup>2</sup>. Surrey's Virgilian translations cannot be claimed as great poetry, but they are the work of a true poet whose marks are an austere distinction, a rigid economy, a certain uncompromising and sinewy stiffness occasionally softening into grace. There is a sort of Miltonism in Surrey's work—of the *Samson Agonistes* rather than of the *Comus* order—and this is frequently increased in the characteristic alterations, e.g. *If Cartage turrettes thee, Phenician borne*<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> '...my cōpye, although it were taken of one written with the authors own hande ...it shall be an occasion (to others) yf they have a better cōpye to publyshe the same.'

<sup>2</sup> The occasions when the 'reviser' expands might appear to be exceptions to this statement. But they are expansions of D. H., not of Virgil's Latin. The 'Saxonising' tendency noticeable in T. (see *ante* under Vocabulary) might also appear to belong to a later period and a different order. Some examples may well be the work of the 'editor.' In some cases, however, the evidence of H. goes to support T.'s reading.

<sup>3</sup> As an example of this 'Miltonism' from the lyrical work may be quoted the first two lines of the sonnet;

The greate Macedon that out of Persy chased  
Darius, of whose powre all Asia range.



(iii) There were not many poets of the necessary calibre between 1547 and 1557 whom we can equate with the 'reviser.' It is too early for Sackville were there any likelihood that he would undertake such a task. It would be natural to look for the 'reviser' in the *Miscellany* circle, and the name of Nicholas Grimald suggests itself, since a vague tradition assigns him the position of editor of *Tottel's Miscellany*. Apart from the fact that Tottel printed his translation of Cicero's *De Officiis* in the preceding year, this tradition rests (somewhat oddly) on the suppression of a large number of Grimald's poems, and on the reduction of his name to the initials *N. G.*, in the second edition. It is a more natural explanation to suppose that it was felt that, in the first edition, too much space and prominence had been given to one who was not a member of the order of courtly makers who contributed the bulk of the poems. That Grimald ever acted as supervisor for Tottel is, therefore, more than doubtful. A certain connexion between Grimald and the work of Surrey is, however, established by the former's interest in the new epic metre, an interest to which two pieces in the *Miscellany* bear witness: *The Death of Zoroas* and *Marcus Tullius Ciceroes Death*. These are brief experiments in the heroic manner and the new heroic metre, published in the same year as the *Certain Bokes*. Some comparison with these is thus necessary before the question of Grimald's possible connexion with this publication can be finally answered.

Grimald shares one stylistic trait with Surrey—a love of succinctness. But a straining after an un-English condensation is also to be traced in the work of Wyatt, and, indeed, in most of the *Miscellany* poets, and stands in strong contrast with the more homely English manner of the *Mirror for Magistrates* and other succeeding work. In Grimald's blank verse pieces the determination to be terse reaches a climax of harsh, crabbed, elliptical expression. It has been shown that the 'reviser' is less averse from necessary expansion than the author of *D. H.* The blank verse of these pieces is, on the whole, of the Surrey order, as might be expected. That is, it shows some realization of the far-reaching difference between blank verse and rhymed verse, which was forgotten by Gascoigne and his immediate successors. But as Grimald handles it, it is strained and jerky in the extreme and leans to a more regular, though sharp and restless, movement. But it is the diction of these *Miscellany* pieces which seems to show conclusively that Grimald had nothing to do with the *Certain Bokes*. It is of a quite unmistakable brand, forced and even eccentric, marked by a lavish use of compounds, in themselves frequently unusual (*dartthirling*, etc.), and of somewhat ugly, blustering words.

The vocabulary of the *Certain Bokes*, more than the syntax, represents undeniably the purest and most natural English of the day.

We are thus thrown back upon some unknown poet, with a more exacting standard than Surrey himself, lavishing a minute attention to detail upon another man's work. But the motives and the results of such an action are not easy to account for. The revision is palpably something more radical than the touching-up which a friend of the dead poet's might give to the poem to make it presentable for the press. It must spring from a generally higher standard and a desire to make the poem conform to it. This deliberation would seem to involve as its consequence consistency and thoroughness. Yet the effect of the *Certain Bokes* as a whole is still uneven and unfinished. There remain passages which cry out for stylistic revision. In other words, the revision, though not casual, is somewhat unsystematic. The total effect is consistent with a prolonged but spasmodic process of correction interrupted by death. It is consistent with the circumstances in which Surrey must have composed and corrected (if he ever did so) his poems.

(iv) A little shadowy evidence of a more external character can be brought to bear upon this question. T.'s Book IV cannot be considered altogether apart from Book II. It has been hinted already (*Part I*) that Book II possibly did not circulate in MS. The evidence for this is the absence of all allusion to it. So far as the writer knows, no one of the few sixteenth century poets and critics who refer to Surrey's blank verse experiment, speaks of it as embracing two books. The definite references use the singular in speaking of the work and the vaguer are all compatible with knowledge of it in single-book form, i.e. D. or more probably one of the D. H. family of MSS.<sup>1</sup> From this it would be reasonable to argue that Surrey translated IV first. Italian precedent would also support this view<sup>2</sup>. Book II represents slightly later, more ambitious, work, which, if it passed into circulation at all, did so tardily and to a limited extent. The appearance of the T. version of IV together with II lends a certain strength to the supposition that it also represents later, maturer work. To complete this slender chain of probabilities, we may further suppose that the *Certain Bokes* is an answer to Owen's challenge at the end of his preface to anyone who might 'have a better cōpye to publyshe the same.' Some friend of Surrey's, acting as informal literary executor, having in his possession, or knowing there to be, a later, improved version

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ascham, *Scholemaster*, Cambridge English Classics, p. 291, 'The noble lord... first of all Englishmen in translating the *Fourth Book* of Virgil.' See also Barnabe Googe, *Epitaph on Master Phaer*; Webbe, *Discourse of English poetrie*, p. 71.

<sup>2</sup> For the opposite point of view see Padelford, *op. cit.*, Notes to Book IV.

of IV as well as an unpublished II, got both books published together by the printer of the *Miscellany*.

These latter suppositions are in themselves too shadowy to be much insisted upon, but the addition of them to the points which precede them establishes a certain preponderance of probability in favour of author's revision in T. But the strength of a chain is the strength of its weakest link, and it may be confessed that one or two pieces of textual evidence are the weak links in any chain by which the authenticity of T. may be supported. The reference is particularly to those cases of 'editing' in T. corresponding to blunders and corruptions in D. H. All those which have been noted have been discussed in the course of this article. Each by itself is susceptible of an explanation not finally damaging to the authenticity of T. *minus* the 'editing,' but the occurrence of three or four such examples must throw a certain doubt upon any other theory than that there was one authentic Surrey type which early developed certain corruptions and contained gaps which the author never filled in. The divergencies between the three texts would thus remain a glaring commentary on the 'textual morality' of publishers, editors and virtuosi in the mid-sixteenth century. Even so, the literary interest of the 'reviser's' work would not be lost, but the text would have to consist of the common readings of D. and H. and, where these differ, of the result of a careful weighing of D.'s earlier date and closeness to Surrey's autograph against the generally greater intelligence and accuracy of H.

The whole problem of the relationship between these three texts has necessarily been imperfectly dealt with in this short space. Illustration has been cut down to a minimum. The discussion of individual examples is far from complete. There remain many knotty points for those to whom textual emendation is a fascinating pursuit. An analysis like this opens a window upon the processes and conditions antecedent to the appearance of a sixteenth century poem in print. It shows (with disturbing thoroughness if the possibility of author's revision be ruled out) how rapidly an author may be removed several stages from his work. Above all, it shows how easy it is to go astray in literary judgments if these textual conditions are not kept continually in mind. Much of what has, until recently, been said about Surrey's style, and still more, about his metre, needs revision in the light of what a study of the text has to teach us.

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## PIERRE DE RONSARD'S 'HYMNE DE LA MORT' AND PLUTARCH'S 'CONSOLATIO AD APOLLONIUM.'

THE *Hymne of Death* of Pierre de Ronsard, contained in the 1555 edition of the *Hymnes*, is one of the finest works and perhaps the most humane of the great French poet. It can be considered as representative of the spirit which animated the Pléiade school, in that it blends pagan and Christian elements in a creation of artistic perfection. The question arises: Is this poem the embodiment of Ronsard's humanistic training, a spontaneous fruit of his genius, fertilized by the ideals of classical antiquity, or did he have a definite literary model, which he followed, faithful to the doctrine of imitation propounded by him and his school? As far as I am aware, the question has neither been put nor treated in any of the works dealing with that period of French literary history. And yet there can be little doubt that Ronsard, when writing the *Hymne*, was under the influence of Plutarch's *Consolatio ad Apollonium*, which he appears to have imitated consciously, though by no means slavishly.

It is true, Ronsard himself says, toward the beginning of his poem<sup>1</sup>,

Et suiuant mon esprit, à nul des vieux antiques,  
Larron, ie ne déuray mes chansons poëtiques:  
Car il me plaist pour toy, de faire ici ramer  
Mes propres auirons dessus ma propre mer...

We shall see in the following pages to what extent this assertion is confirmed by the facts.

Ronsard addresses the *Hymne* to his friend Louis Des Masures, and begins by complaining of the impossibility of inventing any new arguments which have not already been used by the ancients. He will turn to a source still hidden and sing a new song, not borrowed from the ancients, a hymn of Death. Death is a great goddess who relieves man from the miseries of this life and unites him with God. Therefore we should call it our mother, and rejoice that it delivers us from the human prison of this earthly body. Just as a prisoner who sees himself released after a long captivity delights in his new freedom, so should man look forward to the hour of death. The same conception of Death as a great

<sup>1</sup> *Œuvres de P. de Ronsard*, p. p. Ch. Marty-Laveaux, Paris, Lemerre, 1891, iv, p. 365.

liberator forms the subject-matter of the thirteenth chapter of Plutarch's *Consolatio*<sup>1</sup>.

Ronsard goes on to say that not only men are slaves of hardship, but also sun, moon and the stars of heaven accomplishing their revolutions, the sea rising and falling twice a day, the earth bringing forth her fruit with pain and labour. Therefore the man who is afraid of death is very foolish in truth. The latter thought is found in the same chapter of Plutarch's treatise, in a quotation from Socrates.

Indeed, the poet says, we should make fun of the prize-fighter who, once in the arena and facing his enemy, should falter before having struck a blow. And what should we think of the merchant who has to go on a perilous voyage, but does not set out, preferring to stay on shore? While the metaphor of the prize-fighter is not found in the Greek text, that of the traveller does occur in the twenty-third chapter of the *Consolatio*.

Ronsard then contrasts the long and painful road of life with the short and easy road of death. Man should also remember that the greatest were not exempt from death: Achilles and Ajax, Alexander and Caesar, all had to depart from this life. The idea of the common fate for mankind is brought out in chapters IX and XV of the Greek work. In chapter IX Plutarch relates the anecdote of the poet Antimachus who, after the death of his wife Lyde, wrote an elegy on the misfortunes of others, for his own consolation. In chapter XV, the Greek author mentions Hercules, Croesus and Xerxes among the great of this world who could not escape death.

Many, Ronsard continues, are so much afraid of Death, whom they consider a black monster, as to forget that they are children of our Heavenly Father. They think with horror of the worms which will devour our 'mortal coil,' forgetting that after death the body will feel no more pain, will react to neither good nor evil, just as it had felt nothing before it was conceived in its mother's womb. The same idea is expressed in the fifteenth chapter of the *Consolatio*. The French poet exemplifies his statement by mentioning Telephus, Achilles, Bacchus, Paris, Hector and Troilus. The names of Achilles, Hector and Troilus are cited for a similar purpose in the twenty-fourth chapter of Plutarch.

What may suffer, the poet insists, is not the body but the immortal soul, which may be treated according to its merits. This idea, however essentially Christian it may appear, is not absent in the treatise of the

<sup>1</sup> For this study I use the following edition: *Plutarchi Opera omnia*, Paris, Firmin-Didot, 1885, III, pp. 121-145.



ancient writer, who brings it out in the thirty-fourth chapter. In Ronsard's opinion, the body is the servant of the soul and its mortal shrine :

Brutal, impatient, de nature maline,  
Et qui tousiours repugne à la raison diuine.

Therefore we have no need to tremble for its sake. On the other hand, we must be on our guard against the passing and deceitful pleasures which last but a quarter of an hour and which leave only bitter remorse in those who indulge in them. This passage appears to have been taken from the thirteenth chapter of the *Consolatio*, where we meet with a similar argumentation.

Man must beware, Ronsard says, of the deceits of Circe which would transform him into a beast, so that he would not see again the heavenly Ithaca. To reach the city of God, he must divest himself of his pride and assume hope, poverty and patience. This metaphor does not occur in Plutarch.

Man, the author of the *Hymne* continues, is but animated earth—a living shadow. Homer likens him to the wintry leaf which falls from the tree. Mortals are but a powerless and fragile crowd suffering from a thousand evils. In the sixth chapter of the *Consolatio*, Plutarch quotes Pindar, who likens man to the dream of a shadow, a metaphor which probably suggested to Ronsard that of the living shadow. In the same chapter, Plutarch cites the passage of Homer quoted in the *Hymne*.

The French poet expresses his astonishment at the words of Achilles, who is credited with having said that he would prefer to be a slave on earth rather than king in Hades. He must have lost his grudge against Agamemnon, and forgotten Briseis and Patroclus. Also, he cannot have heard one of the sages who said that man, in his life, is but a prey to Time and the plaything of Fortune. This sage appears to be Crantor, quoted by Plutarch in the sixth chapter.

Ronsard then brings out an objection not found in Plutarch: that life is the only good which may be lost without any hope of recovery existing. He continues to speak of old people who, though decrepit and powerless, still weep at the approach of death and would prefer to postpone their departure. In the fifteenth chapter, Plutarch brands this same cowardice in the face of death.

The following section of the *Hymne* is full of reminiscences of classical antiquity. The poet speaks of the ferryman Charon, Cerberus, Tantalus, Sisypheus, the Harpies, and Ixion. In this he is independent of his Greek model, however. This passage, entirely pagan in form, is



based on the Christian doctrine of redemption by the blood of Christ, and, better than any other in the poem, shows the blending in the great Pléiade poet of Christian faith with Renaissance ideals.

If any worldly good were more than temporal, Ronsard goes on to say, it would be a pleasure to live to old age, but all earthly things are inconstant; there is no lasting good. This thought, which would seem of a quaintly mediaeval cast and which reminds one of the *Vie de Saint Alexis*, goes back to the fifth and sixth chapters of the *Consolatio*.

Man is miserable from his birth; he weeps as soon as he is born as though he foresaw his future misery. For this reason the Thracians used to weep whenever a child was born, and to call him happy who was lying dead on the bier.

This anecdote incidentally goes back to Herodotus<sup>1</sup>. It must be noted however that, although Plutarch does not mention it in the *Consolatio*, in the twenty-seventh chapter he relates the well-known story of King Midas and Silenus, which has the same portent, but which Ronsard does not take over, probably because it is too long.

As children we are weak; at maturity we are swayed by all sorts of desires and passions. But in vain are all our efforts: old age pursues us which destroys youth in less than a day, so that no more trace is left of it than of a flower in the autumn.

The description of human desires and ambitions appears to be influenced by the thirteenth chapter of the *Consolatio*, where Plutarch quotes a passage from Plato to the same effect. The trend of thought on the futility of human passions recurs in the sixth chapter, which contains a number of citations from Greek poets comparing the life of man with the growth and decay of vegetation. The metaphor of Death as a creditor urging payment of the debt man owes him goes back to the tenth chapter of the *Consolatio*.

For this reason, Ronsard asserts, the comic poet Menander said that Jupiter sends an early death to those whom he likes best, while he gives a long life to those whom he does not favour.

The same thought, and a quotation from Menander in support of it, is expressed in the thirty-fourth chapter of Plutarch's work.

For the same reason, the Frenchman writes—linking again pagan and Christian thought—Saint Paul wished to be divested of his mortal body and to live with Christ. Then follows a description of the Golden Age with Death non-existent and the mortals imploring the gods for relief from their never-ending sorrows; Jupiter, listening to their prayers,

<sup>1</sup> *Hist.* v, 4.

sends them Death in the form of a goddess bearing a scythe, with noiseless steps, blind, deaf and without a heart, so as to be pitiless and unmoved by human misery.

This description is probably the most grandiose. There is nothing in Plutarch's work with which it can be compared. Yet, there are passages which are very likely to have shaped Ronsard's conceptions. First there is, in the seventh chapter, a quotation from Hesiod, describing the mission of Pandora on earth and which is not altogether devoid of all resemblance to the passage of the *Hymne* which we have just discussed. The idea of death as a reward granted by the gods to man is sufficiently emphasized in chapter XIV, where Plutarch dwells upon it, exemplifying it by the stories of Biton and Cleobis, of Agamedes, and of Trophonius and Euthynous. The poet does not take over any of these examples, probably because they would lead him too far.

Ronsard reiterates the thought that the good die young. Then he dwells on the metaphor of Death and Sleep being brothers, and he mentions the law of God under which no harm should be done to a sleeping person. Plutarch brings out the same idea and mentions the same law in the twelfth chapter of his work.

The French poet devotes a few lines to the paradisaic state of the soul in eternal bliss. It is a Christian paradise which he depicts, and which takes the place of the somewhat material and sensuous one described by Pindar in verses quoted in the thirty-fifth chapter of Plutarch's treatise.

Ronsard rejects the pagan doctrines of transformation, re-birth and metempsychosis—doctrines which would subtract from the idea of death all its benignity and consolatory power. Death, however, is unable to destroy mankind, for new generations are born while old ones die; generation follows upon generation as wave upon wave. It is a process of formation and reformation; nothing new is created. The body changes into new forms, death being but a transformation of the physical body, and in this way matter is renewed and never perishes.

A similar discussion is found in the tenth chapter of the *Consolatio*.

The *Hymne de la Mort* concludes with a prayer of the poet for an easy death, or for a death in the service of his king and his country. One verse in which he greets Death as the great comforter and physician is taken from a quotation from Aeschylus found in the tenth chapter of the *Consolatio*.

From this comparison of the *Hymne de la Mort* with the treatise of the Greek writer, it follows clearly that Ronsard was modelling his

poem after the latter. While it would be possible, of course, that a number of the thoughts came to him from sources used also by Plutarch—sources such as Homer, the tragic poets, Pindar and others—it is utterly unlikely that he should accidentally have drawn on those works which happen to be quoted in Plutarch's *Consolatio ad Apollonium*. Furthermore, we have seen that a number of ideas have been borrowed not from the citations given by Plutarch, but from the text of the *Consolatio* itself. There can be no doubt, then, as to the deliberate and conscious imitation of Plutarch's work by the Pléiade poet. That he hides his indebtedness to his ancient model need not surprise us: this was the common practice of poets and writers of that period, as is shown in the case of Du Bellay, Brantôme and the Italian Sebastiano Erizzo.

While these facts must be stated, it is only fair to say that Ronsard is by no means a slavish or unskilful imitator. From the foregoing analysis of the *Hymne*, it is clear that he arranged his subject-matter differently from Plutarch. Moreover, the blending of pagan and Christian elements, which makes the poem typically one of the French Renaissance, is due entirely to Ronsard. The climax of the *Hymne*, the creation and description of Death, is his conception, as he used only a few suggestions given him by his model. Above all, the beauty of form, the adaptation of ancient ideas to the philosophical and religious thought of the sixteenth century, and the impression which is imparted upon any reader of the *Hymne* that he listens to the outpourings of the poet's innermost soul, will always give the work the value of a masterpiece, penned by a poet in the truest sense of the word.

In parallel columns I give a few examples of the dependency of Ronsard upon Plutarch, though not all those mentioned in the study, as that would require too much space to be justified.

Ronsard, p. 366

Pource l'homme est bien sot, ainçois  
bien malheureux  
Qui a peur de mourir, & mesmement à  
l'heure  
Qu'il ne peut resister que soudain il ne  
meure.

p. 367

Chetif, apres la mort le corps ne sent  
plus rien:  
En vain tu es peureux, il ne sent mal ny  
bien  
Non plus qu'il faisoit lors que le germe à  
ton pere  
N'auoit enflé de toy le ventre de ta mere.

Plutarch, p. 129

Τὸ γὰρ δεδιέναι, ὃ ἄνδρες, τὸν θάνατον  
οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἐστὶν ἢ δοκεῖν σοφὸν εἶναι μὴ  
ὄντα.

p. 131

Ἀνασθησῖα γάρ τις κατ' αὐτὸν γίνεται,  
καὶ πάσης ἀπαλλαγὴ λύπης καὶ φροντίδος.  
Εἰς τὴν αὐτὴν οὖν τάξιν οἱ τελευτήσαντες  
καθίστανται τῇ πρὸ τῆς γενέσεως.

Ὡς περ οὖν οὐδὲν ἡμῖν ἦν πρὸ τῆς γενέ-  
σεως οὐτ' ἀγαθὸν οὔτε κακόν, οὕτως οὐδὲ  
μετὰ τὴν τελευτὴν, καὶ καθάπερ τὰ πρὸ  
ἡμῶν οὐδὲν ἦν πρὸς ἡμᾶς, οὕτως οὐδὲ τὰ  
μεθ' ἡμᾶς οὐδὲν ἔσται πρὸς ἡμᾶς.



p. 368

O que d'estre ja morts nous seroit vn  
grand bien,  
Si nous considerions que nous ne sommes  
rien  
Qu'une terre animée & qu'une viuante  
ombre,

Non pour autre raison Homere nous égale  
A la feuille d'Hyuer qui des arbres deuale,  
Tant nous sommes chetifs & pauvres  
journaliers,  
Receuans sans repos maux sur maux à  
milliers  
Comme faits d'une masse impuissante &  
debile.

p. 371

Pour-ce à bon droit disoit le Comique  
Menandre,  
'Que tousiours Iupiter en ieunesse veut  
prendre  
Ceux qu'il aime le mieux, & ceux qu'il  
n'aime pas,  
Les laisse en cheveux blancs long tems  
viure çà-bas.'

p. 374

Je te salue heureuse & profitable mort,  
Des extremes douleurs medecin & con-  
fort.

p. 124

Ὁ δὲ Πίνδαρος ἐν ἄλλοις  
Τί δέ τις; τί δ' οὕτις; σκιᾷ ὄναρ  
ἄνθρωπος  
ἐμφαντικῶς σφόδρα καὶ φιλοτέχνως ὑπερ-  
βολῇ χρησάμενος, τὸν τῶν ἀνθρώπων βίον  
ἐδήλωσε.  
Τί γὰρ σκιᾷ ἀσθενέστερον; τὸ δὲ ταύτης  
ὄναρ οὐδ' ἂν ἐκφράσαι τις ἕτερος δυνηθεῖη  
σαφῶς.

p. 125

Ταύτῃ δ' ὅτι καλῶς ἐχρήσατο τῇ εἰκόνι  
τοῦ ἀνθρωπείου βίου, δηλόν, ἐξ ὧν ἐν ἄλλῃ  
τόπῳ φησὶν οὕτω,  
Βροτῶν δ' ἕνεκα πολεμίζειν  
δειλῶν, οἱ φύλλοισιν εἰοκότες, ἄλλοτε  
μὲν τε  
ζαφλεγέες τελέθουσιν ἀρούρης καρπὸν  
ἐδόντες,  
ἄλλοτέ τε φθινύθουσιν ἀκήριοι,  
οὐδέ τις ἀλκή.

p. 143

Ὅτι γὰρ οἱ ταῖς ἀρεταῖς διενεγκόντες ὡς  
θεοφιλεῖς νέοι μετέστησαν πρὸς τὸ χρεῶν,  
καὶ πάλαι μὲν διὰ τῶν πρόσθεν ὑπέμνησα  
λόγων, καὶ νῦν δὲ πειράσομαι διὰ βρα-  
χυτάτων ἐπιδραμεῖν, προσμαρτυρήσας τῷ  
καλῶς ὑπὸ Μενάνδρου ῥηθέντι τούτῳ,  
'Ὅν οἱ θεοὶ φιλοῦσιν, ἀποθνήσκει νέος.

p. 127

Ὁ δ' Αἰσχύλος καλῶς εἰσὶν ἐπιπλήττειν  
τοῖς νομίζουσι τὸν θάνατον εἶναι κακόν,  
λέγων ὧδε,  
Ὡς οὐ δικαίως θάνατον ἔχθουσιν βροτοὶ,  
ὅσπερ μέγιστον ῥῆμα τῶν πολλῶν κακῶν.  
Τοῦτον γὰρ ἀπεμνήσατο καὶ ὁ εἰπὼν,  
'Ὡ θάνατε παιὰν ἱατρὸς μόλοις.  
Λιμὴν γὰρ ὄντως αἶδας ἀνιᾶν.

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## ACHIM VON ARNIM AND SCOTLAND.

It is not surprising to find Achim von Arnim and his brother finishing off their 'grand tour' with a flying visit to Scotland. For, ever since the days of the 'Sturm und Drang,' the home of Ossian had been surrounded with a glamour of romance sufficient to attract one who had already shown himself to be heir of Herder's enthusiasm for folk-lore. And if he required further incentive there was the newly published *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border* the appearance of which he notices in his first London letter to Brentano, adding: 'ich will daraus ein Englisch lernen, das kein Mensch verstehen soll, damit ich mich an den Engländern räche, und ihnen bewaise, dass sie eigentlich gar keine Sprache reden<sup>1</sup>.' We find Arnim presenting Henriette Schubart with a copy of the same book when visiting her in Weimar and later he reviewed her translation of it<sup>2</sup>.

There does not appear to be any definite record of the actual itinerary pursued—the impressions received not being sufficiently lasting to find a place in the reminiscences<sup>3</sup> of either brother. Steig dismisses (p. 103) the whole experience in two sentences and indeed, to judge from the time spent—the Arnims were absent from London only some three months, and they made a détour through Wales—we conclude that their visit to Scotland was an excursion rather than a sojourn. Although we have no first-hand record of the journey, we can, however, gather some interesting data from Arnim's works. Steig mentions *Die Ehen-schmiede* and the poem, *Der Wilddieb*, as the sole literary products of the Scottish trip, but the earliest reminiscences come in that curious medley of northern and southern impressions, *Elegie aus einem Reisetagebuch in Schottland*, which first appeared in *Die Zeitung für Einsiedler*<sup>4</sup> for April 1808, to be inserted later in *Gräfin Dolores*. In it we have a picture of a somewhat home-sick youth travelling as the professional man of letters:

Liege am Felsen gestreckt mit zierlich gebundenem Tagbuch  
Und verlange vom Geist, dass er was Gutes bescheert!

<sup>1</sup> R. Steig, *A. v. Arnim und Clemens Brentano*, p. 95.

<sup>2</sup> *Unbekannte Aufsätze* (1892).

<sup>3</sup> *Erinnerungen eines Reisenden*, in *Berlinische Blätter für deutsche Frauen*, vol. ix, pt. 2, *Flüchtige Bemerkungen eines flüchtig Reisenden*, 1838-45 (C. O. L. v. Arnim).

<sup>4</sup> Edited by F. Pfaff (1883), p. 79.

and the feelings of physical discomfort with which he comes back to earth in the typically romantic manner were doubtless very real at the time :

Fingal und Fingal da rief's schon, muss ich erwachen in Schottland...  
 Muss heimkehren zur Erdhütt, keinen der Schnarcher versteh ich,  
 Muss mir schlachten ein Lamm, rösten das lebende Stück,  
 Mehl vom Hafer so rauh mir backen zum Brode im Pfännchen  
 Und des wilden Getränks nehmen viel tüchtige Schluck...  
 Siehe mein Leiden, O Mond, durch deine gerundete Scheibe,  
 Schmutzig ist Speise und Trank, was ich mir wünsche das fehlt.

When Arnim got back to London about Christmas 1803, we find him describing his tour thus in a letter to Brentano: 'Ich bin drei Monate herumgehetzt worden wie ein Wilddieb<sup>1</sup>,' and he closes the letter, according to the fashion of the period, with a fantasy in the stanzas called *Der Wilddieb*. The 'Romanze' of the same name, to which we have already referred, appears in the collected edition of his poems, undated; but it must have been composed about this time. Like the preceding Romanze, *Der Förster*, it treats the kind of traditional ballad subject with which Arnim had become familiar through Scott's *Minstrelsy*, but it is rendered with a matter-of-fact detail which reduces it almost to the level of an anecdote told by sportsmen gossiping together after a good day on the moors. Arnim's poacher might have been Edward or Lord Randal himself, staggering home as he does, in the grey of the morning, laden with his tragic burden. But the poet makes no attempt to create a tense atmosphere by an exchange of question and answer between the waiting mother and her son, who has been driven to kill his father to save him from the shame of capture. The closing scene in the wood is described in words that rob it of horror :

Des Vaters Ehr' bedenkt der Sohn,  
 Dass ihn nicht fressen Raben,  
 Dass ihn die Fremden nicht mit Hohn  
 In Kirchhofseck begraben :  
 Er sackt ihn ein und hebt ihn auf  
 Und eilt nach Haus in schnellem Lauf.

So we get back to the opening scene and to the son's brutal greeting :

Spart auf den Wein zum Todtenmahl,  
 Das Ehbett macht zur Bahre,  
 Wascht Vatern rein vom blut'gen Strahl,  
 Dass keiner es erfahre,

and in the end he goes out to collect his friends and to set things straight by raiding the gamekeepers.

We also see in Arnim's account of the '45, which appears as the 'Neunte Abend' of the *Wintergarten* (1809), a fruit of his interest in Scotland. This last luckless adventure of the Stuarts did as much as

<sup>1</sup> Steig, p. 103.



McPherson's *Ossian* to turn the attention of Europe to Scotland, and Arnim must have taken back as a souvenir one of the most popular panegyrics of Prince Charlie, *Ascanius*, a little book published by an Edinburgh firm in 1804 and re-published as recently as 1890. Several books of this name, compiled from contemporary documents, were written both in English and French in the years immediately following the Rebellion, but the Edinburgh edition is the only one which opens with the same summary of the fortunes of the Stuart line that we find in Arnim. The use he makes of this source, which has not hitherto been noticed, is straightforward and consistent, and his own contributions would scarcely fill a page. Towards the end of the recital of the Prince's many escapes, Arnim indicates his use of *Ascanius* in a sentence which reminds us at the same time of the literary movement to which he belonged:

Es ergreift uns eine namenlose Ungeduld, dass kein neues Hinderniss diese nahe Hoffnung wieder vernichtet und die Namen der Mitgenommenen und der Zurückgelassenen entswinden selbst dem Gedächtnisse unsrer sonst so ausführlichen Geschichtschreiber.

He was writing what he called a 'Novelle' and in all the more vivid passages we have a close word for word translation. Thus the recital of the melancholy end of the leaders of the Rebellion, and the pathetic encounters of the vagrant hero with his faithful dependants are accurately reproduced, as may be seen from the following extract:

*Ascanius*, p. 102.

Having delivered the paper to the sheriff, he (Lord Balmerino) called for the executioner, and being about to ask his Lordship's pardon, he said, 'Friend, you need not ask me forgiveness; the execution of your duty is commendable.' On which his Lordship gave him three guineas, saying, 'Friend, I never was rich, this is all the money I have now; I wish it were more, and I am sorry I can add nothing to it but my coat and my waistcoat'; which he then took off together with his neckcloth and threw them on his coffin: putting on a flannel waistcoat which had been provided for the purpose, and then, taking a plaid cap out of his pocket he put it on his head saying, 'he died a Scotsman.'

*Wintergarten*, p. 173.

Das Blatt gab er dem Sherif; dann rief er den Scharfrichter, der nach alter Sitte ihn um Verzeihung bitten wollte, dem er aber in die Rede fiel: 'Freund, was wollt ihr mich um Verzeihung bitten, die Erfüllung eurer Pflicht ist ja lobenswerth.' Darauf gab er ihm 3 Guineen und sprach: 'Freund, ich war niemals reich, das ist alles Geld, was ich noch habe, ich wünschte es wäre mehr und es thut mir leid, dass ich nichts als Rock und Westezufügen kann.' Dabei zog er beides aus und legte es mit seinem Halstuche auf seinen Sarg, setzte eine gestreifte Mütze auf, und meinte, so sterbe er als ein Schotte.

The foot-notes of the original are incorporated in the German version, and wherever the Prince is mentioned as singing to encourage his weary companions, Arnim supplies suitable songs no more original than the text in which they are inserted, two of them (pp. 191, 204) having

already appeared in *Des Knaben Wunderhorn*, while another (p. 205) is a variation of one of the ballads in Scott's *Minstrelsy*. In a foot-note, Arnim comments, as he may well do, on the resemblance between this last poem and H. Schubart's translation of the common original. *Das Lied von der Jugend*, the swan song of the whole expedition, is a translation of two Ossian poems, *The War of Inisthona* and *Berrathon*, the latter being considerably abridged.

Any discrepancies in figures or dates are doubtless mere slips; thus when Arnim dates Culloden April 26 instead of 16, it would not seem to be due to a confusion of Old and New Style. In the descriptions of battles and sieges, he always abridges the detailed account of the original and his own contribution consists in the addition of literary flourishes at dramatic moments. At the end of every act he brings his hero to doff his bonnet to the audience with a gesture now trite, now tragic. 'So mussten viele fliehen, damit einer aufrecht stehen konnte'—that is the comment on Prestonpans and that on the fall of Stirling is equally common-place: 'er [der Prinz] sah jetzt, dass Jugendkraft eines grossen Menschen mehr als der Menschen gemischte Menge leisten kann.' After the catastrophe of Culloden, the hero strikes an attitude of despair not without a certain dignity: 'Der Zukunft warf er seine Krone zu.' The tale of the Prince's departure is soon told by the author of *Ascanius*: 'The Prince, seeing his friends put first on board the ships, then embarked himself and immediately set sail for France.' But Arnim allows him time to bow himself off the stage in a more appropriate manner:

Der Prinz liess erst seine Freunde ins Schiff steigen, dann küsste er den Boden seiner Väter und seiner Noth, bestieg das Schiff und sah sein untergangenes Reich, das sein Muth gegen den Willen und das Schicksal einer Welt für kurze Zeit wieder aus dem Meer gehoben, allmählig darin untersinken—noch auf dem Felsenspitzen weilten seine Augen. Seinen Feinden entkam er, aber sein Reich sah er nie wieder und seine Thaten waren geendet, so wenig er damals noch glauben mochte. Wir lassen ihm die Sterne und die Erinnerung andrer grosser Thaten, die auch verschwunden, trostreich aufgehen, während ein frischer, günstiger Wind sein Schiff an die rettende Küste Frankreichs gefahrlos und schnell hintreibt.

The same tendency to bring out the romantic side of the story is seen in the emphasis Arnim lays on the episode of Flora Macdonald, an episode which finds baldest expression in the English. Throughout there is an appreciation of historically interesting scenes—such, for instance, is the picture of Holyrood, 'wo jedes Zimmer gewaltsamer Tage Gedächtniss trägt,' and of Charles crossing 'die kleine Tweed, die so lang grosse Nationen geschieden.' It was partly this talent for seizing the significance of historical association which made *Die Kronenwächter* possible, and Arnim possessed it before the days of *Waverley*.



Apart from these formal expansions, there are two additions in the book directly reminiscent of Arnim's visit to Scotland. He breaks into his description of the Prince's arrival at a crofter's cottage with the personal 'Ich kann aus meiner eigenen Erfahrung hinzufügen,' and proceeds to testify to his own experience of Highland hospitality and customs.

A more important comment, which is worth quoting, occurs earlier in the account of the Prince's wanderings when Arnim stops to consider the effect of the '45 on the clan system and the state of the Highlands generally.

Das innere Gesetz, das die Herren mit ihren Stämmen verbunden, die Ehre der Gewalt über Menschen, mit denen sie bis dahin wie die Könige alter Zeit, als Häupter der Familien verbunden, verschwand; es blieb nur noch der Reiz des Eigenthums, die Herren massten sich den Besitzwerth des Bodens an, den sie bis dahin wie Fürsten geschützt hatten: sie suchten jetzt die Vortheile eigener Ökonomie, um in London ihr Glück auf anderm Boden zu machen. Die Einführung der Schafszucht bedurfte weniger Hirten, als die bis dahin gewohnte Rindviehzucht, grosse Parks besetzten grosse Weiden, die armen Hochländer mussten aus dem Lande wandern.

If Arnim had troubled to study the Rebellion seriously, he would have recognised that clan government was dead before the Pretender ever set foot in Scotland, and that the Act of 1748 suppressing hereditary jurisdiction was merely the last nail in the coffin. If, moreover, he had spent more time in the Highlands he might not have made the too common mistake of attributing emigration from these parts to the introduction of sheep-runs. It is more than probable that this false impression was no result of first-hand experience, though, as emigration was at its height during Arnim's visit to Great Britain, he could scarcely have helped hearing it discussed. Many of the English travellers who were forced by continental disturbances to make the Highlands their play-ground, air a little amateur rural economy in their journals, and Arnim could not have read one of the guide-books of the period without getting the impression of avaricious landlordism<sup>1</sup>. The gloomiest of all accounts Arnim may have read before leaving Germany in Kosegarten's translation of Dr Garnett's *Tour* published in 1802. That he did use such guide-books to supplement his personal experience may be seen from the foot-notes to *Owen Tudor*, where he quotes from Hutton's *Remarks upon North Wales*. The whole question of Highland emigration has been treated in recent articles in the *Scottish Historical Review*<sup>2</sup>, and however Arnim may have acquired his impression, it was sufficiently lasting for him to reproduce it some years later in *Die Ehenschmiede*. Here, indeed,

<sup>1</sup> E.g., Pennant, *Tour in Scotland*, 1769-71, Vol. 2, pp. 281-3; *Scots Magazine* for 1803.

<sup>2</sup> By Miss M. I. Adam, June 1919, Jan. 1920.



one may be less critical, as this is more obviously an effort of imagination than the work that has just been discussed; and it is more picturesque to be evicted in order to make room for sheep-runs than simply to drift the way of all surplus population.

*Die Ehenschmiede* appears to have been published only posthumously, but we gather from a foot-note on the first page that it was written at a time when Scott had already created a reputation for the scenery of his own land. It probably belongs to the period of Arnim's greatest activity, 1818-20. It has been re-published as one of Meyer's 'Volksbücher,' but it is too much a burlesque to be popular to-day. On the modern reader it has something of the effect of an indifferent cinema-film. Authentically Scottish pictures are occasionally thrown on the screen, as at the beginning, where we have probably a reminiscence:

Es war mein Glück, dass ich einer Schaar Hochländer begegnete: der Weg, welchen mir der Laird als den im Hochlande gerühmt hatte, fand sich von Bergwässern durchschnitten, auf einzelnen Felsstücken durch Sümpfe fortgeführt, oft in Büschen versteckt, als ob er einst zum Irreleiten eindringender Feinde abgesteckt worden.

Just such a road was the Inveraray-Dalmally one described by Dr Garnett, who also quotes similar encounters with emigrating Highlanders. It seems probable, too, that the details of the scene of action come from memory. The position of the castle, the exploits on the loch, and the description of the comfortable inn all suggest Inveraray which Arnim must have visited on his way to Staffa. Contemporary travellers<sup>1</sup> agree in pronouncing it one of the best hostelrys in the Highlands, and the delight of the German naturalist who narrates the story, at finding, not the traditional fare of 'hard oat-cakes and scraggy mutton and roast beef tasting of peat-smoke,' but good English food and excellent Bordeaux wine, is the kind of detail that would come straight from the travelling student's note-book. The Corinthian pillars and marble statues of the castle gardens are literary eclecticism, and romantic is the reference to the view of the castle by moon-light: 'weil nun einmal Sitte ist, alle Fremden im Mondschein nach der Aussicht zu führen, seit der berühmte Naturdichter Macprumpengregor Crelly sie in Mondscheinbeleuchtung besungen hat.' Arnim's Duke has borrowed certain traits from the contemporary head of the Clan Campbell, whose rural policy was sufficiently enlightened to attract comment from most travellers<sup>2</sup>. The evicted crofters of this story, one of whom, Daura, bears the name of a Kotzebue personage<sup>3</sup>, admit that their landlord offered to establish them in the

<sup>1</sup> E.g., Spencer, *Journal of a Tour through Scotland*, 1816.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Kosegarten's translation of Dr Garnett, p. 93.

<sup>3</sup> Graf Gustav von Sternberg und Daura, in *Er und Sie*, 1781.

recently organised fishing industry, and the Duchess gives a truer statement of things in the Highlands than that which has been quoted from the *Wintergarten* :

Seit der Herzog die Vertheidigung dieser Küste übernommen, findet er ohnehin, dass diese Bergbewohner ihm nützlicher sind als alle dieser Städte, Fischer und Ackerleute, in welche er einen Theil verwandelt hat, aus der guten Absicht, sie aus der gewohnten Noth in eine ihnen freilich ungewohnte Thätigkeit, und durch diese in einen dauernden Wohlstand, wie er England beglückt, zu versetzen.

Here Arnim seems to put his finger on one of the real causes of emigration.

There are other details which give Arnim's local colour a precision utterly lacking, for example, in the work of his contemporary Luise Brachmann (*Die Herberge im schottischen Hochlande*, 1812). Such are his personal impressions of national costume and of the physique of Scotswomen. The fear of French invasion, too, which is all the time in the background, shows that he was drawing on memories of 1803-4 when that fear was at its strongest. The dénouement of the story with its orgy of marriages at Gretna Green is also a reminiscence of what would be a stage in Arnim's journey. All travellers<sup>1</sup> who enter Scotland by this western route, comment upon a spot which, since the passing of Lord Pelham's Act of 1753, forbidding Fleet marriages, was as interesting to the romantic mind as it has been, for very different reasons, to the patriot of recent years. 'Hymen's Caledonian altar' or the 'altar of Baal,' it is called, according to the writer's point of view and the coinage of the first epithet adds: 'I cannot help thinking that some of our superior novelists would not be ill employed in possessing themselves of the leading characters and events which have distinguished the more remarkable of these rash connections.' He had not long to wait, for the 'blacksmith' of Gretna and the rascally postillions of Carlisle soon became familiar to all readers of fiction and are now part of the recognised 'make-up' of the period. Arnim's conclusion—his ceremonies are performed by a goldsmith—show that he was familiar with the corrections of the gazetteers of the time, where we find it repeated that neither the original 'parson,' Joe Paisley, nor his notorious son-in-law, whose memoirs are a perfect mine of melodrama, were ever connected with a forge<sup>2</sup>. Arnim's sign-board, too: 'Ehe von Fremden für 10 Guineen,' is correct, for his goldsmith charges five guineas less than his rival and the official figure

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Pennant, *Travellers' Guide*, Vol. i, p. 44.

<sup>2</sup> 'The greater part of the trade is monopolised by a tobaccoist and not a blacksmith as is generally believed: a fellow without literature, without principles, without religion and without manners. It is truly a disgrace to permit such irregularities to be practised with impunity and it is no small reflection on the good sense of the people of England to suffer themselves to be duped and their pockets picked by such impostors' (*Travellers' Guide*, 1798, repeated in *Gazette of Scotland*, 1803).



is fifteen guineas, a sum which was reduced afterwards as low as 'half-a-crown a pair.' The Rev. John Roddick's statement that 'parties have been known to betake themselves hither from the north of Scotland itself' shows that Arnim's ending by hustling all his characters from the Highlands to Gretna Green is not so ridiculous as it appears, and as, no doubt, he meant it to be.

Part of the farcical effect of the ridiculous story to which these Scottish reminiscences form a setting, lies, for us, in the recurrence of literary allusions. We find them on almost every page; they even overflow into the footnotes. It seems impossible for anyone to go to bed in Scotland without dwelling on Macbeth's soliloquy, which adorns the walls of the ducal bedrooms. Daura has already been mentioned, and she is supported by 'die naive Gurli,' the popular heroine of *Die Indianer in England*, who appears with startling suddenness on the coast of Scotland, having survived the wreck of the ship which was bringing La Peyrouse<sup>1</sup> home. The Highland Duke recites passages from Aristophanes and Ovid at a domestic crisis, while his ghillies show a surprising familiarity with *Hamlet*. Love scenes are conducted, too, in the language of *Romeo and Juliet*. The whole story is meant to caricature certain features of the time—social extravagances such as the duel, and literary weaknesses arising from the cult of Kotzebue. But these fashions have changed and their caricature has merely an antiquarian interest.

Scherer, in a warm eulogy, says of Arnim as a traveller: 'Er hatte überall scharf beobachtet.'<sup>2</sup> As far as his journey in Scotland went, we find that he travelled rather with a journalist's 'flair' for good copy than with the probing eye of the observant tourist. If he did use Ossian as Baedeker, he was certainly not alone in this<sup>3</sup>, and his own interests as a landowner as well as his love for the historical kept him from following his guide blindfolded.

He comes almost mid-way between Herder and Fontane, and it seems to us that his interpretation of Scotland, if it be more prosaic than that of his literary superiors, is also more precise.

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<sup>1</sup> *La Peyrouse*, also by Kotzebue, staged in 1798.

<sup>2</sup> *Kleine Schriften*, II, p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> E.g., Mrs Grant of Laggan.



## MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

### ADDITIONS TO THE SUPPLEMENT OF THE BOSWORTH-TOLLER 'ANGLO-SAXON DICTIONARY.'

The following additions to the supplement of the Dictionary are taken mostly from a collection of passages under A—E made by Cockayne, and by an unfortunate oversight not utilized for the Supplement. In the case of words already recorded these passages give meanings or constructions little or not at all illustrated: words hitherto unrecorded are marked with an asterisk.

á-bídan *with clause*:—Wé ábidon, þæt þú cóme *expectavimus, ut venires*, Gr. D. 148, 32.

á-bregdan *with dat.*:—Hé his sweorde ábræd *educens gladium*, Mk. 14, 47.

\*ác-stybb *an oak-stump*:—On ðone ácstybb, C. D. iv. 75, 1.

æcer; II. *as a measure of breadth*, v. Ors. 160, 25 (*given under brædu*).

æht; Ic:—Æht healdan *to keep cattle*, Gen. 973. II:—On æht begitan *lucrari*, Lk. 9, 25.

\*ælmes-penig *an alms-penny*:—Gebyrað æt gyrde .xii. penegas and .iiii. ælmespenegas, C. D. iii. 450, 25; cf. sulh-ælmesse.

ærist; n:—Þæt ðryfealde ærist synfullra sáwla, Hml. Th. i. 496, 4.

æst = ærest, C. D. ii. 133, 23: Ors. 124, 8: 174, 2.

ágendlíce *properly*; *proprie*:—Ecclesiastes...is ágendlíce on Ænglisc rihtraciend geháten *ecclesiastes proprie concionator dicitur*, Gr. D. 264, 26.

ágnung; II:—C. D. vi. 81, 11. IIa:—C. D. vi. 127, 31.

\*angsumlic *troublesome*:—Þæt þe ér earfoðe and ancsumlic þúhte, R. Ben. 5, 19.

\*ár-óm? *copperas*, Lch. ii. 192, 22, *the MS. has sár óm*.

á-sellan:—Hé nolde ðæt ðæt land mid ealle út áseald wære, C. D. vi. 154, 25.

á-settan *to lay up, store*:—Þú hæfst mycele gód ásette (*posita*), Lk. 12, 19.

á-singan; I:—Lch. ii. 112, 27: Shrn. 134, 17.

\*á-stæppan *to imprint a footstep*:—Fótlæsta...on þissere flóre ástapene (cf. geðýde, Hml. Th. i. 506, 12), Nap. 80, 1.

á-worpenness *a casting out*:—Áworpenness (eiectionem) Ismahelis, Bd. Sch. 696, 8.

be-cirran *to turn round*:—Ðá becyrde se Hælend and beseah tó Petre, Hml. Th. ii. 248, 33.

be-geótan; II:—Hé þone hláf on wæter bedypte, and his mæge on þone mūd begeát, Hml. Th. ii. 150, 10.

be-hegian *to set a hedge about*:—Sum hīredes ealdor hét settan wīngæard and hine behegian (*vineam pastinare et circumdare saepem*, Mk. 12, 1), Wanl. Cat. 118 a.

\*be-hleótan *to assign by lot*:—Þá behlutan hí hit sóna tó Iónan, MS. Cleop. B. xiii. 51 b.

beorht (*of voice*):—Hé mid beorhtre stemne clypode, Hml. i. 422, 5.

be-swician = be-swícan, Ors. 146, 10.

be-wrigennes *a covering*; *velatio*, Wynfr. 280 b (v. Wanl. Cat. 212 a. The MS., Cott. Otho C 1, has since been bound in two volumes, v. Hml. Ass. 266-7).

\*biddend *one who seeks to obtain, a petitioner*:—Hrædlícur tó béne déma byþ gebíged gif fram þwyrnesse his biddend (*petitor*) byð geþreád, Scint. 32, 3.

\*bring-ádl (?) :—Wið micclum líce and bringcádl, Lch. iii. 38, 24.

\*bróc-ríp *a small stream running into a larger* (?) :—Eást tó ðére brócriðe; ðæt norð andlang bróces tó ðére riðe ðe scýt eást, C. D. v. 194, 37.

byrn-hama *a corslet*:—Ðeáh þe láðra fela ðínne byrnhomon billum heówun, Vald. 1, 17.

calan (*for construction cf. hyngri(an)*):—Se þearfa bemænde þæt him þearle cól, Hml. S. 31, 911. (*This passage is wrongly given to cól; adj.*) Hé wreáh ðá nacodan þearfan þæt mé ne cóle on þisse worulde, Archiv 91, 380, 18.

calu (*of a hill*), C. D. iii. 263, 21: 264, 6.

\*cwealm-lic *deadly*, Wynfr. 281 b (v. be-wrigennes).

\*drúpung *drooping, dejection*:—Yc eom drúpung and sleacnis, Wynfr. 280 a (v. be-wrigennes).

ealdordómlicnes *authority*:—Ealdordómlicnyss (= ? ealdordóm 7 ealdorlicnyss) *auctoritas*, R. Ben. I. 68, 12.

ymb-faran *to go about, travel over a country*:—Hé ymbefór ealle Egipta rícu *circuivit omnes regiones Aegypti*, Gen. 41, 46. Hé hæfde ealle eorðan ymbfaren, Hml. A. 181, 13.

ymb-irnan *to surround*:—Seó stów wæs ymburnen mid sæs streámun, Shrn. 82, 12.

T. N. TOLLER.

## THE AUTHORSHIP OF 'THE COSTELIE WHORE.'

As already demonstrated by me in a note on 'The King's Revels Players of 1619-1623' in *The Modern Language Review*, xiv, No. 4, 1919, p. 416, an anonymous play called *The Costelie Whore*, first published in quarto in 1633, had been originally produced by the Company of the Revels at the Red Bull circa 1622. Since its attribution by Phillips through an erroneous interpretation of an entry in Kirkman's Catalogue to Thomas Mead (b. 1616), no one has made any attempt to determine its authorship. Light on the subject now comes from an unexpected source. In a catalogue of second-hand books issued by Mr L. Kashnor in 1920 I find included:

'*Free Parliament Quaeries, proposed to Tender Consciencs, and published for the use of Members now Elected*, by Alazonomastix Philalethes... Printed in the Year of our Redemption, 1600.'

Appended is the following bookseller's note:

'Many of the public characters of the period are held up to ridicule in a rather free manner, as in the following: "Whether that Comodie, called The Costly Whore, was not intended for the life of the Lady Sands, and was written by Henry Martin".'

Doubtless we have an indication of the identity of the woman referred to in Chamberlain's letter to Dudley Carleton of January 23, 1618-9 (S. P. Dom. Ser. 1619, p. 8), wherein it is conveyed that 'Lady Sandys whose husband was hanged for robbery has herself turned thief.' To my mind we have also some clue to the period of the play's production in the entry in the Stationers Register on January 31, 1621-2 for H. Gosson of 'a book called *The Common Whore* by John Taylor.' The antithetical title of the Water Poet's effusion would appear to have been inspired by the success of Martin's play.

Like the farmer and his claret, however, all this brings us 'no forrader.' Who was Henry Martin? Surely not the Sir Henry Marten who was Judge of the Admiralty in and about 1619. There was a Henry Martin, Sergeant Trumpeter to the King, a reduced gentleman, who, according to a petition preserved among the State Papers and made in the year just mentioned had been compelled to dispose of his inheritance at Hampton in Arden. He might have been the man.

*The Costelie Whore*, it may be as well to remind scholars, was reprinted by Bullen in Vol. iv of his *Old English Plays*.

Relative to my former note on 'The King's Revels Players,' I take occasion to add that the organisation evidently dated from February 24,



1619-20, when a license was issued to Robert Lee and Nicholas Long, permitting them and their associates to continue acting. (Malone Society *Collections*, I, 283 verso, appendix.) Both were then principal players in the Red Bull Company but Long withdrew before 1622.

W. J. LAWRENCE.

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#### MILTON AND THE MYTH OF ISIS.

In the absence of direct and documentary evidence on Milton's observation and appreciation of Italian art, modern critics seem gradually to have dropped a subject on which only conjecture and fancy can play. Earlier critics did not scruple to trace in various passages, especially of *Paradise Lost*, the influence of Michael Angelo, of Raphael, or of Salvator Rosa. Mr Alden Sampson<sup>1</sup> has recently revived the idea by giving expression to the conviction, which must be shared by many, that Milton had observed the masterpieces of Italian art, and had felt the affinity of his genius with that of Michael Angelo.

It is perhaps temerity to add to the conjectures on this subject, but one more coincidence seems sufficiently striking to warrant attention. One of the most unusual passages in *Areopagitica*, which was written within five years of Milton's return from Italy, is the famous comparison of the search for Truth to the gathering by Isis of the scattered limbs of Osiris, slain by his brother Typhon. The source of the fable is Plutarch's *Isis and Osiris*, and of this, as of the identification of the Egyptian Typhon with the Greek monster Typhœus<sup>2</sup>, Milton was no doubt perfectly cognisant. In his own generation, Selden<sup>3</sup> had studied and expounded the Apis-Osiris myth, although he had neglected the moon-goddess Isis. Literary originals, then, are present, yet the detail and beauty of Milton's simile suggest a pictorial rather than a literary prototype; such a pictured representation it is possible that he may have seen.

In the Borgia Apartments of the Vatican, decorated by Pintoricchio, in the hall known from its mural frescoes as the Hall of Saints, the subject of the ceiling frescoes is unusual and incongruous. It is the story of Isis, Osiris and Apis, depicted in eight paintings that fill the triangular divisions of the vaulted ceiling. In the first three, 'the good Osiris' is seen teaching men to plough, and to plant vines and apple-trees; then appears the marriage of Isis and Osiris; this is followed by

<sup>1</sup> *Studies in Milton*, 1914, pp. 38-47.

<sup>2</sup> *De Dis Syriis* (1617) *Syntagma* I, c. iv.

<sup>3</sup> *Ovidi Met.* v, 318-331.

the murder of Osiris at the hands of Typhon and his myrmidons. The most important picture for the present purpose is the next, which depicts the discovery of the body of Osiris; Isis appears clasping in her hands the head of her lord whose mangled trunk and limbs are seen in the foreground; beside the goddess stands an old man with hands joined as in pity and adoration; as the decorative centre of the composition, there appears a small and ornate shrine, containing the mitre symbolic of the bull Apis, and bearing on its base the inscription: *Uxor ejus membra discerpta tandem invenit quibus sepulcrum constituit*. The two last frescoes depict the apotheosis of Osiris, and the triumphal procession of the bull Apis.

There is unfortunately no definite proof that Milton visited the Borgia Apartments; but his letter to Lucas Holstenius, one of the Librarians of the Vatican, shows that he was indebted to the latter for personally-conducted visits to the Library, and for an introduction to Cardinal Barberini<sup>1</sup>. It seems then a fair assumption that Milton saw these famous apartments, which in the seventeenth century were already falling into disuse, but were sometimes allotted for occupation by some cardinal<sup>2</sup>. If Milton stood in this hall, his Puritan eye would surely be attracted, less by the mural paintings of such saints as St Barbara and St Sebastian, and more by the ceiling pictures; these 'ressortent d'une manière très brillante sur fond bleu'<sup>3</sup>, and their unusual subject would at once attract the attention, especially of the author of the *Nativity Ode*. Doubtless the apparent incongruity of the subject would be explained to the spectator—the Borgia family, whose bull crest is to be seen everywhere in the apartments, was here flattered by the painter's choice of the legend of the divine bull Apis.

It is indeed probable that to the seventeenth century mind, there was no great incongruity in such a medley of Christian hagiology and mystical Egyptian myth. Mr Reginald Hine<sup>4</sup> has recently pointed out that Isis had been almost Christianised, and that Spenser saw no irreverence in letting his maiden-knight Britomart worship in the 'Church' of Isis, who with Osiris symbolises Justice and Equity. Mr Hine also quotes from Monmouth's diary a most interesting charm against pain, in which the sufferer, holding up the image of the goddess, invokes the 'great God of Salvation' by virtue of the sixth psalm, and

<sup>1</sup> Masson, *Life of Milton*, 1, pp. 802–3.

<sup>2</sup> Lafenestre et Richtenberg, *La Peinture en Europe: Rome*, p. 81. Cf. also pp. 103–107 for a description of the frescoes.

<sup>3</sup> *ib.* p. 96.

<sup>4</sup> *Cream of Curiosity*, p. 234.



of His 'Saint Isis'! It is noticeable that Milton's other references<sup>1</sup> to 'the brutish gods of Nile' are harsh and unsympathetic, whether in earlier or in later work. In *Areopagitica* alone does he appreciate the symbolism of the Osiris-Isis myth, and heighten it with added beauty and tenderness.

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'LE MYSTÈRE D'ADAM,' 63.

This line reads in the MS.:

A petit vus soit qui vus porte envie.

Professor Studer in his recent edition (Manchester University Press, 1918), adopting an emendation suggested by Professor Baker, corrects the line as follows:

A petit ues seit qui vus porte envie.

The necessity for this emendation is not apparent and, unfortunately, the editor does not indicate in his notes what is actually wrong with the line. It should be pointed out that, like a good many other adjectives in O.Fr., *petit* is occasionally used as a noun and then has the meaning: *quantité négligeable, chose de peu de valeur*, as a reference to Godefroy will confirm.

In Benoît's *Chronique des ducs de Normandie* I have come across the following passage:

*A desdeig vos seit et a gros*  
Que unques fussent sa gent si os  
Que ceo li oserent loer; (ed. Michel II, 445-47)

where we meet with the construction *être à gros* + dativus personae, and *gros* is a substantive. Again, in the *Roman de Renard* we read:

Molt par est a Renart petit  
De trestot ce que li rois dit,  
N'en dorroit pas un esperon (ed. Martin XI, 2679)

where the absence of *à* before *petit* may be ascribed to haplogy. *Être à petit* has, in this instance, an impersonal construction accompanied by a dativus personae + genetivus rei.

Both instances quoted lead me to suggest that the construction occurring in line 63 of the *Mystère* is not an unusual one and that the MS. reading in this place should therefore be allowed to stand.

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HOBART, TASMANIA.

<sup>1</sup> *Nativity Ode*, stt. 23-25. P.L. I, 476 ff. P.R. III, 416-7.



## EIN GOETHE-BRIEF.

Nach einem Eintrage in seinem Tagebuche (WA. IV, 34, 416) schickte Goethe am 20. Januar 1821 einen Brief an J. H. F. Schütz mit seinem 'Dank für übersendete Trüffeln.' Der Brief schien verloren, ist aber vor kurzem bei einem Antiquar in London aufgetaucht und von mir erworben worden. Er ist auf einer Seite eines vergilbten Quarto-blattes mit deutschen Buchstaben in einer sauberen und sorgfältigen Schreiberhand (von Kräuter oder John?) geschrieben, aber von Goethe eigenhändig unterzeichnet. Ein Stempel auf der Rückseite des Blattes zeigt, dass es der Handschriften-Sammlung von Adolph Meyerdiercks in Hamburg angehört hat. Der Brief lautet:

'Sie haben, mein Werthester Herr Inspector, durch die übersendeten unterirdischen Früchte, uns allen viel Vergnügen gemacht, und wird uns diese schmackhafte Speise nur noch besser schmecken und bekommen, da sie uns zugleich ein Zeugniß Ihres Andenkens verleiht.

'Ich wünsche schöne und beständige Tage um auch wieder einmal das gelobte Berka und die dortigen Freunde besuchen zu können. Versäumen Sie indessen nicht manchmal bey uns einzusprechen. Viele Grüsse an die liebe Gattin! und gedenken unserer öfter auf der Trüffeljagd

ergebenst

WEIMAR  
den 20. Jan.  
1821.

J. W. v. GOETHE.'

Johann Heinrich Friedrich Schütz (1779–1829), Bade-Inspector und Organist in Berka, zählte zu Goethes geschätztesten Freunden. In den *Tag- und Jahresheften* (WA. I, 36, 89) spricht Goethe von der 'musikalischen Aufmunterung,' die er während seines Aufenthaltes in Berka im Juni 1814 'durch Inspector Schützens Vortrag der Bachischen Sonaten' erfuhr, und in einem Briefe an Zelter (WA. IV, 31, 45) erwähnt er, dass ihm der Inspector drei Wochen lang, 'täglich drey bis vier Stunden vorspielte' und zwar 'auf Ersuchen, nach historischer Reihe: von Sebastian Bach bis zu Beethoven, durch Philipp Emanuel, Händel, Mozart, Haydn durch, auch Dusseck und dergleichen mehr.'

Als Schütz im April 1816 einen grossen Teil seiner Noten, 'seine Bache und Händel,' beim Brande seines Hauses verlor, wandte sich Goethe sofort an Zelter mit der Anfrage (WA. IV, 27, 7), ob er neue Exemplare bei Härtels in Leipzig oder sonstwo finden könne, 'weil er dem Organisten gern von dieser Seite etwas Erfreuliches entgegenbringen möchte,' und fügte hinzu: 'Gott segne Kupfer, Druck und

jedes andere vervielfältigende Mittel, sodass das Gute, was einmal da war, nicht wieder zu Grunde gehen kann.' Noch ehe Zelter die gewünschten Noten besorgen konnte, meldete ihm Goethe (WA. IV, 31, 45): 'Nun habe ich das wohltemperirte Clavier, so wie die Bachischen Chorale gekauft und dem Inspector zum Weihnachten verehrt, womit er mich denn bei seinen hiesigen Besuchen erquicken und, wenn ich wieder zu ihm ziehe, aufbauen wird.' Als Goethe wenige Tage nachher hörte, dass Zelter ein Exemplar des wohltemperirten Claviers abgeschickt hatte, schrieb er (WA. IV, 31, 66): 'Das wohltemperirte Clavier soll, wenn es ankommt, auch in duplo willkommen seyn, so behalte ich ein Exemplar in der Stadt und der gute Inspector braucht das seinige nicht immer von Berka hereinzuschleppen.' In demselben Briefe 'vermeldete' Goethe, dass er den Inspector Schütze 'ausdrücklich hereinholen' und sich von ihm Zelters eben eingetroffene Kompositionen der 'Ballade' und des 'Klaggesangs' vorspielen liess.

Aus anderen Briefstellen sehen wir, dass Schütz auch unerwartet bei Goethe vorsprechend mit 'grossem Vergnügen' empfangen wurde (WA. IV, 28, 53), und dass Goethe noch in hohem Alter Ausflüge nach Berka plante und ausführte, um mit Schütz 'nach alter Weise einen guten Tag zuzubringen' (WA. IV, 41, 188. Siehe auch Eckermanns *Gespräche*, I, 24. Sept. 1827).

Nach C. Rulands Mittheilungen 'Aus dem Goethe-National-Museum' (*Weim. Zeitung*, 26. Nov. 1890) fand Goethe so viel Gefallen an Schützes Musik und Gesellschaft, dass er ihn wiederholt mit Herder, Schiller und Wieland zum Mittagmahl im vertrautesten und auserlesensten Kreise einlud.

Der Eindruck, den Schützes Vortrag Bachischer Werke auf ihn gemacht hatte, blieb Goethe unvergesslich. Wenn andere ihm ähnliche Stücke vorspielten, zog er im Stillen Vergleiche mit dem Spiele des Berkaer 'Badekönigs' (WA. IV, 25, 41), und noch im Jahre 1827 erinnerte sich der greise Dichter voll Dankbarkeit an seinen ersten Besuch bei dem 'guten Organisten' und bekannte, dass ihm damals zuerst 'bey vollkommener Gemüthsruhe und ohne äussere Zerstreuung' ein Begriff von der Kunst des 'Grossmeisters Bach' geworden sei (WA. IV, 42, 376).

In der Weimar Ausgabe ist nur *ein* Brief von Goethe an Schütz abgedruckt (IV, 41, 188) und auch dieser nur aus dem Konzept. Briefe von Schütz an Goethe wurden von Hans Gerhard Gräf veröffentlicht in seinem Buche *Goethe in Berka a. d. Ilm*, Weimar 1911. Unsern Brief Goethes an Schütz kennt Gräf nicht. Der von Goedeke (*Grundriss*<sup>3</sup>, IV, 4, 57) angeführte Aufsatz 'Der Badekönig von Berka' in der *B. Z. am*

*Mittag* vom 2. Juni 1911 ist nur eine Besprechung von Gräfs Schrift und trägt den Untertitel 'Ungedruckte Briefe an Goethe,' und nicht, wie Goedeke angibt, 'Ungedruckte Briefe von Goethe.'

H. G. FIEDLER.

OXFORD.

#### LESSING'S 'PHILOTAS' AND CRÉBILLON.

Lessing's *Philotas* has been brought into connection with his Plautine studies, has been regarded as an imitation of the Greek drama, as a consequence of literary rivalry with Cronegk, and has been discussed as a reflection of the military spirit of the age, but it has not hitherto been considered in the light of the French *tragédie classique*. In Crébillon's *Idoménée*, written in 1703, we find a son who kills himself to save his father. The hero's attitude to life and death is that of Philotas to the exclusion, however, of the love-element; Lessing's boy-hero being too young for its introduction. In both plays the young prince dies in triumph with the consciousness of having brought peace to his father; and in both the setting of the final scene is similar: a prince about to die justifies his action to a king who is at first angry and then deplores his son's tragic end. There are few witnesses; in *Philotas* the old general Strato, in *Idoménée* the statesman Sophronyme and a confidant with guards in the background. This French play might also be brought into connection with Lessing's fragment, *Kleonnis*, which depicts the tender affection of a father for his son and his grief at the thought of possibly losing him.

Crébillon's *Pyrrhus* (1726) is the story of a similar attempted sacrifice, not on behalf of a father, but of a foster-father, the conflict being brought to a happy conclusion this time by the heroism of Pyrrhus. In this play we find a prince in each of the camps of the warring kings, and the one can only be freed by the surrender of the other. The question of exchange is not, however, so simple as in *Philotas*, for in delivering up Pyrrhus, Glaucus would not merely liberate an enemy, but also destroy a friend. Pyrrhus himself, as impetuous as Philotas and as contemptuous of death, goes out to meet his end; and like Philotas, he does not hesitate to express his opinion of his enemy's policy. In the French play, however, the love-motive adds fresh complications. That Lessing was under any indebtedness to Crébillon it would be difficult to prove; but the plot of his *Philotas* marks it out as distinctly analogous to the type of tragedy cultivated by the French poet.

ALICE A. SCOTT.

LEEDS.



## REVIEWS.

*The Works of Shakespeare*, edited for the Syndics of the Cambridge University Press by Sir A. QUILLER-COUCH and J. DOVER WILSON. Vol. I. *The Tempest*. Cambridge: University Press. 1921. Foolscap 8vo. 1x + 116 pp. 7s. 6d.

A new edition of the works of Shakespeare in forty volumes and costing twelve or fifteen pounds may reasonably be asked to justify its existence. The former 'Cambridge Shakespeare' has permanent value as representing the textual methods and labours of the nineteenth century. If now the methods of scholarship are no longer the same, if its labours are directed to somewhat different problems, this is due in no small measure to the thoroughness with which earlier generations of critics used the resources at their disposal and the masterly manner in which their achievements were garnered in the monumental edition mainly associated with the industry and learning of Aldis Wright. To justify itself to-day a text of Shakespeare must reflect in some way or other the new critical outlook that distinguishes the opening of the twentieth century. It may be said at once that, judged by their first volume, the new Cambridge editors have achieved a considerable measure of success in a pioneer task of no ordinary difficulty.

Editorial collaboration may sometimes be an effective, it can never be an easy, method. In the present instance different portions of the work are distinguished by the initials of one or other of the partners in the task. But it follows from the very fact of collaboration that each editor must in some measure share alike the credit and the responsibility for the whole, and I hope I may avoid any invidious personality if I speak throughout of the editors jointly without seeking to specify their individual contributions. I am led to do so partly by the consideration that it is doubtless the fact of collaboration rather than the eccentricity of either editor that is responsible for a certain confusion or lack of co-ordination from which the present volume seems to suffer.

This defect shows itself materially in a somewhat awkward arrangement of parts. We are offered first a General Introduction and then a Textual Introduction to the whole edition; next a special Introduction to *The Tempest*, followed by a Note on Punctuation, which presumably refers to the whole; then comes the Text, followed by a facsimile and transcript from *Sir Thomas More*, and the Notes; next a section on the Stage-History of *The Tempest* (by Mr Harold Child), and last of all a Glossary. Considering that this first volume will have to be used for reference in connexion with later members of the series, one would have thought that the desirability of separating the particular from the general would have been obvious, while I can assure the editors that

the irritation caused by perpetually pitching into the Stage-History when seeking the Notes or the Glossary puts a reviewer into anything but a favourable temper.

Another grumble that a critic may be allowed is that he is put to a lot of wholly unnecessary trouble through the editors' refusal to number their lines (only the first on each page is numbered). However unauthoritative, in the editors' opinion, may be the division into acts and scenes, the traditional mode of reference cannot be evaded and had best be frankly accepted. For plays not yet issued in this edition the references are to the 'Globe' numbering. Is it too much to ask the editors to make their own numeration (in the margin) accord with the generally accepted standard? For the most part a little ingenuity will readily bring them into accord, and in cases of serious divergence the numbering might be treated as purely conventional since its only object is to provide a system of reference.

Unfortunately the lack of co-ordination noted above shows itself less superficially in a want of unity of purpose that somewhat obscures the real significance of the work. For the General Introduction I can see no excuse. It is a modern fashion—and a bad one—to preface a scholar's work with an essay by some more or less distinguished literator. Apparently it was thought necessary to follow fashion in the present instance. The essay is supplied by one of the editors in a quite adequate though in no wise superlative manner, but from the point of view of the serious justification of the new edition its popular elegancies are wholly and irritatingly irrelevant. Nor can much more be said for the special Introduction to *The Tempest*. We are told that Caliban has been over-philosophised, that many critics have lost their hearts to Miranda, and that Prospero is perhaps Destiny itself—we are nowhere told how much of the play the editors believe to be Shakespeare's. All this is the more deplorable in view of complaints elsewhere that the limits of space forbid the full exposition of the most fundamental critical problems involved.

The orientation of recent thought is well expounded in the Textual Introduction and I cannot do better, with a view to illustrating the significance and importance of this new Shakespeare, than follow the editors' analysis of the position and show the manner in which it has affected their own work.

The textual study of Shakespeare has been revolutionized by what the editors term 'three distinct though closely related discoveries.' These are of course (i) the establishment by Prof. A. W. Pollard of the bibliographical foundations of the text in the copy used by the printer, (ii) Mr Percy Simpson's investigations into the significance of Shakespearean punctuation, and (iii) Sir E. Maunde Thompson's attempted proof that we possess in the *More* manuscript three pages of writing in Shakespeare's own hand, which (if true) affords a basis for emendation that has been lacking hitherto. In close connexion with this last I should add a scarcely less important fourth 'discovery,' which the editors' modesty has prevented their including, namely Mr Dover



Wilson's own (unpublished) analysis of the misprints and anomalous spellings found in those Quartos which bibliographical considerations suggest stand at no great remove from Shakespeare's autograph.

(i) Of these new critical data by far the most important is the first, which opens up almost unlimited fields of interest, though it may affect the narrower domain of text construction less profoundly than the others. It modifies our views mainly in two ways, namely (a) by ascribing to the majority of early texts a much higher degree of authority than in the past orthodox criticism has been willing to admit, and (b) by forcing us in each particular case to enquire, and suggesting the means of discovering, what had been the precise history of the material manuscript that formed the printer's copy. The first of these, for any given play, is textually a constant factor; it always conditions and in most cases severely limits the scope and admissibility of conjectural alteration. The second is far more complicated in its operation. Primarily its interest is for the critic rather than the textual editor. The complex fortunes of a play are matter of history, they cannot be represented textually. The editor has perforce to confine himself to some particular moment in the history of the text, and endeavour to make his edition reflect that moment. For instance, in the case of *The Tempest* the new Cambridge editors have tried to represent the first folio copy before it had been prepared for press by the introduction of the (to them) arbitrary and irrelevant division into acts and scenes. Yet this was a late moment in the history of the play, and whatever moment be chosen, the choice must rest on the view taken of the history. Moreover, though it be the task of the literary historian to reconstruct the fortunes of the text, his reconstruction, once formulated in detail, affects the work of the textual editor in an often profound though variable manner. It may help him to restore metre by proving a particular passage to be a marginal insertion, it may prevent his trying by violent emendation to make verse of a botcher's suture, it may enable him to explain and remedy the occurrence of alternative passages, and save him from making Shakespearian emendations in non-Shakespearian work. Its textual operation, however, will lie less in the fabric than in the accidentals of the text; the surgical operations it justifies may be violent, but they will probably be few and irregular.

Thus the success or otherwise of an editor's application of bibliographical methods of reconstruction will manifest itself in his treatment of textual problems. At the same time we usually expect of an editor something beyond mere text construction: particularly, when he has had to play the part of literary historian (or detective) himself, we naturally wish to be favoured with the results of his investigation. It is here that I find the present edition of *The Tempest* rather disappointing. It is true that the reader is offered some highly interesting speculations as to the possible adventures that may have befallen the text, but nowhere do the editors venture on any detailed reconstruction of its history. They remark indeed that, since their main purpose is 'to bring new textual facts to light rather than to formulate theories' they will attempt no



'hypothetical history of the *Tempest* MS.' This may be held a wise caution, but I am disposed to doubt the value of the bibliographical method unless it is consistently carried through. Of course it would be foolish to expect a minute history that should account in all detail for the observed phenomena of text, but it must never be forgotten that the criterion by which the bibliographical interpretation of a text should be judged is just its power to account for these phenomena in general, and to combine their alleged causes into a plausible and consistent history. No doubt the editors have more definite views on the point than they vouchsafe their readers, for the 'textual editor' informs us that 'it will not always be possible, within the limits of his space, to give a complete account of the faith that is in him.' Such economy in the foundations of the work is, I repeat, deplorable, and I sincerely hope that when 'at the conclusion of the edition, an exposition of the results of the survey' is attempted, an account of every play will be forthcoming adequate to satisfy critical requirements. It is largely upon the serious facing of this problem that the justification of the edition as a whole will depend.

In a valuable note on 'The copy used for *The Tempest*, 1623,' the editors come to grips with the bibliographical problem, and their treatment of it merits close attention. The first point dealt with is the possibility of *The Tempest* being based upon and preserving fossilized remains of an earlier play, whether Shakespearian or not there seems no evidence to show. The editors point to certain traces of rimed couplets in the extant text of Act III, but it is questionable whether they are other than accidental. In careful writing they would of course be avoided, but the editors themselves draw attention to frequent verbal echoes as signs of haste. The evidence is weak, but the speculation is legitimate in view of a further consideration. For it is tolerably certain that *The Tempest* bears some relation to an earlier lost play, which for its part was either the original or an imitation of Jakob Ayer's *Schöne Sidea*. The latter affords a considerable set of parallels to the plot of *The Tempest* and the editors point out some curious points of contact in detail. When therefore they elsewhere dismiss the resemblances as the mere common stuff of folk tales they seem to be gratuitously stultifying their own methods.

That, putting aside all question of source, our *Tempest* bears evidence of extensive revision seems evident on the face of style and composition. The editors mention a number of interesting points—Antonio's son, Francisco, jester Trinculo—but these, though certainly evidence of alteration, are less clearly evidence of abridgement, or rather point to a type of abridgement that may consist with actual expansion; they do not prove that *The Tempest* as a whole was ever longer than we find it. An important item is the presence of broken lines, i.e. lines of less than the normal length. These often point to cuts, but may also arise from insertion: also such evidence requires delicate handling. For I suppose we may accept the orthodox view that Shakespeare, at least in his later plays, occasionally wrote such lines intentionally, and the editors assume at least one instance in *The Tempest*. This makes broken lines unreliable

as evidence of revision, unless, as sometimes happens, they occur in conjunction with anomalous punctuation surviving apparently from the original text, when they may supply very interesting clues. (But why is v. i. 221 printed as two broken lines?)

Farther reaching are the considerations suggested by an argument in favour of revision based on the colossal scene of exposition, I. ii. 'The threefold difficulty is tackled by Shakespeare with consummate skill: but the expositions are there, and they tell their own tale. At some stage of its evolution *The Tempest* was in all likelihood a loosely constructed drama' of a narrative type. I confess that I do not follow this argument. Given the story, the exposition is necessary, however it is managed. Presumably the editors were influenced in their deduction by the fact that parts of the exposition bear marks of drastic cutting; but even so the original must have been exposition and not presentation. The fact points to revision but not to any fundamental change of construction. This is one of the indications that the editors' refusal to formulate a complete textual history has betrayed them into basing arguments on insufficient analysis.

This refusal is the more unfortunate since *The Tempest* appears to offer unusual opportunities for such reconstruction, and it is to be regretted that the editors were hampered with respect to the external evidence by an apparently unwarranted distrust of Mr Ernest Law's vindication of the Revels' accounts. In view of the importance of the problem and the hope that the editors may return to it in their final survey I am tempted to offer a few remarks on the two most important revisional passages in the play, the Ariel dialogue in I. ii and the Masque in IV. i. In the former, ll. 252-6 seem to run too smoothly to allow of a mere cut after 253; the alteration is probably more considerable and 'Think'st much to tread the ooze of the salt deep' may be an original line; while there has also I fancy been alteration in ll. 248-9 and not merely 'hypnotism'—a point to which I shall return. The cuts at ll. 263 and 267 are admirably treated in the notes. The cruxes of the passage are ll. 281-6 and 298-305, which are clearly unoriginal but can hardly be mere insertions as the editors assume. If the section 'Then was this island...I keep in service' be omitted, 'the context flows straight on' indeed, but the verse halts. The editors suggest that the lines are inserted in compensation for 'a rent elsewhere' because it is necessary to introduce Caliban who soon enters. The need is there, but for their alleged purpose the lines are incredibly clumsy, and the explanation appears to me too facile. In the second case the repetition of the prefix *Pro.* (l. 287) clearly marks the return to the original text. But to omit the passage 'Do so: ... hence With diligence' leaves a broken line, though again the context is satisfied. The insertion is rather confused, but not so bad as the editors make it appear. 'Do so: and after two days' is certainly impossible; to reduce it to verse one would have to read 'So: and in two days': but for the rest we only require one slight emendation to allow the arrangement:



Go make thyself like to a nymph o'th' sea ;  
 Be subject to no sight but thine and mine,  
 Invisible to every eye-ball else :  
 Go take this shape and hither come in't....go...  
 Hence with diligence.

I fail to see why the second of these lines is 'absurd.' The 'crudely theatrical' motive of the insertion may be as supposed, but it seems possible that the passage once had more significance than now appears.

I do not think that the editors express any view as to whether Shakespeare wrote the Masque. It seems to me pretty clearly the work of a writer with a very distinctive style quite different from Shakespeare's, and it is most interesting to learn that here the punctuation 'is noticeably less careful than that of the rest of the play.' But it was Shakespeare who worked the Masque into its place in spite of the clumsiness of some of the botching. This cannot have been before the autumn of 1612, and the editors make the pleasant suggestion that the final revision 'may therefore have been carried through in his study at New Place,' which would account for the unusual fullness of the stage directions. But if Shakespeare was working away from London he is unlikely to have had the detailed cast of the play before him. This renders improbable the inference, which seems to me anyhow illegitimate, that because Ariel says that he presented Ceres, the parts were in fact doubled. Some doubling may be assumed, and so far as the editors rely on bibliographical evidence for the arrangements that made it possible, their conclusions seem plausible enough, but the starting point of their argument is surely a dramatic and not a theatrical datum. It certainly appears likely that at some stage in the development at least one of the dances was present without the Masque ; also that there is botching both before and after seems probable, though it is less clear that insertions have been made to allow of changes of costume. The addition at the end is glaringly obvious in the utter irrelevance of the superb lines—perhaps the last that flowed from Shakespeare's pen—with which Prospero dismisses the revels. But the extent of the insertion is not proved, and mere insertion it is not. The editors notice 'that ll. 158–60 are a direct rejoinder to Ferdinand's words at 143–4, and that "Sir, I am vexed" completes the line "That works him strongly."' But Ferdinand's words are not addressed to Prospero, and the line 'That works him strongly. Sir I am vexed,' though perhaps not metrically impossible is at least very unusual. Moreover, ll. 146–7 are admittedly absurd as they stand. There has unquestionably been alteration as well as insertion. The extent of this is of course doubtful, but we may perhaps conjecture that the original ran :

*Ferd.* You do look, my lord, in a moved sort,  
 As if you were dismayed.

*Pros.* Sir, I am vexed.

This leaves the famous purple patch as an insertion and the words 'be cheerful, sir' as a connecting link. The lines 118–27, which form a break in the Masque, were also inserted, presumably at the same time as



the later passage with which they are to some extent linked. The question of alteration before the Masque is much more obscure. I agree that originally the dance probably followed close on Ariel's jingle. But I find it very hard to believe that if Shakespeare had been required to give time here for a change of costume he would have merely duplicated the chastity-injunction, or that these lines (50-9), which are even flatter than the previous sermon, were written at the same sitting as 'Our revels now are ended.' Whatever the alterations, the former lines are I think original in a sense in which the latter are not. Nevertheless they do not appear to belong to a very early stratum, for they seem in some way connected with the Masque. At least a comparison of the curious and rather offensive warnings of ll. 13-32 (note l. 12 broken) and ll. 51-6 with the allusions to Venus' 'wanton charm' and 'the very end of harvest' (defined by the 'sickle-men, of August weary') suggest some curious speculations on the occasion of the performance. The date of the marriage was 14 February 1613.

So much for the light thrown by critical bibliography on the problem of textual history. There remains the question of the bearing of the new method on textual criticism. The editors, largely influenced by the excellent punctuation (see below), have come to the conclusion that the copy used for *The Tempest* in the folio was none other than the autograph manuscript—however altered—of Shakespeare himself. Perhaps only those who have been through the textual grind have the right to express an opinion on this point, but I have found nothing to make me dissent from their optimistic view—unless it be that I sometimes suspect corruption to be deeper than they allow. It follows that the folio text should be treated with the profoundest respect, and while admitting that no two critics will ever agree upon the exact extent of necessary alteration, I should myself have adopted a distinctly more conservative line than even the new Cambridge editors have ventured on.

Among the points that support the authority of the text are the stage directions, which 'possess a beauty and elaboration without parallel in the canon.' Of these the editors have made full use, retaining many of the original directions in inverted commas. This however leaves it vague how far the rest are based on the original and how far they are pure editorial imagination. May I suggest that in future wherever the editors depart in any way from the original, the exact form of the direction should be given in the notes? Closely connected with the stage directions is the division into acts and scenes. This is not the place to enter on a discussion of the principles and significance of Elizabethan play-divisions, but it may be doubted whether the editors are altogether justified in their scorn of them. In point of fact every fresh scene in *The Tempest* marks a change of locality and a break in the action except v. i, and here, because of the continuity of characters also, the editors postulate the loss of a scene. It is not quite certain whether this is legitimate. We are told that 'this is the only occasion, apparently, in the whole canon where speakers who have concluded one scene appear again at the opening of the next.' But something of the sort occurs in

*A Midsummer-Night's Dream* where the characters 'sleepe all the Act.' If there really was an interval there would be no objection to the re-appearance of characters, though it would not be permissible within the act. Then there is the evidence of the 'plots.' The editors remark that 'some of the extant "plots," most of which belonged to the Admiral's men, prove that act-pauses were a recognised feature at certain theatres in Shakespeare's day.' This is seriously misleading in the apparent suggestion (which I suppose is unintentional) that act-pauses may have been peculiar to the Admiral's men. The fact is that of seven known 'plots' the two belonging to Shakespeare's company both mark act divisions, while of the five belonging to the Admiral's company only two clearly mark them and one certainly and two probably do not. To judge from *The Tempest* alone there is nothing to suggest that Shakespeare did not follow the apparent practice of his company in dividing his plays into both acts and scenes; but the absence of all such division from the early quartos is certainly a bibliographical fact of the first importance.

The spelling of course is modernized, as it needs must be in any text of Shakespeare intended for general reading. No great harm is done so long as the editors distinguish, as they have tried to do, between mere spellings and variant forms. But if they retain 'salvage,' 'goss' and 'boresprit,' it seems absurd to alter 'vild' into 'vile' (I. ii. 359). Such tampering is as reprehensible as the old Cambridge editors' substitution of 'chorister' for 'quirister.' Upon the still-vexed question of abbreviations the editors seem inclined to hedge. Thus they print:

Which now's upon us : without the which, this story [I. ii. 137 ; folio : upon's]

Which end of the beam sh'ould bow....We have lost your son, [II. i. 130 ; folio : o'th']

and in the second instance they do not even note the change. Yet upon their own principles there can hardly be a doubt that Shakespeare both wrote and intended the contracted forms. Nor can I doubt that Shakespeare wrote (V. i. 220):

That swear'st grace ore-board, not an oath on shore ?

where to substitute 'overboard' makes rather difficult rhythm and quite alters the emphasis of the line. In two other instances I think the folio rhythm, though slightly irregular, more effective than the editors', namely in:

Which thou tak'st from me : when thou cam'st first [I. ii. 333 ; editors : camest]

Curs'd be I that did so....All the charms [I. ii. 340 ; editors : Curséd].

Shakespeare's Caliban does not talk the language of Browning's, but neither does he speak like Prospero. On the other hand I am sceptical as to whether Caliban's tipsiness is a fair explanation of the textual irregularities in his songs. There are however two lines of which I am suspicious on metrical grounds. One is V. i. 173:

Sweet lord, you play me false. No, my dearest love,

which finds a close parallel in the other, V. i. 269:

Then say if they be true: This mis-shapen knave—



For in the latter I suspect that Shakespeare wrote 'mishapd,' which the compositor (misreading *d* as *e*) altered to 'mishapen,' the folio reading. (It is just conceivable that Shakespeare intended 'mis-happed,' but there is no good authority for the adjectival use.) In the former 'No' and 'my' may have been alternatives, one imperfectly deleted. Two other alterations appear to me required by the sense; namely I. ii. 329-31:

thou shalt be pinched  
As thick as honeycomb, each pinch more stinging  
Than bees that made 'em—

query 'Than bees *had* made 'em'; and II. i. 248-9:

We were all sea-swallowed, though some cast again,  
And by that destiny—to perform an act—

surely 'And *that by* destiny.' But there is a very curious point about the latter passage though the editors have failed to notice it. The folio, namely, reads, not 'We were all' but 'We all were.' Possibly the folio proof-reader marked 'by that' for transposition and the compositor made the alteration in the wrong line.

There is one excuse for alteration which the editors are constantly invoking, namely what they call 'compositor's grammar'—mostly false concords. It is of course possible that some of these solecisms, so common in Elizabethan texts, may be printers' errors, but I have little doubt in my own mind that reputable compositors of that time would correct rather than corrupt their authors' grammar, just as they tended to Bayfieldize their authors' contractions. There is an interesting example in Greene's *James IV*, a play which happens to have engaged my attention lately. In the course of a rimed dialogue we meet the lines (785-8):

What meanes faire Mistres had you in this worke?—  
My needle sir.—In needles then there lurkes,  
Some hidden grace I deeme beyond my reach.

Greene must have written 'lurke,' but the printer would not have it, and sacrificed rime to grammar! Moreover we know from his own rimes that Shakespeare was not particular about concords (there are 'those springs On chaliced flowers that lies'!) and I think that a closer examination of the grammatical licences of *The Tempest* will suggest doubts as to the editors' magisterial methods. In I. ii. 71 'was' is justified by dependence on 'slave,' and the strictly correct 'wast' is objectionable owing to its occurrence in the following line. In V. i. 81 to read 'reasonable shores' seems to me impossible. It is the 'shore of reason' and is followed by a plural verb because it is thought of as a succession of creeks and inlets that the 'approaching tide' of 'understanding' 'Will shortly *fill*.' The tide cannot *fill* open shores. Nor is it necessary to change V. i. 133: 'I do forgive Thy rankest fault—all of them'; Prospero deliberately alters his expression. Still more arbitrary is it in I. ii. 201 to change 'Jove's lightning,' which is collective: in IV. i. 264 the irregularity is explained by the inversion. Surely it is unnecessary to alter I. ii. 455: 'They are both in either's powers,' or V. i. 291: 'This is



a strange thing as e'er I looked on,' in deference to the stricter logic of modern composition. I would even plead for the retention of the difficult folio reading in II. i. 296. To substitute 'thee,' though grammatical, is unsatisfactory since it is not Gonzalo alone that Prospero proposes to save. The proposed palaeographical explanation is not convincing. The break in the train of thought caused by the parenthesis may explain the change of person, but more likely some lines are lost, for there is certainly confusion in what follows. Particularly far fetched seems the invocation of 'compositor's grammar' in connexion with III. iii. 106: 'Now 'gins to bite the spirits:' for there is no grammatical question involved. If, as it may be, 'the spirit:' is the true reading, we may conjecture either (a) that Shakespeare originally wrote 'their spirits:' and made an incomplete alteration, or (b) that we have to do with an error arising through confusion of ':' with 's' (as seen in *James IV*, l. 2283: 'to learne thy mistresse: mind'). On the other hand there are a few glaring false concords, such as those in III. iii. 2, and v. i. 16, which certainly appear accidental. It is possible that if the edition is meant for popular reading those responsible for it have done wisely in smoothing away metrical and grammatical irregularities, but the claim to be thereby restoring the text of Shakespeare is hardly justified.

Another principle that the editors are fond of invoking is what they term the hypnotic influence of repetition on the compositor, who is credited with a tendency to go on repeating erroneously. This is probably quite a genuine tendency, but it may affect a writer as well as a compositor, and I do not think that it is quite as common as the editors assume. At least many instances seem capable of an alternative explanation, namely a change of intention on the author's part. In II. i. 247 Shakespeare I think intended to continue 'she that,' changed his mind, and completed the line without altering what he had written (unless indeed we suppose something lost). So in I. ii. 248-9 I suspect that Shakespeare may have written:

Told thee no lies, made thee no mistakings,  
Served without grudge or grumbings—

and then misliking it made an incomplete alteration. The same would account for v. i. 200-1, which may originally have run:

Let us not burden our remembrances  
With heaviness that's gone.

One such alteration of a minor character seems tolerably certain. In the *Masque* occurs the line (IV. i. 128):

You nymphs, called Naiads, of the windring brooks,

on which the editors note that 'either *wandring* or *winding* are possible.' (Is this compositor's grammar?) But the most probable explanation is that the author (not Shakespeare) started to write 'winding,' changed his mind to 'wandring,' and forgot to alter the beginning of the word. Anyhow it seems illegitimate to leave 'windring' in the text, and obviously the final intention is to be preferred. A similar 'portmanteau

word occurs in *James IV*, l. 1074, where 'inconstinence' appears through a change from 'inconstancy' to 'incontinence.'

Lastly I would direct attention to the treatment of a passage in III. ii. On ll. 42-4 the editors note 'F. arranges as prose' (there is a mixture in the scene, which probably points to revision)—and prose they certainly appear to me. The point would not be worth mention had not the editors in l. 56 tried to force verse by altering 'Ile' to 'I will.'

(ii) The second new critical datum which has been made use of in constructing the text is respect for the punctuation of the original. Elizabethan punctuation was not logical like ours, but rhetorical—in Shakespeare's case, dramatic. This the editors have endeavoured to translate into a notation of their own, with, so it seems to me, on the whole very happy results. It will be of the greatest interest to watch the application of the method in future plays, for it is only over a considerable field that it can be thoroughly tested. The punctuation of different plays will probably be found to vary widely and it is probable that in some the editors will have very greatly to limit their reliance on it. I trust they will frankly recognize the necessity, for I feel that there is some danger of their endeavouring to account for merely eccentric pointing by ever greater subtleties of interpretation. Elizabethan punctuation, while in principle rhetorical, was never systematic—it was a matter not of rule but of inspiration. At its best it was able to express fine shades and delicacies far beyond the reach of our humdrum methods, at other times it is merely clumsy and inconsequent, and there is not seldom a doubt in individual cases whether some peculiarity is happy inspiration or bad practice. Meanwhile, reliance on the folio has been fruitful of some interesting results. Ariel's description (I. ii. 212):

Then all afire with me the king's son, Ferdinand,

is certainly a notable score, which is likely to prove popular with future editors, though it must be admitted that 'Then...then' is a little awkward within a single clause. In I. ii. 343 'sty-me' is certainly effective and might perhaps be retained. But unless I am much mistaken the editors have not had the full courage of their opinion, for there seem to be at least two passages which a reliance on the original punctuation should have saved them from misinterpreting. In Ariel's song (I. ii. 378-9) the folio should be followed:

Curtsied when you have, and kissed  
The wild waves whist:

(unless the symmetric colon be reduced to a comma)—i.e. 'when you have kissed the waves into silence.' The editors' reading 'kissed—' makes 'whist' a verb; but, though in the absence of *NED* it is difficult to be certain, I do not think this is possible. In what follows they adhere to the folio with advantage (dividing one line into two, however), but their indentation is misleading. The other passage is v. i. 58-60, which in the folio runs:

A solemne Ayre, and the best comforter,  
To an vnsettled fancie, Cure thy braines  
(Now vselesse) boile within thy skull.



Here the editors read: 'cure thy braines—Now useles boil within thy skull,' and note 'Probably Shakespeare intended the second bracket to follow "skull,"' interpreting 'Alonso's brain is but a tumour'! But the difficulty merely arises through the unexpected but not uncommon omission of a relative: 'your brains *that* are uselessly seething in your head.'

According to the editors, points often have the virtue of stage-directions, and these they have liberally supplied. The device is legitimate enough, and though no reader will agree in every case, the practice is undoubtedly effective. The interpretation of 'beauty's canker' in I. ii. 420 is admirable. In II. i. 280 'dagger' should surely be 'sword' (cf. 289).

(iii) The last new method employed in the present edition is connected with the supposed discovery of three pages of Shakespeare's writing and Mr Dover Wilson's own investigations of the misprints and spellings of the 'good' quartos. While the bibliographical data limit in a general way the scope of permissible emendation, these indicate the lines on which legitimate conjecture should proceed. As regards Shakespeare's autograph I think the editors are in a more difficult position than they realize. They admit that Sir E. M. Thompson's thesis is not universally accepted by scholars, but they claim general agreement that the pages are 'in a hand at least of the same class as' Shakespeare's and that 'this is enough to make' them 'an instrument of the highest value for an editor of Shakespeare.' I should like to share this optimistic view, but I cannot. If the pages are autograph, well and good; if not, they tell us nothing that we did not know before and are practically useless for criticism. The editors are, however, perfectly entitled to their belief 'that we know how Shakespeare wrote' and its use in their textual labours. To criticize those labours fairly we must accept their belief—and this I do all the more willingly as, taking everything into account, I think that it is probably correct.

The editors' analysis of possible literal confusions and therefore of probable misprints deserves careful attention. There is unfortunately an initial ambiguity that introduces some confusion. 'In the "English" hand, which Shakespeare wrote,' certain peculiarities are observable. Do they mean 'In the "English" hand, as Shakespeare wrote it'? If so, their analysis depends entirely on the Maunde Thompson hypothesis. Or do they mean 'In the "English" hand, which is the one Shakespeare wrote'? If so, much of their analysis is invalid. While, for instance, *n* and *u* are generally interchangeable, there should normally be no confusion between *w* and *r*. Again it is only in a certain type of English hand that confusion between *e* and *d* is possible, and even in this the resemblance is often only in the final position. Other points will appear anon: here it is sufficient to point out the editors' failure to carry analysis far enough. There is one particular way in which this failure appears to me to vitiate a good deal of the work of emendation, namely the tacit assumption that resemblance is always reciprocal. Because *a* may resemble *n* it does not follow that *n* can resemble *a*, or,



more important, because a badly made *e* tends to resemble *o*, a badly made *o* does not therefore resemble *e* (for I cannot agree that the main distinction is the after link). But, it is urged, a compositor familiar with the possible confusions of a given hand—or class of hands—will be on the look out for them and may assume them wrongly. This is true, but it is a reflex action which can never have the same operative force as direct resemblance. A printer may automatically read ‘less’ as ‘loss’ because the *e* has in fact become an *o*, and he may carelessly print ‘loss’ though it makes nonsense. He will not automatically read ‘loss’ as ‘less,’ and it is only if he has some reason for doubting the reading ‘loss’ that his knowledge of the hand may suggest the possibility of ‘less.’ (At least this is my own feeling, and, though I may be wrong in the instance chosen, the principle is unaffected.) The argument also applies to spellings. For instance ‘thee’ may be written ‘the’ and a careless compositor will print ‘the’ where ‘thee’ is required. But his knowledge of this ambiguity would be no inducement to him to print ‘thee’ for ‘the’ where the latter satisfied the sense.

I propose to take certain instances from the editors’ notes and to show how failure of analysis combines with other causes to invalidate some of their conjectures. (For the most part these are conjectures only and are not admitted into the text.) And I will begin with those involving what I have called reflex action. Thus v. i. 41: ‘*masters* Hanmer read “ministers,” which is a better reading, and if written with a minim short might easily have been mistaken for “maisters.”’ Here the appeal to principle is legitimate, since, if the word was miswritten, the printer would have to use his ingenuity to guess what was intended. Also I may suggest that if the dot of the first *i* took the form of an acute accent (cf. facsimile, l. 5, ‘him’) it might look like the head of a tall *a* (cf. l. 1, ‘marry’). Certainly ‘ministers’ is an admirable conjecture and might almost be admitted into the text. Very different is that of ‘Troubles thee o’er’ (folio ‘Trebbles’) in II. i. 218. The editors’ suggestion is that ‘trovbles’ was misread ‘trebbles,’ but ‘troubles’ is a much more usual word than ‘trebbles’ and therefore there would be no temptation to the compositor to mistake *o* for *e*. Moreover, though *v* may sometimes resemble *b* the confusion is hardly likely where a *b* follows for comparison. As regards sense, ‘Troubles’ certainly lends point to what follows, but it hardly fits the immediate context. Of course ‘over-trouble’ means to trouble too much, but there seems no ground whatever for supposing that ‘trouble over’ could have the same sense. These are graphic cases: now for spelling. In I. ii. 173 the editors follow Rowe in altering ‘Princesse’ to ‘princes,’ noting that ‘Shakespeare would spell “princess” as “princes.”’ I doubt this, but he might. A printer, however, seeing ‘princes’ would naturally read it as ‘princes,’ and since ‘princes’ gives far easier sense than ‘princesse’ it is illegitimate to invoke reflex action. Again on v. i. 231, ‘We were dead of sleep,’ they note: ‘Pope reads “asleep,” which is quite possible, the compositor incorrectly expanding “a” to “of.”’ It is perfectly true that ‘of’ was sometimes written ‘a,’ but to suppose that a printer confronted with such a familiar word as

'asleep,' making most obvious sense, would 'expand' it to 'of sleep' seems fantastic. To my mind, moreover, 'of sleep' is preferable.

Among other graphic emendations is the ingenious treatment of the crux in III. i. 15, 'Most busie lest, when I doe it.' The editors begin by assuming that the sense is expressed by Spedding's reading 'Most busiest when idlest.' They see in 'busie lest' (a compositor's normalized spelling of 'bizzye lest') a misreading and misdivision of 'bizy ydlest,' i.e. busy-idle. This it will be seen involves the confusion of medial *e* and *d*, the frequency of which it is permissible to doubt. I should not press the objection, however, if the sense were more satisfying. But is it really reasonable to say that one is working hardest at a task when resting from it? Note further that Miranda completes the line, 'Alas, now pray you,' which makes it a foot too long. This raises the suspicion that the whole passage may be revisional and the corruption more than a mere misreading. The suggestion is confirmed by another passage a few lines before which the editors pass over in silence, but which seems to me clearly corrupt: namely ll. 4-6. The first of these is metrically defective; in the others we should expect 'but *that* The mistress.' Further the task is anyhow heavy, the contingent quality is odiousness; consequently sense seems to require 'my task would be as odious as heavy.' We could rewrite the passage:

Point to rich ends....This my mean task would be  
As odious as heavy to me but that  
The mistress which I serve quickens what's dead.

But if this is anything like correct the corruption can only have occurred through marginal revision.

The same doubt respecting the *e*:*d* confusion makes me just a little sceptical as to the emendation 'eked' ('eekt') for 'decked' in I. ii. 155, though here the unusual spelling and possibly the initial position make it less unlikely. But is emendation needed? Prospero adorned the sea with tears as with pearls. The possibility of misdivision (as in 'bizzye lest') is ingeniously used in v. i. 146 where the resolution of 'supportable' into 'support able,' combined with the substitution of 'less' for 'loss' (a legitimate *e*>*o* misprint aided by hypnotism!) and the retention of the folio 'deere' (= 'dere' not 'dear'), gives a reading which is admirable—up to a point. But have not the editors overlooked the construction? According to their interpretation both 'support' and 'means' seem to be the object of 'have,' which can hardly be correct. Another divisional emendation is 'Let's all on' for 'Let's alone' in iv. i. 232. I would suggest, however, that the more natural reading is 'Let't alone' (sc. the 'luggage')—the confusion of *t* and final *s* being fairly easy.

In II. i. 93 a gallant effort is made to convert the apparently meaningless folio reading 'Gon. I.' into 'Gonzalo [rousing the king]. Sir!' The trick is done by supposing that the manuscript was written 'gonsir!' and misread 'gonso I.' But this is impossible since 'I' would be written 'J,' which bears no resemblance to 'I'! Throughout, indeed, the editors appear to me to suggest resemblances between letters in far too light-



hearted a fashion. In v. i. 157, wishing to read 'These' ('Theis') for 'Their' they assert that final *s* (a tall letter) 'might easily be read' as *r*. (This seems really naughty, but it is true that if it is sufficiently badly written, as it sometimes is in the *More* manuscript, final *s* somewhat resembles *r*: thus 'theis' might be read 'ther' and printed 'their.') In the very next note (l. 175) after remarking that 'Yet' and 'Yes' are liable to confusion (which is perfectly true), they go out of their way to suggest that this was probably due to the use of the 'e'-form. But 'e' is properly a contraction for *es* and should not be used after *e*—'Ye<sup>e</sup>' is a monstrosity. Moreover this 'e' is a tailed letter which could not conceivably be confused with *t*, whereas the ordinary final *s* is a tall letter and, as mentioned above, the confusion is comparatively easy.

A really difficult expression is that in III. iii. 93: 'And his and mine loved darling.' Of course 'mine' for 'my' is common before a vowel, and the absolute form is permissible attributively when separated from the substantive—'hers and mine adultery' illustrates both. Probably, therefore, there has been an accidental inversion and we should read: 'And mine and his loved darling.' The editors suggest that 'and mine' may be an error for 'admired' (cf. III. i. 37–8): 'mine' for 'mird' may be all right, but 'and' for 'ad' seems unlikely. Besides, 'his admired loved darling'—well, one can only hope that Shakespeare did not write it!

On the other hand there are many cases in which the editors make excellent use of the graphic method of emendation. Johnson's 'soil' for 'soule' (I. ii. 29), Dryden's 'mind' for 'mad' (I. ii. 209), Staunton's 'blear-eyed' for 'blew-eyed' (I. ii. 269) all receive notable support. 'Sophy' for 'folly' in III. ii. 4 is ingenious and sufficiently plausible; so is 'I think thee, Ariel' (folio 'thank') in IV. i. 64; in IV. i. 184 'sweat' for 'feet' is brilliant. Special mention must be made of the very interesting endeavour to clear up the difficult passage, I. ii. 99–102:

like one  
Who having into truth, by telling of it,  
Made such a sinner of his memory,  
To credit his own lie.

Here the editors propose to read 'minted' for 'into,' when the lines are at once seen to be a metaphor from coining. The conjecture is palmary and is supported by an actual quotation (of 1664): 'Though it were in our power to mint Truth as we please.' When, however, they come to the graphic explanation they falter. Shakespeare is supposed to have written the word 'minted' a minim short, and the compositor to have read it 'inntoe.' I cannot believe that such a word as 'inntoe' would ever have entered the compositor's imagination: it is not a possible spelling. But I am not so certain that each half alone is impossible, and if Shakespeare wrote 'mn ted' I think it just conceivable that the compositor may have read it 'inn toe' and so printed 'into.' The further conjecture of 'finer' for 'sinner' is also ingenious and has good graphic and orthographic support. It bears out the metaphor neatly, but I am not sure that it improves the sense.

One specious alteration, ultimately dependent on writing, I rather



doubt. In II. i. 62-3 Gonzalo says that their drenched garments retain 'their freshnesse and glosses, being rather new dy'de then stain'd with salte water.' The editors print 'gloss, as being,' remarking that 'The emendation seems self-evident.' This is a somewhat discredited ground of acceptance. Moreover, the emendation 'involves the alteration of the comma, a serious point in this carefully punctuated text'! and the graphic explanation is difficult. On the editors' assumption Shakespeare must have written either 'glos as' or 'gloffie as' and the difference between medial and final *s* should have prevented the compositor from reading either as 'gloffes.' Really no alteration is needed. The garments could have but one 'freshness' but each material could have its several 'gloss,' and the sentence is just as well without the 'as': 'salt water having rather new dyed than stained them.' On the other hand I am tempted to read 'verity' for 'verily' in II. i. 318, the confusion being an easy one.

Lastly I come to emendations dependent not on writing but on spelling. Good use is made throughout of Mr Dover Wilson's investigations into Shakespearian orthography and I will only call attention to a few points of possible criticism. A neat use of this evidence is seen in the first word of the play: 'Bos'n!' The folio prints the word fourteen times as 'Bote-swaine' but once (l. 12) inadvertently betrays Shakespeare's spelling 'Boson.' The editors therefore print the shortened form throughout, except once where 'Boatswain' is kept 'as befitting the speech of a king.' This seems a pity—is it more necessary for a king than a duke? In II. i. 124 the folio reads: 'But rather loose her to an Affrican.' Here 'loose' may stand equally well for 'loose' or 'lose.' The editors prefer the former as 'more forcible and appropriate to the speaker'—Sebastian. But surely such speech is intolerably coarse. At II. i. 185 on 'laugh me asleep' they note that 'laugh' and 'luff' were commonly spelt and pronounced alike 'loffie,' and that 'to luff asleep' means to stop a boat by drawing into the wind. The supposed pun seems however rather far fetched. True, Shakespeare was an inveterate punster, but the editors are a little inclined to trade on his weakness. In II. i. 240 the folio reads: 'But doubt discovery there.' Shakespeare would probably write 'dout' which is an ambiguous spelling standing equally for 'doubt' and 'dout' (= do out). Since the folio makes no sense the editors choose the latter meaning. But they are constrained to alter it to 'douts,' and even so it is not clear that the passage will bear the proposed interpretation. In IV. i. 9 the editors regard the folio reading 'her of' as 'compositor's misdivision of Shakespearian spelling "herof." This is very plausible and infinitely preferable to the absurd second-folio reading 'her off,' followed by most editors. But one would perhaps rather expect 'thereof,' and it is possible that a line may have been lost. In IV. i. 90 the editors make the extraordinary suggestion that 'scandalled' is 'possibly an obsolete spelling of "sandalled,"' for which they compare the curious and apparently Shakespearian spelling 'scilens' for 'silence.' But the latter is only possible because it makes no difference to the pronunciation: *sc* could not possibly replace *s* before *a*.

Besides 'scandalled' gives far better sense. Lastly on v. i. 63, which they print:

Mine eyes, e'en sociable to the show of thine,

the editors note: 'F. "ev'n," an unusual contraction, and possibly a misprint for "eũ," i.e. "ever," which would give better sense.' But, though perhaps unusual, 'ev'n' is not without parallel, while I doubt whether 'eũ' is a possible contraction at all—it certainly could not stand for 'ever.' Possibly it was intended to print 'eũ,' but this would hardly have been mistaken for 'even.' Nor can I see any ground of sense for questioning 'even'—but it should be printed 'ev'n,' not 'e'en.'

There are a hundred and one or two other points on which I should like to comment were space unbounded. I have confined myself to matters bearing on the new textual principles employed, and if I have appeared rather to criticize the use made of them, this is mainly because it seemed that in questioning lay the best chance of assisting future work.

The appearance of the new Cambridge Shakespeare is an event of considerable significance in the history of Shakespearian studies, and the present instalment is certainly the most interesting edition of any part of the canon that has appeared for a long while. Of the actual importance of the venture it is yet too soon to speak. To me it seems that the editors will have to choose between producing a popular edition—for which the notes and glossary should be fuller—and a work of serious scholarship. If they will only take themselves seriously, and insist on the publishers allowing them adequate space and opportunity to treat their task seriously, they should be able to produce a work, which, if not itself definitive for the new criticism—that is not to be looked for at the moment—will at least be recognized in the future as having pointed the way. At worst the edition remains a gallant and sporting adventure.

POSTSCRIPT. Since writing the above I have had the opportunity of examining the second volume of the series—*The Two Gentlemen of Verona*. The main features of the folio text in this, as in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* that follows it, are (i) the complete absence of stage directions and (ii) the fact that each scene is headed with the full list of the characters appearing in it, whether they enter at the beginning or not. These are features that clearly require explanation. The editors infer that the text was made up, in the absence of the prompt copy, from the actors' 'parts,' strung together with the help of the 'plot.' This is an extremely ingenious and interesting theory with considerable *a priori* plausibility. It is not quite certain, however, to judge from the rather meagre evidence at our disposal, that the assumed origin will in fact account for the observed peculiarities. The 'plots' of course give all the characters of a scene together, but they nevertheless clearly distinguish between those that enter at the beginning and those that come on later, and it would not be difficult for a moderately careful editor to mark the entries correctly with the help of the 'parts.' Nor is there any reason to suppose that the 'parts' were wholly destitute of stage



directions. The only one extant has: 'dragges him in,' 'here he harkens,' 'A. begins to weepe,' '*currunt*,' '*pugnant N. victus*,' and the like. There is also the following significant point. It was the custom to relieve the actors' memories by giving them actual written letters to read on the stage, and such letters did not appear in their parts. If therefore a text was made up from parts, any letter had to be otherwise supplied, and the speaker's name would probably be prefixed as in fact we find it in many early texts. But Silvia's letter which the Duke reads in III. i, though printed in italic, has no separate prefix. I do not, of course, suggest that these considerations disprove the editors' theory, but only that they should be carefully weighed before it is finally accepted.

W. W. GREG.

LONDON.

*Recherches Philologiques Romanes.* Par G. G. NICHOLSON. Paris: H. Champion. 1921. xii + 255 pp. 30 fr.

This remarkable series of studies consists of 102 etymological articles and of two new suggested readings of notoriously obscure passages in the *Strasbourg Oaths* and the *Cantilène de Sainte Eulalie*. A glance at the table of contents shows that the author, who is Professor of French at the University of Sydney, is not lacking in courage, for, among the words tackled will be found a large number of the stock problems which have hitherto been the despair of scholars. Such are *trouver*, *trop*, *maint*, *vite*, *joli*, *tôt*, O.F. *gaif*, *gai*, O.F. *eneveis*, O.F. *estovoir*, *sortir*, *aire*, *tirer*, *sot*, *aller*, *harnais*, *vernir*, *barre*, *ôter*, with their Romance cognates. Not satisfied with assailing positions hitherto impregnable, Professor Nicholson finds time to demolish theories which have won pretty general acceptance, e.g. the longest article is devoted to disproving Thomas' well-known etymology of F. *aise*, which, admittedly, will not account for all the Romance cognates. In another article he demolishes the equation *jusque* = *de usque*, and suggests classical L. *eo usque*.

It may be said at once that Professor Nicholson's work shows extraordinary insight and acuteness, together with an imaginative power which is somewhat lacking in most etymologists. He realizes that words have meanings, and he puts forward no etymology without an elaborate investigation of the sense-history of the word concerned. It must not, however, be imagined that he inclines chiefly to the semantic method. On the contrary, his contempt for unphonetic etymologies is almost ferocious. In his own words, 'J'ai eu toujours le ferme propos de n'approuver que les étymologies qui se conforment parfaitement aux lois de la phonétique, aux exigences du sens commun et aux faits connus ou vraisemblables de la civilisation latine et romane' (*Avant-propos*, p. ix).

A close study of these *Recherches* suggests that Professor Nicholson has arrived at two general conclusions, which, though nowhere expressly formulated in his book, appear to be as follows:

(i) There existed in pre-documentary times a large and unrecorded



Gallo-Roman vocabulary, which had something of the prestige of medieval French, and was extensively drawn upon, not only by the other Romance languages, but also by Germanic.

(ii) This vocabulary included many compound verbs from which modern forms are back-formations, such back-formations, in conformity with new phonetic laws stated on pp. 57, 82, often resulting in modern doublets and even triplets or quadruplets.

The first of these may be illustrated by his etymology of *joli*, OF. *jolif*, V.L. \**diabolivus*. I think that most Romance etymologists would, on the strength of the semi-learned *diaule* (*Eulalie*), which Professor Nicholson quotes, and the Welsh *diawl*, which he might have quoted, admit the very strong probability of O.F. \**jol*, with which also, via V.L. \**co-ad-diabolare*, he connects F. *cajoler*. If this is granted, the sense-history of *jolif*, elaborately traced by Professor Nicholson, presents no difficulty, its parallelism with that of *devilish* being oddly exemplified in such a modernism as *jolly good hiding*. But when Professor Nicholson, rightly rejecting the traditional etymology of *jolif* from O.N. *jöl*, proceeds paradoxically to explain the latter word as from Gr. *διαβολή*, which he conjectures to have been used in the sense of *διάβασις*, 'passing (from one season to another),' one feels the same reluctance to follow him which is evoked by his etymology of *pretty* and its Teutonic cognates from O.F. *apert* or *espart*. The same applies to his attempt to derive Ger. *schwätzen* and Dutch *zwetsen* from O.F. *esquachier*. *En passant* it may be remarked that he has not used the 1916 edition of Kluge.

As an example of the second principle alluded to above, we may take Professor Nicholson's etymology of *trouver*, which he regards as a back-formation from O.F. *entrouver*, V.L. *interrogare*. This would be a doublet of the more usual *enterver*, which exceptionally preserves the classical accent. The sense-development is ingeniously traced and the phonetics are justified by O.F. *rover*, L. *rogare*; *corrovec*, L. *corrogata*.

But the majority of the writer's conjectural compounds are those in which *a-* is prefixed to a verb with initial *v-* or *f-*, in connection with which the two following new laws are stated.

(i) 'Dans le domaine français, *f* initiale, devenue intervocalique dans un composé, se change en *h* si elle est suivie d'une voyelle labiale; cette *h* s'efface si elle se trouve entre deux voyelles labiales et se maintient dans les autres cas' (p. 57).

(ii) 'Entre deux voyelles identiques en latin vulgaire, *f* et *v* (même s'ils ont été initiaux à l'origine) passent (*v* par l'intermédiaire de *f*) en gallo-roman à *h* qui disparaît si les deux voyelles restent identiques ou sont labiales, et qui se maintient dans les autres cas' (p. 82).

The second of these two laws may be illustrated by Professor Nicholson's treatment of V.L. \**avallare*, from which he derives both *aller* (originally transitive, as in *Alexis*, xix. 4) and *haler* (via \**ahaler*), as well as *avalér* and the nautical *affaler*, O.H.G. *halôn* and Icel. *hala* being regarded by him as early borrowings from O.F. If the working of this phonetic law is accepted, the identity of *aller* and *avalér* is

semantically established by the numerous parallel examples given. It. *andare* and Sp. *andar* he derives from L. (*se*) *ante dare*, while Prov. *anar* is V.L. \**ante-minare*, all three verbs having been originally transitive. From V.L. *afact-* come, according to Professor Nicholson, O.F. *ahatir*, *aatir*, whence also *hait*, *ait* (in *a ait*) and *attirer*, and F. *attifer* (via \**atif*, L. \**afactivus*). The much discussed *aire* is a doublet of *affaire*, and *air*, manner, is a reduced form of *aire*. Professor Nicholson quotes copious O.F. examples of *de bon* (*povre*, *grant*, etc.) *afaire* used in the sense of *aire*. It is almost bewildering to find him deriving *hère* (in *pauvre hère*) and *haire* from the same source, the current meaning of the latter (hair-shirt) being, in his opinion, due to O.F. *haire*, difficulty, distress (= *affaire*), with the same transition from the abstract to the concrete as in *discipline*, scourge.

I have selected the above examples as illustrations of the rather disconcerting variations that Professor Nicholson can play on a single theme. Here are a few simple examples which illustrate his method—*tromper*, back-formation from L. *interrumpere*; *trancher*, back-formation from V.L. \**interinsecare*; *trop*, back-formation from V.L. \**introppo*, for *intra oppidum*, replacing adv. *oppido* (= *certe*, *valde*); *tresser*, back-formation from V.L. *strictiare* (cf. *stringit vitta comas*, Lucan, v, 143); *trousser*, back-formation from V.L. \**struxare* (cf. *un gaillard bien troussé*); *maint*, back-formation from O.F. *mainz*, L. *magnus* (cf. O.F. *tamaint* and Sp. *tamaño*, L. *tam magnus*); *vite*, O.F. *viste*, V.L. \**vivacitus* (Professor Nicholson might have quoted the semantic parallel of *quick*); *fou*, *fol*, back-formation from O.F. *foler*, L. *fabulare*; *tôt*, O.F. *tost*, back-formation from *tantost*, V.L. \**tantopost*; *motte*, back-formation from O.F. *moter*, V.L. \**movitare*. These etymologies, which occur in the first forty to fifty pages, will, I think, strike most Romance scholars as worthy of serious consideration. Here are a few others which I have found especially interesting. *Vernir*, O.Sax. *vernjan*, to defend, 'garnish,' O.F. *verniz* being recorded both of the plating (apparently) of a shield and in the sense of weir. That *harness* is a triplet of *garnish* and *varnish* seems to me less probable, though the semantic arguments for it are very strong. Professor Nicholson goes a little astray in deriving *veneer* directly from *vernir* (the *-eer* and the earlier *fineer* make this impossible), though I like his suggestion that Ger. *furnieren*, to veneer, is folk-etymology for \**firnieren*, F. *vernir* (cf. Ger. *firnis*, varnish, with early variant *fürnis*). But the assumption in the same article that *scrinium vermiculatum* for *fournierter schrank* in Weber's *Ger.-L. Dict.* (1770) 'est évidemment une graphie fautive pour *verniculatum*' is absurd, *vermiculatus* being well established in the sense of chequered, inlaid, etc. *Vrai*, O.F. *verai*, from *verus* followed, as it frequently is, by *ac*, e.g. *verum ac rectum*, with which cf. M.E. *verray right*. O.F. *gaif*, waif, L. *vacuus*, as in *mulier vacua*, spinster (Tacitus). This is certainly more promising than trying, like Skeat and the *N.E.D.*, to derive an O.F. administrative word, regularly coupled with the Romance word *stray*, from O.N. *veifa*, to wave, brandish. But the further assumption that *gai* is practically a back-formation from *gaif* (pl. *gais*) seems un-



justified. The adjective in *cheval gai* (= L. *equus vacuus*, unharnessed and unmounted), or *hareng gai*, shotten herring, no doubt belongs to *gaif*, but can hardly be identical with *gai*, jocund.

Professor Nicholson also has a little group of compounds of *sub-*, in which he assumes the same contraction as in *sombre*, L. *sub umbra*. Such are *soigner*, V.L. \**sufungare*, for \**sufungi*; *saur* (in *hareng saur*), back-formation from *saurer*, L. \**subaurare* (cf. *subauratus*, Petronius); *sonder*, V.L. \**sufundare*; *sonner*, L. *subornare*; *souiller*, V.L. \**sub-fodificare*, etc.

I have touched on only a small proportion of the problems handled in this fascinating volume, and have not space to discuss Professor Nicholson's emendations of the *Oaths* and *Eulalie*. Though I disagree with many of his etymological conclusions, and prefer to await the verdict of more able critics on others, I feel that these bold, original and stimulating *Recherches* deserve the serious attention of all Romance scholars. The two points most open to criticism are a too great readiness to assume that forms in the other Romance languages are borrowed from O.F., and a too frequent use of such confident expressions as 'incontestable,' 'sans aucun doute,' 'le doute n'est plus possible,' etc.

E. WEEKLEY.

NOTTINGHAM.

*Chansons Satiriques et Bachiques du XIII<sup>e</sup> siècle.* Éd. par A. JEANROY et A. LÅNGFORS (*Classiques français du moyen âge*, XXIII). xiv+145 pp. 7 fr. 50.

*Les Chansons de Conon de Béthune.* Éd. par A. WALLENSKÖLD (même série, XXIV). xxiii+39 pp. 3 fr. Paris: H. Champion. 1921.

Les deux derniers tomes de l'excellente collection publiée sous la direction de Monsieur Marie Roques sont consacrés à la poésie lyrique. Sous le titre de *Chansons Satiriques et Bachiques*, MM. A. Jeanroy et A. Langfors ont réuni 45 chansons françaises rentrant dans le genre de la satire générale; ils ont provisoirement laissé de côté les chansons relatives à des événements ou personnages déterminés qu'ils se réservent de publier dans un autre recueil. Quelques-unes des chansons incluses dans le tome XXIII des *Classiques français* ne sont pas plus bachiques que satiriques; mais on serait mal venu de faire ressortir le côté artificiel du classement auquel se sont arrêtés les auteurs quand les auteurs mêmes ont eu à cœur de le signaler eux-mêmes (cf. p. ix, dernier paragraphe).

Des 45 pièces qui forment le recueil 24 sont anonymes, ou 25, si l'attribution du no. VI (*Bien mostre Dieus apertement Que n'ovron mie a son plaisir*) au trouvère Moniot n'a aucune valeur. Les autres chansons sont dues à Jacques de Cysoing, Gontier de Soignies, Aubertin d'Araines, Rutebeuf, Bestourné, Gilles de Vieux-Maisons, Pierre de Molaines, Richart de Fournival, Baude de la Quarrière, Robert de Reims dit La Chèvre, Jehan de Grieviler, Simon d'Authie, Mahieu le Juif, Jacques de Hesdin, Jaquemin de la Vente, Jehan d'Auxerre, Gobin de Reims. Les



chansons satiriques comprennent les pièces dirigées (a) contre le siècle (I-V); (b) contre le clergé, les ordres monastiques et les médisants (VI-X); (c) contre l'Amour (XI-XXIII); (d) contre les femmes (XXIV-XXXVIII). Les chansons bachiques sont au nombre de sept et non de cinq (comme il est dit par distraction p. XII, 4 lignes avant la fin) nos. XXXIX-XLV.

L'Introduction traite de la langue, des auteurs, des sujets, des genres. C'est un modèle de netteté et de concision. Le texte est établi avec beaucoup de soin; les auteurs sont parvenus à résoudre presque toutes les difficultés d'un texte parfois extrêmement obscur. Celles dont ils n'ont pu se rendre maîtres paraissent vraiment désespérées, comme c'est le cas pour les vers 49-52 de la chanson XL.

Ce recueil sera accueilli avec satisfaction par tous les curieux de la poésie lyrique française du moyen âge; d'abord beaucoup des pièces qu'il contient sont remarquables par leur caractère individuel et personnel et ensuite trois chansons, les nos. XXXIX-XLI, ont très probablement comme auteur Colin Muset, ou, en tout cas, elles ont l'esprit, la bonhomie et le charme qui caractérisent les productions du cointe et candide jongleur.

Le tome XXIV, *Chansons de Conon de Béthune*, est dû à Monsieur Axel Wallensköld. Le savant philologue de Helsingfors avait déjà publié en 1891 une édition des chansons de ce trouvère; elle lui avait servi de thèse de doctorat. L'édition actuelle a conservé tous les mérites de celle de 1891: elle est à la fois plus concise et plus précise en ce qui concerne la biographie du poète, la filiation des manuscrits et l'attribution des chansons. En outre il a renoncé à cet exercice artificiel, mis à la mode par certains romanistes d'antan, qui consistait à 'reconstruire' la langue littéraire d'un écrivain, à 'normaliser' les textes, à faire suivre aux auteurs médiévaux, qui n'en pouvaient mais, les règles élaborées avec plus ou moins de méthode dans les 'séminaires' de philologie; et il s'en est tenu, tout simplement, à l'orthographe des manuscrits qu'il prenait pour base. Il a enfin serré de plus près la question si délicate de la langue de Conon de Béthune et il est arrivé à une conclusion qui est un peu compliquée mais, somme toute, acceptable. Les poètes courtois, comme Gaston Paris l'avait indiqué dès 1889, 'avaient appris à ne pas mettre dans leurs chansons de formes provinciales, mais à parler le français de Pontoise' (*Romania*, XVIII, p. 570). Monsieur Wallensköld reconnaît que Conon de Béthune s'est servi d'un langage 'qui tenait le milieu entre le francien et le dialecte picard prononcé' (cette expression 'prononcé' n'est pas très heureuse), 'donc probablement l'artésien, mitigé peut-être par des traits franciens.' ('Peut-être' est vraiment superflu.)

Le texte est établi avec beaucoup de soin; le glossaire donne l'explication des difficultés qui sont résolues de façon très satisfaisante. La bibliographie est complète. Il est dommage que l'auteur n'ait pas pensé à y ajouter une liste des comptes-rendus dont son édition de 1891 a été l'objet.

LOUIS BRANDIN.

LONDON.

*Mystères et Moralités du Manuscrit 617 de Chantilly.* Publiés pour la première fois et précédés d'une étude linguistique et littéraire. Par GUSTAVE COHEN. Paris: H. Champion. 1920. cxlix + 134 pp. 30 fr.

None of the five poems published by Dr Cohen in this volume has hitherto seen the light in its present form, though the last of them (*Le Pèlerinage de la Vie Humaine*) is known to students of Old French literature in a French version by Guillaume de Digulleville, edited for the Roxburghe Club by M. Stürzinger in 1893. They are listed in the library catalogue simply as 'Cinq Jeux.' The first two are 'Jeux de la Nativité' (the second unfortunately fragmentary), the remaining three deal with more abstract subjects and are thus described: 'Li Jeux des VII pechié mortel et des VII vertus'; 'Unc Jeux a VI personage (L'Alliance de Foy et Loyalté)'; 'Le Jeux de Pèlerinage humaine.' All five are written in Walloon, or, more precisely, in Liègeois, of the fourteenth century, and it is chiefly to a study of their forms and vocabulary that Dr Cohen has devoted the 149 pages of his Introduction, thus making a further contribution to the growing body of literature dealing with the Walloon language.

The literary value of these Mysteries and Moralities cannot be said to be very great, though they possess a certain distinction in having apparently been copied by a woman and written for 'un convent de femmes.' But their linguistic interest is considerable, especially in the case of the last one, where the existence of the French source enables a detailed comparison of French and Walloon forms to be made. This comparison Dr Cohen has carried out at great length in his Introduction, but his work is rendered very diffuse and a little confusing at times by the fact that, in spite of the archaic form of the poems, he takes modern French and modern Liègeois as his *point de départ*. Hence many forms and developments are tabulated (sometimes several times over, as each poem receives individual attention), which are absolutely normal in Old French and do not seem to call for remark in a work of this kind. Such constructions as *por eaux convertire*, subjunctive without *que*, imperfect subjunctive with the value of a conditional, hardly call for notice except in a treatise on Old French syntax. In fact as regards syntax and morphology the poems present very little that is exceptional from the point of view of the French of that epoch. But the phonetic side is necessarily the most important portion of any work dealing with such pronounced dialectal forms. Dr Cohen makes a detailed study of the poems from this point of view and is able to amplify and, in a certain measure, rectify recent researches on this subject—as for instance in the case of the treatment of the suffix *-ellum*, both in ancient and modern Liègeois. The section dealing with the atonic vowels contains many points of interest, but seems to need a little correction on one or two points. For example, in speaking of 'a' *protonique à l'initiale*, Dr Cohen tells us: 'Là où le français altère ou modifie l' "a" protonique à l'initiale, notre manuscrit le garde,' and he cites, amongst examples



such as *aweur* (> agurium, O.Fr. *eür*) and *pawour* (> pavorem, O.Fr. *peür*), which support his thesis, the words *samayne*, *astoit* (= estoit), *ramembreir* and *machine* (= meschine), where surely the modification or 'altération' is in the Walloon and not in the French form. Again, Section v is anything but clear. What have the words *ángele*, *órdene*, *apóstele* to do with the 'loi de Darmesteter' and the *protonique non-initiale non en position*?

Chapters iv and v of the Introduction deal with the nature and literary value of the five pieces. Dr Cohen is inclined to regard the first Nativité as the earliest in date; its identity with the liturgical drama is more pronounced, a more archaic form of versification is employed and the comic element is entirely absent. There is a rustic simplicity in the scene where shepherds bring their gifts, one a basket of apples and nuts, one a flute 'por consoleir le pitit enfan,' which has a distinct charm. The second Nativité also shares this character of *naïveté*. St Anne and her two daughters come to adore the infant Jesus, and the mother of the Virgin introduces herself and her two daughters with simple directness:

Et moy, poure creature,...  
Suy vostre indigne grandame  
Et vechi mes ii fille qui sont vos ante.

Several leaves of this part of the manuscript are unfortunately missing, and the fragment consists of only 306 lines. The three Moralities are long and tedious and full of the personifications and allegory which bore the modern reader to extinction in the works of the fourteenth century. As Dr Cohen remarks: 'le lecteur d'aujourd'hui, et plus encore le spectateur, en supporteraient difficilement l'ennui,' but he consoles himself with the thought that we may be grateful to these and other such Moralities 'd'avoir gardé le théâtre pour des fins très hautes et qui intéressent la destinée même de l'homme,' and he considers that it is the Morality, even more than the Mystery, which paved the way for the classic drama.

JESSIE CROSLAND.

LONDON.

*Die Umschreibungen des Begriffes 'Hunger' im Italienischen.* Stilistisch-onomasiologische Studie. Von LEO SPITZER. (*Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, Beiheft LXVIII.) Halle: M. Niemeyer. 1921. 345 pp. 42 M.

An effort is required from the readers who wish to appreciate Dr Spitzer's massive book. They must still in their hearts the voice of suffering humanity. It is repulsive at first to watch this 'Leiter einer der fünf Zensurgruppen' (p. 5) inspecting the letters and cards written by Italian prisoners in Austria to their homes not merely with the detachment of a censor who is called upon to perform a painful duty, but with the glee of the philologist who gloats upon the data of a



welcome experiment<sup>1</sup>, the experiment arising from the starving of thousands of fellow creatures. Dr Spitzer does not even allow his readers to forget the picture of these self-satisfied 'intellectual' censors, whom we visualize safely ensconced in a warm room and glorying in the ability and method by which they succeed in suppressing any but the discoloured representations of the needs of the prisoners (pp. 2, 19, 23, 36, 53, 159, 164, 165, 193, 297), even though Dr Spitzer admits himself in guarded sentences that the conditions in the prisoners' camps were worse than they need have been (p. 10). A picture that one sees inset in a larger one representing a crowd of thousands of lean and emaciated prisoners who needed food which the Austrian Government was unable to provide; and which many of them could not get from their relatives because of the cleverness of the censors. The author has felt some compunction in publishing private letters, so much so that he has given precedents for this, which is after all only an infringement of a convention of polite decency; but he does not seem to have felt his fingers scorched by his penholder while he detained the letters in order to copy out the 'Umschreibungen' 'mit möglichster Schnelligkeit' (p. 7). The mass of material he has collected must have been enormous, judging from the 300 pages of quotations he prints, and if ever a mother was kept waiting a day longer than necessary for news of her son in order that this book could be written, that was a crime for which this book or ten such books, however interesting and learned, would fail to be extenuating circumstances.

But now the book has been written and is a convincing proof of the pains Dr Spitzer has taken over it and of his own abilities, the results are well worth considering. The censors were instructed to suppress all allusions to 'hunger' as this was held to be an overstatement of the healthy 'appetite' which the prisoners enjoyed; naturally the prisoners endeavoured to hoodwink the censors, so that there arose an artificial language, or a series of circumlocutory expressions, an 'argot' of a peculiar kind which Dr Spitzer compares under certain aspects with a taboo-language. The documentation of this 'argot' is stupendous in size, mostly well sifted and systematically arranged. It may be questionable whether sufficient allowance was made for the peculiar conditions under which the 'experiment' took place. On p. 298 Dr Spitzer endeavours to explain the interplay between individual and collective contributions to new language expressions; his explanation is clever, but not quite sufficient to do away with a fundamental fact: 'argots' are essentially spoken languages, and have undergone an oral elaboration which the prisoners-language was denied by circumstances; prisoners can but rarely have used 'Umschreibungen' when talking to one another, and then only in a jocular spirit, and they had no means to check the results

<sup>1</sup> Dr Spitzer quotes on p. 1 a sentence of P. Kammerer which will no doubt edify the reader: 'Etwa ein Häuflein gefangener Italiener, vom Sturme des Krieges erfasst und mitten hineinverweht in deutsches oder slawisches Gebiet, hier festgehalten und zu leben gezwungen unter fremdem Klima, zu verkehren gezwungen—wenn auch kärglich—mit der fremden Nation; welche wunderbare soziale Transplantation, welch erkenntnisverheissende Pfröpfung am Volkskörper!'

of their attempts at deceiving the censors and therefore no standard by which to perfect their language. In spite of this, Dr Spitzer brings out some very interesting points—the simple-mindedness of the prisoners, who mostly seem to call attention to the passages in which any cryptic meaning is conveyed; the uniformity in the 'Ümschreibungen,' which fall easily into types; a tendency towards allegorical expression which shows that allegory is more deeply rooted in the people than some investigators would allow (pp. 287 ff.). And even more interesting is the section which deals with the artistic elaboration of the idea of 'hunger' and with the analysis of this process, which cannot be summarized but which students of language as well as critics will do well to read and consider. The whole of Dr Spitzer's 'Schlussfolgerungen' (pp. 252–303) will be taken to be a real contribution to scholarship even by those who will not accept all his conclusions.

He is perhaps inclined to overrate the wealth and the novelty of the circumlocutory expressions which have been used by Italian prisoners. Most of the expressions he has collected could be heard in different classes and provinces in Italy long before the war; little has been written on the subject in Italy, and Dr Spitzer has been led to infer that all that had not been noted before was a new creation due to the prisoners; but metaphorical expressions are used and have been constantly used by all sections of Italians when they talk their dialects; prisoners were naturally impelled to have recourse to such a 'reservoir.' That which M. Dauzat has written for the French (*L'Argot de la guerre*, Paris, 1918): 'Emprunts à part, les créations nouvelles ne sont pas très nombreuses,' seems to be true also of Italians, notwithstanding the contrary opinion which Dr Spitzer favours (pp. 282 ff.). But if that be so, the value of the book is not impaired even though the value of the experiment suffers. The book remains a valuable collection of materials which has been very cleverly analysed.

In such a book there could scarcely have been avoided slight errors and misprints, a few of which are here noted:

p. 13 *osteria dei quattro effe*: the fourth *effe* means *fastidi*, such was the reading on an inn on the lake of Como, near Lecco.

p. 14 *Mailand: che la maf. Maf* does not stand for *maffia*, but clearly is an inversion for *fam* = *fame*.

p. 42 *Mailand: negra* does not stand for *Negerweib*, but is commonly used in the dialect for dark-haired women, brunette.

p. 43. Reference should be made to the Milanese 'compagnia della liggera.'

p. 46. *Venedig: siora Zanze* may refer to the episode in Pellico's *Le mie prigioni*.

p. 50 *Mailand: e sapone*. There does not seem to be any second meaning in the sentence. The prisoner was asking for soap, and very likely needed it. It is to be hoped that he was given the benefit of the doubt (see p. 57).

p. 73 *Lodi* (and also p. 83): *batter la frusta* means to ask for something especially by signs, like a cabman for a fare by cracking his whip;



it is generally used in dialect with reference to prostitutes; here the meaning is to lack or to have lacked something.

p. 76 *Alatri*: the reference is to nuts or chestnuts which are beaten down with rods, not to washing.

p. 81 *Nievole*: *solini* are of course 'collars,' not 'cuffs.'

p. 84 *Lecce*: the reference seems to be to insects which ate away the flesh, not to hunger.

p. 85 *Kammelbach*: the passage was clearly meant to be spelt: 'si patisse, se ghe n' à di 'vanzo,' one has more than enough.

p. 88 *Fossalta*, probably di *Portogruaro* rather than *Fortagnano*. *S. Canciano*: *barba* = *che barba* = anything which has become tedious, unbearable through long association; has grown old, hence is bearded.

p. 89 *Como*: *sutati* stands for *sudati*. *Sudato sotto la lingua* is used frequently to mean that no trouble or toil has been endured, so that perspiration could only be detected under the tongue. It is also used to mean that the weather is cold.

p. 90 *faccio voti che*: the description of the running horse is quite straightforward; horses foam at the mouth on account of the bit.

p. 93 *Ponzano Veneto*: *fifa* means *paura* in Lombard dialects.

p. 94 *chiari di luna*: a frequent metaphor for 'under such difficult, unpleasant or dangerous circumstances.' *Sbadigliare* is caused by hunger, without any connection with the moon.

p. 97 *Caino*: *girar le bale* has nothing to do with *pigliar la balla*. It means 'it angers me.' A vulgar expression; *bale* = *testicula*.

p. 98 *Lienz*: it should be mentioned that the words occur in Rodolfo's song in Puccini's *Bohème*, Act I, and should be added to the passages on p. 140.

p. 100 *Katzenau-Triest*: there is no allusion to hunger; a real illness is meant.

p. 104 *Mailand*: *ghirba* is a technical military term for a leather or waterproof bag used to carry water on pack-mules.

p. 107 *Gros-Siegharts*: in the catacombs of the Cappuccini at Palermo as well as at Venzone there are mummified corpses. The reference is to those mummies.

p. 109 *Arzignano*: *nona* is sleeping-sickness.

p. 111 *Juden sind natürlich*: really? It would be easy to mention several generals in the Italian army belonging to the Jewish faith.

p. 136 *Costabissara*: the meaning is 'my ribs look like the strings of a guitar.'

p. 144 *Rho* (not *Rhò*): the verse is 'Ho freddo, ho fame, Son piccinino.'

p. 155 *Welschtiroler*: the reference is to a children's game called *giuoco dell'oca*.

p. 165 *Trivignano*: *muart di pantiana*. *Pantegana* = *pantiàne* is Friulian for rat.

p. 194 *Arlesica*: *scorso* = *scorza* does not refer to 'Montur' but to rind = *pelle*, meaning 'if you wish me to come home alive.'

p. 287 *Piangipane* will surely have to be connected with the well known family name *Frangipane*.



Misprints are : p. 32 *Schiò* for *Schio*; p. 54 *Stagliano* = *Staglieno*; pp. 57 and 95 *Val di Pera* = *Pesa*; p. 87 *Misc. Rossis Theiss* = *Rossi*; *Neapel* : *pestusillo* = *pertusillo*; p. 92 *Calasca Ossola Novarra* = *Novara*; p. 107 *Varese* : *ultra vita esedo* = *credo*; p. 123 *Monza* : *S. Bartolomeo chc* = *che*; p. 176 Dante, *Inf. I* : *aver* = *aër*; p. 192 *Agardo (Belluno)* = *Agordo*; p. 194 *Lupari* = *Lupia*; p. 205 n. *Barile* = *Basile*; p. 300 n. *giugne* = *guigne*; p. 305 *Mortava* = *Mortara*.

C. FOLIGNO.

OXFORD.

*The Elder Edda and ancient Scandinavian Drama.* By BERTHA S. PHILLPOTTS. Cambridge: University Press. 1920. xi + 216 pp. 21s.

Drama, of a sort, is easy to find in the old Northern poetry; perhaps Miss Phillpotts might have said more about earlier critics who have taken something like her view. But her judgment is her own, and does not need references to other writers in order to make it clear. There is much in her estimate which will continue to help the understanding of the poems, whether her opinions be fully accepted or not. She has made it impossible to neglect the dramatic quality of the poems in dialogue; she has marked off the dramatic poems from the poems that use dialogue in support of narrative. The dramatic poems again are plausibly regarded as Norwegian, and as not showing the qualities of Icelandic poetry. Their proper form of verse, *ljóðaháttir*, called 'chant-metre' in this book, is shown to have features of its own, besides those of prosody; a Norwegian gait and demeanour. Miss Phillpotts argues that the Norwegian dramatic poems belong to an old fashion of life, old ritual, old beliefs. 'Divine Protagonists'; 'The Ritual Marriage'; 'The Fertility Drama'—these three headings are significant, and the successive chapters belonging to them are not empty.

Instead of a minute examination which few scholars are able to undertake, may it be permissible for this reviewer to put forward, not cavils or objections, but rather topics and possible considerations, suggested to a fairly attentive and thoroughly grateful reader?

Who are *the people*? The 'flytings' of the *Elder Edda*—such things do not originate with the aristocracy, says our author, but with the people (p. 42): 'It is at least probable that the scurrilous poems of the Edda are no more the product of purely aristocratic circles than is the French *fabliau*.' But what were aristocratic circles in Norway in the year 800 or 900? We know something about them; can we find, then or later, much difference of taste between the king and the yeoman? Did the libellous poem thrive better in the uplands than in the king's hall? 'Flyting' in verse is not in other countries a mere rustic occupation; we need only remember Dunbar and Kennedy and the other Scottish courtly makers. The king himself, James VI, in his *Art of Poetry*, recognises 'flyting' as an allowable kind. *Loka senna*, the flyting of Loki, may be in one sense ribald, but it is not a vulgar poem. The *fabliaux* may come in, fairly enough, as examples of popular or even

churlish humour; but there are greater villanies extant in the lyrical satire of the most accomplished and courtly artists of the Provençal school.

Is enough attention paid to the form of the Eddic poems which are not dramatic Norwegian dialogues in chant-metre? Some remarks of Miss Phillpotts on the Nibelungen cycle in the *Edda* seem rather hard to justify. The poems dealing with the Nibelungen and Ermanaric cycles are said to owe 'their substance, and therefore possibly their form, to foreign models' (p. 79); 'Poems on borrowed subjects are not likely to give the most faithful reflection of the native form' (p. 82). Does Miss Phillpotts think that the form of *Goðrúnarkviða*,

Ár vas þats Goðrún  
Gerðisk at deyja

owes anything to a Low German poet? Is *Oddrúnargrátr* worked on a Saxon or any other foreign frame? Surely it leaps to the eyes from the *Elder Edda* that the Nibelung story is what the poets choose to make of it, and that there are many poets at work on the story for various poetic ends and aims that have often little to suggest them in the German tradition. The Northern poets were not slower than the Greeks to see how legend might be remodelled in all sorts of ways. From *Gripisspá* to *Hamðismál* is not forty pages in *Codex Regius* as it stands; but what a variety of forms and motives and scale! And we have to reckon in, besides, what we know of the lost poems of the lacuna. There is no less diversity of poetical ideas here than in the Greek tragedians dealing with Orestes and Electra. Some of the Eddic poems are clearly later than others, yet there is everywhere such evidence of poetical craft that one hesitates to put any limit on the possibilities of variation. The poems in chant-metre may be older in fashion than the poems of the griefs of Gudrun, but they need not be taken as absolutely rustic and simple-minded. There is nothing, of course, among them to be compared with the dialogue poem of Bacchylides, which in sixty lines and four stanzas gives the history of the young Theseus, ending in suspense just before he comes to Athens. Yet this wonderful new shaping of an old and well known history does the sort of poetical thing that many Northern poets attempted; working through allusion, bringing large matter into small space, like a convex mirror.

The finest passage in this book is possibly on p. 79, where a difficult, scarcely intelligible strophe in *Hamðismál* is transferred to a context where it is more at home. There is no need to repeat the particulars here. It seems a thoroughly satisfactory procedure.

One small addition may be made to the interesting Danish story of Bovi (p. 123). The Durham book of *Exempla* in which it occurs was edited by Mr A. G. Little some years ago for the Society of Franciscan Studies.

W. P. KER.

LONDON.



*Etymologisk Ordbog over det norrøne Sprog på Shetland.* Af JAKOB JAKOBSEN. Udgivet på Carlsbergfondets Bekostning. Copenhagen: V. Prior. 1908-21. 8vo. xlviii + 1032 pp.

Dr Jakob Jakobsen was unfortunately cut off by death before the completion of this monumental dictionary of the 'Norn,' the Old Scandinavian tongue of the Shetland Islands, which practically became obsolete as a spoken language in the eighteenth century. In a prefatory note to the last instalment of the work, to which Jakobsen had devoted so many years of single-hearted zeal, Professor Finnur Jónsson tells us that the manuscript was completed as far as the letter v; only ø (some half-dozen pages) being left to finish. This has been done by Frøken Marie Mikkelsen, who had assisted Jakobsen with the proof-reading. The last part also contains the Introduction. It is our greatest loss that the author was unable to round off his labours in this field with a study of the language, which he had intended should occupy between 200 and 300 pages. All that could be done was to collect, in a little over forty pages, the 'spredte og næppe endelig redigerede småafsnit,' found among his papers. This, as the editor has felt, is a very inadequate substitute; it is fragmentary, ill arranged, and contains occasional repetitions. Some of it had appeared in a more popular form in two articles which Jakobsen contributed to *Tilskueren* in 1896 (*Shetland og Shetlændere*, pp. 721 ff. and 771 ff.); the larger part, however, is taken up with a detailed description of the author's investigations on the islands—mainly in the years 1893-95—and of his indebtedness to local helpers. In 1897 Jakobsen published his doctoral thesis, *De norrøne Sprog på Shetland*, which was frankly put forward as a prelude to the dictionary; and although, no doubt, the work of the years that followed widened the conclusions there arrived at, much of at least the seventh chapter of the thesis—on the 'Lydforhold'—might have been incorporated in the Introduction to the dictionary. We are indemnified, not merely by this thesis, for the lack of Jakobsen's final study of the 'Norn,' but also by the admirable treatise on *Shetlandøernes Stednavne*, which occupies over a hundred pages of vol. xvi (1901) of the *Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie*. This was preceded by two lectures in English on *The Dialect and Place Names of Shetland*, published at Lerwick in 1897.

Thomas Edmonston's *Etymological Glossary of the Shetland and Orkney Dialect*—the 'etymological' part of it is of little significance—published by the Philological Society in 1866, contained only some 2000 words; Jakobsen has collected over 10,000 of Scandinavian origin. This *Glossary*, together with a manuscript supplement to it, preserved in the Edinburgh Museum of Antiquities, provided the starting point for the present work. Of Jakobsen's 10,000 words, 'hardly more than half can be said to be in any very general use to-day. The other half falls into two chief groups, (1) words which have only been preserved in single districts or islands, and (2) obsolete words only known to (and partially used by) old people.' The number of the latter is necessarily decreasing very rapidly.



The most valuable part of the Introduction is the beginning it makes to establishing the relations of the 'Norn' to the dialects of southern Norway, and especially of the tract of country lying between Bergen and the Naze. The list which Jakobsen has compiled is, however, only a beginning, and is restricted by our inadequate knowledge of the Norwegian dialects—Aasen's dictionary with Ross's supplement is the chief source, and not very helpful; but the materials are increasing. Is it too much to hope that it might tempt one of our own scholars to pick up the thread where it has been broken in Jakobsen's hand? No point of contact between the peoples of the north and ourselves is more inviting than this.

Jakobsen's work is published with the assistance of the Carlsberg Foundation, which has contributed so liberally and so wisely to the advancement of Scandinavian research in language and literature in recent years. Greater countries than the Scandinavian kingdoms may well look with envious eyes on so admirable and generous a benefactor.

J. G. ROBERTSON.

LONDON.

## MINOR NOTICES.

The appearance of a second and revised edition of Professor Jespersen's *Engelsk Fonetik* (Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, 1921, 6 kr. 35) renews one's regret that none of his work on English phonetics is accessible to English students ignorant of German or Danish. He combines in a higher degree than does perhaps any other living phonetician the qualities of scientific accuracy, lively observation and crystal clearness of presentation and there is not a touch of that dryness of manner which tends often to make the best of books on phonetics repellent to the average student. The new edition has been carefully revised; some passages have been omitted, more have been added. The only chapters that have undergone substantial alteration are those on the Breath-organs, in which the author puts forward his new views with regard to stress, and on Tone, in which he pays tribute to the work of Mr Daniel Jones upon this subject.

A. M.

Dr F. S. Boas's reputation as a scholar of very wide literary interests, as an educationalist and as a charming writer is a sufficient guarantee for the excellence and usefulness of his *Introduction to the Reading of Shakspeare* (Duckworth, 1920, 72 pp.). To advanced students much of the book is of course familiar ground, though even on familiar ground with a good guide they will see things they had not seen before, and they will find Dr Boas's last chapter 'Shakspeare and the Modern Mind' especially fresh and suggestive. The booklet is however designed to help those who are entering for the first time on the serious study of Shakespeare.

G. C. M. S.

Dr J. S. Smart of Queen Margaret's College, Glasgow, has made a great contribution to the study of Milton in his book *The Sonnets of Milton with Introduction and Notes* (Glasgow: Maclehose, Jackson and Co., 1921, 7s. 6d.). His remarkable success is due partly to his command of Italian and of Italian literature, partly to his command of the weapons of biographical research. All of us who have been in the habit of talking on the history and structure of the sonnet have probably something to learn from Dr Smart's 'Introduction,' in which he shows that Milton had Italian authority for his method of carrying over the sentence from the octave into the sestet—his model indeed being not Petrarch, but Della Casa. Watts-Dunton's doctrine of the division of the sonnet into two sections is shown to have no basis beyond a misunderstood passage in Dante. Further, Milton was not an innovator in taking other topics for his sonnets than love. Tasso alone had written 486 'Heroical Sonnets' and these served as models for the sonnets to Cromwell, Vane and Fairfax. As for Milton's Italian sonnets, to each of which Dr Smart has added a translation and a note of topics or phrases in which they are reminiscent of earlier work, he has argued boldly and I think convincingly that they were written long before the poet's Italian journey, probably about 1629, and addressed to a young lady named Emilia. The proof of the last statement is especially ingenious.

The other side of Dr Smart's intellectual activity is seen in the fresh light he has thrown on the persons commemorated in the sonnets—Margaret Ley, Mrs Katharine Thomason (not Thomson as the Cambridge MS. has been wrongly read, but the wife of George Thomason the famous collector of pamphlets), Lawrence (shown to have been with little doubt Edward the elder brother of Henry Lawrence with whom the sonnet has been connected hitherto), Cyriack Skinner and Katharine Woodcock, the poet's second wife. For the first time this lady's family connexions have been brought to light, and the probability that Milton made her acquaintance through her kinsman Sir Thomas Vyner of Hackney. For all this new biographical knowledge Dr Smart gives documentary evidence in an Appendix. It may finally be said that Dr Smart has some suggestive pages on Milton's attitude to Cromwell, which he holds to have been not quite so much one of persistently uncritical admiration as has sometimes been thought.

G. C. M. S.

Dr Allan H. Gilbert of Cornell University is known to readers of this *Review* as a serious student of Milton. In his *Geographical Dictionary of Milton* (Newhaven, Yale University Press: London, H. Milford, 1919, 15s.) he has given in alphabetical order the place-names in practically all Milton's works in poetry and prose: and has illustrated the meaning they had for Milton by quotations from works probably known to him. The book will certainly be found valuable.

G. C. M. S.

'Though this book,' says Professor Barrett Wendell in the Introduction to his volume on *The Traditions of European Literature from*



*Homer to Dante* (London: J. Murray, 1921, x + 669 pp., 28s.), 'is intended for general readers, it originated in lectures given at Harvard College between 1904 and 1917. Years of dealing with Harvard students had shown me not only that Americans now know little of the literary traditions of our ancestral Europe, but also that they are seldom aware of the little they know.' But we can hardly think that the Harvard student, or the general reader in America, is at such a disadvantage compared with his counterpart on this side of the ocean, as these words would imply; that he is so ignorant, for instance, of Latin that he has to be supplied with translations of the simplest sentences, even (p. 182) of 'veni, vidi, vici!' Professor Wendell's book is what we should in England call University extension lectures; and regarded as such, it has—the first half at least—many attractive features; in particular we have read with genuine pleasure his vivid characterisation of the great Roman writers. But his title is misleading, for he makes no real attempt to deal with the 'traditions of European literature,' if by this is meant the significance of the classical heritage for the modern world. Beyond a few rather obvious indications of the influence of individual classics on modern, and chiefly English, literature, hardly a beginning is made to estimating the debt of Europe to antiquity. Still more serious is the misuse of the word 'European' in the title: the only European literatures that fall within Professor Wendell's cognisance are those of England and France and, with very restricted scope—restricted almost exclusively to Dante—of Italy. The bibliography will be appreciated by the general reader; but it would have been more helpful, had it aimed at supplementing instead of merely justifying the text of the book.

J. G. R.

We have received the first volume of the *Comedias* of Lope de Vega in the series of *Clasicos Castellanos*, published by 'La Lectura,' Madrid. It contains *El Remedio en la Desdicha* and that admirable historical drama *El mejor Alcalde, el Rey*, edited with an introduction and brief notes by J. Gómez Ocerín and R. M. Tenreiro. Print and paper are excellent and the price (5 pesetas) is almost a miracle of cheapness in these days. It is perhaps unreasonable to complain of the comparatively small quantity of text that these handsome volumes contain. But the speculation as to the number of volumes to which a complete edition of Lope de Vega would run on this scale is almost terrifying. This is however no more than a defect of the qualities of the series, whose volumes are delightfully light to handle and whose pages are a real pleasure to the eye.

H. E. B.

Professor H. Paul was able, before his death in the past winter, to follow up his German Grammar (of which the 'Wortbildungslehre' was reviewed in our June number) by issuing new editions of his two best known works, the *Prinzipien der Sprachgeschichte* and the *Deutsches Wörterbuch*. The 'Principles' now appear in a fifth edition



(Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1920, 42 M.), a witness to the continued popularity of a work which, originally appearing in the eighties, underwent extensive revision in the second edition of 1886 and fourth of 1909, the latter being provided with a useful index. The present edition is practically a replica of the preceding one, but each new perusal serves to show how perennially fresh and stimulating this work remains despite the rather forbidding 'abstract' treatment followed in the first three chapters. In future editions a list of authors, whose views are discussed, would be welcome. The *Deutsches Wörterbuch* (3rd edition, Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1921, 105 M.) has undergone much more considerable revision. Very wisely Paul has consented to the adoption of Roman type which not only enables him to compress into the same space much additional material, but also to differentiate the quotations from the definitions by means of italics. Each column now contains 72 lines as against 68, a gauge of the growth of the dictionary. Paul has managed to embody much from the latest parts of the big German dictionary; for other suggestions he acknowledges his indebtedness to Dr G. Meier (for Austriacisms), A. Götze and H. von Fischer. Under the letter A alone we note the insertion of additional information, especially of full quotations in lieu of references, in the following articles, words included by Paul for the first time being bracketed: [*Abbau*], *abdachen*, *abfinden*, [*abhold*], *abklingen*, [*abkratzen*], [*ablangen*], [*abmachen*], [*abrüsten*], *Abschlag*, [*abschmieren*], *abstimmen*, [*abstrafen*], *abwürdigen*, *Adel*, *Allod* (new reference), *Almanach*, *Altertum*, *anbrüten*, *aneignen*, [*anfahen*], *angewinnen*, *anheimeln*, *anmachen*, *anschnitzen*, *Apfelsine*, *Argwohn*, [*aufschwelgen*], [*Aufsteigen*], *ausbringen*, [*auskehren*]. The dictionary forms a worthy companion to the ninth edition of Kluge's *Etymologisches Wörterbuch*.

W. E. C.

*Deutsche Dramaturgie*, I. Band: Von Lessing bis Hebbel, by Robert Petsch (Hamburg: Paul Hartung, 1921, 26 M.), first appeared in O. Walzel's series *Pandora* (No. 11) in 1912, and has been out of print for some years. Its evident popularity is in the main well-deserved. The objections to this type of text-book, if it falls into the hands of the 'idle prentice,' are too obvious to dwell on. One may also feel that some of the extracts are too short to have much value: three and a half pages, for example, scarcely do justice to Tieck. Again, one may disagree with the editor's choice: why should Novalis be included and Hölderlin's deeper aesthetics be passed over? The latter's remarks on the *Oedipus Tyrannus* are surely more worthy of citation than Immermann's generalities about Greek and modern drama. The new pieces also include some 'Aphorismen' of Platen's and a disquisition on the 'Aufgaben des Dramas in der Gegenwart' by an anonymous contributor to the *Hallische Jahrbücher*. The former tells us 'Alles Stümperhafte ist individuell' and the latter remarks 'Goethe hatte nur Interesse an dem Individuellen'...!

The newly revised and slightly expanded introduction affords the student some corrective guidance. On the whole it remains conservative

and, at times, rather one-sided. Plato, the Stoics, Spinoza and Fichte probably deserve as much mention as Jakob Boehme; Schelling's views are less original than they are here made to appear (cf. E. Cassirer's essay on Hölderlin in *Idee und Gestalt*, Berlin, 1921). As the new edition is now described as vol. I the book might well have begun with Opitz, 'Hebbel und seine Zeit' being kept for vol. II, if necessary. The editor could then have included extracts from Gottsched and J. E. Schlegel and discussed more frankly Lessing's debt to the French. At present he seems to underrate the influence of Du Bos. In his treatment of Schiller's relation to the 'Schicksalsdrama' certain facts appear to be overlooked. The bibliographical notes have, in one case at least, been brought down to the year 1921. The book, which is well printed and tolerably well encased in boards, is likely to be of use to many students of the drama: the second volume will be awaited with interest.

M. M.

In *The Principles of Language-Study* (London: G. Harrap, 1921, 6s.) Mr H. E. Palmer expounds in non-technical language the essential principles of language study, exhaustively discussed by him in his larger work *The Scientific Study and Teaching of Languages*. Despite a certain prolixity the book is characterized by clearness of grasp and moderation of statement. In especial we commend the author's insistence upon the fact that language-learning as an art is a habit-forming process aiming at automatic reproduction and comprehension, his qualified advocacy of translation as a 'short cut' to meaning or as an occasional exercise, his defence of both 'extensive' and 'intensive' reading and finally his rejection of the *exclusive* use of either the direct or the classical method, as both might well be used 'concurrently, but not in one and the same operation' (p. 167). His warning against the use of the foreign language for the purposes of a vehicular language is apposite. Perhaps Mr Palmer's chief merit lies, however, in his organization of the vocabulary into 'ergons' or working-units—words and word-groups ready for use—graded according to relative frequency, and in his elaboration of the methods of 'substitution' and 'conversion' (pp. 176 ff.). The book should be useful to teachers in school and university.

W. E. C.

## NEW PUBLICATIONS.

December, 1921—February, 1922.

### GENERAL.

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- JESPERSEN, O., Language. Its Nature, Development and Origin. London, Allen and Unwin. 18s.
- KAIM, J. R., Der Sinn der Literaturwissenschaft. Munich, Rösl. 15 M.
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- TOUT, T. F., France and England: their Relations in the Middle Ages and now. Manchester, Univ. Press. 7s. 6d.

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- LINDSAY, W. M., and H. J. THOMSON, Ancient Lore in Medieval Latin Glossaries. London, H. Milford. 5s.

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- CARATELLI, L. C., The Popes in the Divina Commedia of Dante. London, Sands. 3s. 6d.
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- DAZZI, M. T., L'Ecerinide di A. Mussato (*Giorn. stor.*, lxxviii, 3).
- DE SANCTIS, F., Manzoni. Studi e lezioni a cura di G. Gentile. Bari, Laterza. L. 12.50.
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- FLORA, F., Dal romanticismo al futurismo. Piacenza, Porta. L. 10.
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- LEVI, E., Poeti lombardi. Milan, Cogliati.
- PIRANESI, G., La vita di Dante e le sue opere. Florence, Bemporad. L. 15.
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- ANGOT, E., Rôles et caractères dans les comédies de Molière. Paris, E. Paul. 5 fr.
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- DIDEROT, D., Entretien entre d'Alembert et Diderot. Le rêve de d'Alembert. Éd. par G. Maire. Paris, Bocard. 12 fr.
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- LANSON, G., Manuel bibliographique de la littérature française moderne. Nouv. éd. Paris, Hachette. 4 tomes. 80 fr.
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- BERGMAN, G., Utvecklingen av samnordiskt *ö* i svenska språket. En dialektgeografisk undersökning. Stockholm, Almquist och Wiksell. 3 kr. 50.
- BURGUN, A., Le développement linguistique en Norvège depuis 1814. II. Christiania, J. Dybwad. 11 kr. 20.
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## THE MIDDLE ENGLISH PROSE PSALTER OF RICHARD ROLLE OF HAMPOLE.

FROM time to time histories of literature or of Biblical translations have appeared containing brief accounts of Rolle's Translation of the Psalter and the Commentary upon it. Not only do these, as might be expected, deal somewhat inadequately with the work, but several of them contain statements which are misleading. According to the *Cambridge History of English Literature* the Commentary is 'devoid of originality and personal touches,' a mere translation of Peter Lombard's commentary<sup>1</sup>. This view is repeated by J. E. Wells in the *Manual of the Writings in Middle English*<sup>2</sup>. The editors of the Wycliffite Bible find that the numerous copies of the work show only 'a few verbal variations' in the preface, and that none of the versions of the Commentary shows 'any sentiments indicative of the Lollard party'<sup>3</sup>.

Two accounts of the work have corrected some of these statements. Miss H. Allen has vindicated Rolle's originality in her monograph *The Authorship of the Prick of Conscience*, and, in the valuable introduction to the 1902 edition of a *Fourteenth Century English Biblical Version*, Miss Paues has refuted some of the statements of Forshall and Madden. A detailed examination of the work from all points of view was, however, outside the scope of these accounts, and there are still a number of problems connected with it which are untouched or have been incompletely dealt with. These can be considered under three headings—the relation of the manuscripts to one another, the sources of Rolle's Translation of the Vulgate, and the purpose and history of the interpolated copies of the work.

### THE MANUSCRIPTS.

Thirty-three manuscripts containing Rolle's English Psalter and Commentary with a Prologue by the author are mentioned by Miss Paues<sup>4</sup>. To this list must be added the copy which has been discovered

<sup>1</sup> See Vol. II, pp. 46–47. This statement is based on the conclusions of H. Middendorff, *Studien über R. Rolle von Hampole*, Magdeburg, 1888.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 401–402.

<sup>3</sup> See Forshall and Madden, *The Wycliffite Versions of the Bible*, Introduction, pp. iv–v.

<sup>4</sup> A *Fourteenth Century English Biblical Version*, Introd., pp. xxxiv, xlv (note 2), and li (note 4).

in the Vatican Library and is described by Karl Christ in an article entitled 'Zu Richard Rolle von Hampole. Eine vatikanische Handschrift des Psalmenkommentars'<sup>1</sup>, and one in Lincoln Cathedral Library (No. 35)<sup>2</sup>.

An examination of most of the MSS. existing in Cambridge, Oxford and in or near London has confirmed Miss Paues' theory that the MSS. fall into two main groups, one in which the Commentary appears in its original form, and one in which it appears with so many additions, alterations and omissions that in some places the work of Rolle has entirely disappeared. It has shown also that several of the MSS. hitherto believed to contain the original Commentary belong to the other group of Psalters and that several subdivisions must be made in this latter group. These facts are demonstrated most clearly by quotations from typical MSS.

Eton College 10 has been chosen to represent the original Commentary, because it is a MS. in which the Northern dialect appears unaltered and the vocabulary retains its Northern character. Passages from different parts of the Psalter are quoted from this MS. and are followed by parallel passages from MSS. showing typical variations:

#### ETON COLLEGE 10<sup>3</sup>.

##### Psalm vii. 1, ff. 10b-11.

*Lorde my god I hoped in þe ⁊ make me safe of all folowande me and deliure me*<sup>4</sup>. A rightwisman preyes þat god deliure hym of þe deuelle and his lymes and says lorde of all thurgh myght. god of all for all thyng has þou made myne with will and lorde I hopede for to safe me<sup>5</sup> fra all gastely wickednes and vices and syns deliure me.

2. *Leswhen he refe als a lyoun my saule ⁊ to whils nane es þat byes. ne þat makes safe.* Þis lyoun es þe deuell þat sekep how he moght wyne man saule. his armes with þe whilke he feghtes ogayn us er syns if crist by noght ne make oure saules safe gifande þe lyfe withouten ende þis lyoun refes þaim till hell.

##### Psalm xvii. 47, f. 27. [Ps. xviii. 43.]

*Þou sal out take me fra þe gayne sayynges of folkes ⁊ þou sal set me. in heued of gyng.* Þat es þou takes me fra þe jewes and settes me kyng of cristen men also when we er lessed fra þe noyes of thoghtes and þe flytting of ill conscience þan god makes us mayster of vices.

<sup>1</sup> See *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, 1917.

<sup>2</sup> My attention was drawn to this by Miss H. Allen. There are, in addition to the MSS. mentioned above, two MSS. containing Wycliffe's translation of the Psalms (Later Version) with versions of Rolle's Prologue to the Psalter: Brit. Mus. Addit. 10,046, and Trin. Coll. Dubl. 1. 10.

<sup>3</sup> In the margin by the side of the first Psalm remarks have been written which are not part of Rolle's original work. At the end of Ps. i. 1 are written the words 'the whiche benemip of al travayle' (f. 2); at the end of v. 3 'and goode trees shal be planted in þe londe of lyf þt neuer shal fayle' (f. 3). These remarks are to be found at the end of vv. 1 and 3, Ps. i in an interpolated Psalter such as Reg. 18. D. 1.

<sup>4</sup> The English rendering of the Vulgate is in italics.

<sup>5</sup> This appears differently in some MSS. MS. Sid. Suss. 89 (an early MS.) has 'i hope in þe noght in me. for thi saue me fro....' MS. Univ. Coll. 64 is very like this.



## Psalm lxiv. 14, f. 77b. [Ps. lxv. 13.]

*Called<sup>1</sup> er wethers of shepe dalles sal habounde with wete ⁊ þai sal crye for ympne þai sal sey.* Weders of godes folke er apostels and haly men þai er clede in ioying of charite þat us behoues be clede in ⁊ if we wille be saufe and dales þat es mek folke sal habunde wiþ whete þat es fruyte of gude dedes and þai sal cry louande and say ympne of lufe and ioi þis sange es songen in þe office of dede men for it spekes of passyng fra þis world til heuen whider holy men in þair ded taken out of body passes with blis receyuand þe stole of saule til þe resurrexioun þat þai be glorifyde in double stole of body and saule.

## Psalm cviii. 29, f. 128b. [Ps. cix. 30.]

*I sal shrife til lorde full mykil in my mouthe ⁊ i mydes of many i sal loue hym.* þat es in comon of cristen men and rightwise es þe fader of heuen loued or in þair hertes whar þe lufe es.

In MS. Bodl. 288—a MS. which has hitherto been placed with those containing the original Commentary—the comments on all these passages appear in a different form.

## BODLEIAN 288.

## Psalm vi. 1, f. 10. [Ps. vii. 1.]

*Lord my god i hopide in þee make me saaf of alle folowyng me ⁊ and delyuere me.* A riȝtwis man priep god to delyuere him fro þe deuel and of hise lymmes ⁊ and seiþ / lord of alle þoru myȝt ⁊ god of alle / for al þing þou made ⁊ for profiȝt of þi louers / wiþ good wille to loue þee ⁊ i hopide in þee / not in myn owne deedis ⁊ ne in failinge riches / make me saaf lord for þi of alle goostli wickidnes and of vices ⁊ and delyuere me of alle þe priuie disseitis of myn enemies.

2. *Leste whanne he reue as a lyoun my soule ⁊ þe whilis noon is to azenbie . ne þat makip saaf.* þis lyoun is þe deuel þat sekip how he may wynne by fals hotyng mennys soulis / his armes wiþ þe whiche he fiȝtþ aȝens us ⁊ ben synnes to which we assenten wilfully þoru his eggyng / if crist kepe us not ⁊ ne make saaf oure soulis ⁊ ȝeuyng us eendeles liif / þis lioun of rauelyn ⁊ raueschip hem to eendeles peyne / mykil ouȝte man to loue crist ⁊ þat mai not wiȝstonde þis enemy . ne be saaf wiþ outen hym / sey for þi ⁊ and wirke þer aftir mekely.

## Psalm xvii. 47, f. 32b. [Ps. xviii. 43.]

*Pou schalt outtake me fro þe azenseiinge of þe folk ⁊ pou schalt sett me in þe heued of folk.* That is god þe fadir takip his sone crist ⁊ fro þe false iewis and fro false cristen men . þat contrarien his lawe / and he settip him king on trewe cristen men ⁊ sekinge hym and fyndyng him and holdinge him / as who seye whanne we ben losid of þe noise of oure þouȝtis of oure flityng conscience ⁊ þanne god makip us maistris of vices.

## Psalm lxiv. 14, f. 118. [Ps. lxv. 13.]

*Cloped ben wepris of scheep, and valeis schulen abunde wiþ wheete ⁊ þei schulen crie for whi ympne þei schulen sei.* Wepris of scheep ben þei ⁊ þat in hiȝ and perfȝt vertuous lyuyng folowen next crist in þe wey of tribulacioun þat he wente / for in feruent charite þei ben clopid ⁊ and couerid fro lustis of þis liif / and as moost plenteous valeis . þei abounde wiþ wheete of good doctryn of cristis lawe ⁊ for þei ceesse not to crie it in þe eeris of folk / for whi þei schulen sei ympne : þat is in þe wey of her pilgrymagyng . moost delitably þei schulen sey þe preisyng of god.

## Psalm cviii. 29. [Ps. cix. 30.]

*I schal schriue to þe lord myche in my moup ⁊ in myddis of manye I schal preisen him.* He þat haþ ben or is in þese myscheuis in bodi and in soule ⁊ schriue to god

<sup>1</sup> Sid. Suss. 89 and Univ. Coll. 64 have 'cled,' translating 'induti.'

and preise him in comounte of cristen men / for in þe herte of riȝtwise men where þe loue is ⁊ þe fadir of heuen regneþ and ruliþ þat soule in þe riȝt wey of hise comaundementis.

The comments on the earlier passages appear in yet a third form in such a manuscript as Laud 286.

## LAUD 286.

## Psalms vii. 1, f. 11.

*Lord my god i haue hoped in the make me saupe of all persuyng me and delyuer me.* A riȝtwis man preyeth god to delyuer him of þo deceytis and the wiccodnes of the deuyl and of his enemyes that bene the deuyls lymms and seiþ lord god I haue hoped in the. not in myn own dedis ne in monnes help ne in þe failyng riches of þe worlde and þerfor lorde make me saue of alle gostly wiccodnes and of vices that my gostly enemy be ouercomen and schamed.

2. *Lest when he rauysches as a lion my soule þe whiles non is to bye azeyn ne þat makes saupe.* Þis lyon is þe deuyl þat seceth how he may wynne bi fals bihetyng monnes soule. his armes wiþ þe whiche he fizeþ azeyns us bene synnes to þe whiche we assenten wilfully þurȝe his desiryng. if crist kepe us not ne make our soules sauþ, ȝifyng us endles lif. þis lion of rauyn rauysches hom to peyne. muchel aȝt mon to loue crist siþ he may not wiþstonde þis cruel enemye ne be sauþ wiþoute him. seiþ þerfore and worcheth þeraftyr mekely askyng mercy.

## Psalms xvii. 47, f. 34.

*Pou schalt delyuer me fro þe azeine seyinge of the puple. þou schalt sette me in the heued of puple.* That is, god þe fadir delyuerd his oon crist fro the azeine seyinge of tho fals iwes ande fro alle cristen men that contrarien his lawe. And ordeyned him as kyng and hede and reuleþ ouer cristen men and wymen that mekely and willefully wolen forsake hur synne ande come to his lawe and be ruled therbye. for if we stonde in grace. criste is our hed and we bene his membris as godes lawe seiþ. for as of membris dyuerse is made a hole bodye summe hauyng one office and summe an oper as hondes to hondel. ene to see ande eres to her and so forth of mony oper membris. so ȝs holye chirche here made one bodye of dyuerse degrees and criste þe hed ther of. and so he is no membre þat groweþ not to this bodye. for alle men that schulen be sauþ bene membris of this bodye. alle þauȝe þei bene sumtyme sore wounded. as seint poule and marie magdalene and mony oper were. and seint petur in tyme of cristus passion hade a sore stroke but he was not cutted alle aweye. for thei that shul be saved. what that euer þei do bene euer more membris growyng to this bodye. for god in his forknowyng at the begynnyng. set hem to this bodye. whos setting may not faile to growe as he haþ ordeyned. alle þoȝe þei be sumtyme letted fro beryng of frute þurȝe his wiccod blastus of weders or defaute of gode gardyners but euer thei haue hur gode growyng of the furst settinge of the wisdom of god. and afturwarde in tyme bring frute forth the more plenteuously. but mony seruen to þe chirche that bene not membris þerof. as kyng saule and judas and mony oper duden for.

MS. Reg. 18. C. 26, which contains only Psalms lxxxix–cxvii, differs from any other MS. I have seen. The comment on Ps. cviii. 29 is given so that it may be compared with that comment in the MSS. already quoted.

## REG. 18. C. 26.

## Psalms cviii. 29, ff. 118b–119.

*I shal knowleche ful moche in my mouþ to þe lord ⁊ and þe myddil of manye i shal preyse him.* Þe hooly lyuyng of crist and his trewe and charitable techyng. whiche is þe moost acceptable sacrifice to þe fadir of heuene ⁊ is knowe in heuene and in erþe / for whilis crist was man lyuyng here in erþe. he was euer moost bysþ for to



knowleche þe heestis of his fader ⁊ preysynge his naam among alle men / and whanne crist wente oute of þis lijf . he comaundide hise apostlis and by hem alle his prestis to þe worldis eende . þat al her bysynesse shuld be for to studye and seche oute þe vertu of his word ⁊ and to lyue so þeraftir þat þurȝ her goode ensauple of hooly lyuyng and trewe techyng and pacient suffryng of alle aduersitees . þe peple in euery degree myȝt take of hem ensauple to loue his heestis and kepe hem / And if for bisye trauel here aboute prestis moun not geet her lyuelode wiþ her hondis . þe lord haþ grauntid to hem necessarye lyuelode of þe peple þat man and wole bere her charge . as crist and his apostlis useden / but forþi þat þer ben many enemys of treupe whiche dedeynen to bere it . enforcyng hem ful bisily to lett it . and to disese hem þat shewen it . herfore bi ensauple of him self . crist ordeynede his prestis forto be pore of alle worldly goodis / so þat if þei weren letted and miȝten not profite þere ne þere ⁊ þei shulden go forþ pens and sechen where and to whom þei miȝten profite / And herfore crist comaundid his apostlis . and bi hem alle his oþer prestis þat weren to come aftir hem ⁊ þat þei shulden go forþ in to alle þe worlde forto preche þe gospel / þat is . prestis of crist owen forto enforce hem ful bysily ⁊ forto seche and knowe where þei moun teche . þe word of god / and pese prestis by goode conseyl and bi oone assent shulden eche sue oþer . and conferme oþir . for þer þurȝ þe treuwe of god is greetly forþerid / and forþi þat þer ben so manye unfeipful folkis . whos hertis ben fast ficchid / and rotid in pride of lijf and in fals coueitise . which aspyen rapen þe truþ to sclaunder it and to lett it . þan to here it mekely and to do þer aftir ⁊ herefor þe techeris of truþe moten be prudent whanne and where and to whom þei speke . and mouable fro place to place / not fleyng aboute fro drede of bodily persecucioun ⁊ but in entente forto profite as long as þei moun and to whom þat þei moun / for to þis eende crist comaundide his apostlis to flyȝe fro citee to citee whanne þei weren pursued . forto sowe his word / for þus dide crist him self . and also seynt poule and alle þe apostlis / But siþ þe prestis of crist wyten not where ne whanne þe lord wole þat þei eende his cours þei owen euer to be redy whanne and where þei ben brouȝt to answere ⁊ forto stonde by þe truþe unmouably / boþe for her owne untellable reward ⁊ whiche anon þei ben to take of crist / and also forto ȝyue goode ensauple to alle oþer of pacience . schewyng þat it is moor ioyfulnesse þan may now be teeld oute ⁊ forto go fro þis wrechchid lijf . to receyue þe heuenly heritage of crist . among þe glorious company of his moost blissid seyntis and of his hooly aungels / And moost glad we shulden be forto haue a trewe cause and to suffre þerfore martirdom . for þer þurȝ is moost sikir passage hennes / and it is þe moost acceptable sacrificie þat any creature may please wiþ þe lord god here in erþe / certis if we han a trewe cause as euery cristen man and womman and specialy eche preest owiþ to haue . and we go þer fro or feyne þer inne for any dreede of bodily deeth . we shewen here inne þat we han no feiþ in þe fadir of heuene ⁊ neiþer loue to ihesu crist . neiþer<sup>1</sup> trust in þe helpe of þe hooly goost / And who þat for ony loue of worldly þing or for drede of any bodily disese forsaken þis heuenly grāce whanne it is profrid . þat is euer whanne it may be had ⁊ þei leesen herfore al heuenly loue . and oblishen hem self to a more feerful eende / for þis þing wite we by wittnessis of byleeue þat no creature may be so redy to suffre for þe loue of crist ⁊ as he is redy to help / and to wyttnesse þis sentence dauip seiþ.

It is now possible to classify the MSS. according to these several types.

Group I. MSS. containing Rolle's own Commentary (like Eton Coll. 10).

Oxford. University College 56, 64<sup>2</sup> (some leaves missing).

Laud 448.

Bodl. 467, 953.

<sup>1</sup> = neither.

<sup>2</sup> This is the MS. on which the only edition of Rolle's Psalter is chiefly based. See H. R. Bramley, *The Psalter... by R. Rolle*, Oxford, 1884.



Oxford. Tanner 1 (some leaves missing).

Hatton 12.

Cambridge. Sid. Suss. Coll. 89 (Δ. 5. 3).

Corp. Chr. Coll. 387.

British Museum. Harl. 1806 (Prologue and beginning of Psalm i are missing).

Arundel 158 (ends with Ps. cxxxv. 22).

Worcester Cathedral Library 158.

Aberdeen Univ. Libr. D<sup>2</sup>. 7. 35. (No Prologue.)

Ripley Castle, Yorks. MS. Ingelby<sup>1</sup>.

The Northern dialect in which the original was written is best preserved in Univ. Coll. 64, Hatton 12 and Eton Coll. 10. MSS. Sid. Suss. 89 and Harl. 1806 show Northern forms side by side with non-Northern. In the rest there are few traces of the original dialect and even the vocabulary has been altered.

Group II. MSS. containing interpolated Commentaries.

(a) MSS. having the same Commentary as Bodl. 288.

Cambridge. Trin. Coll. B. v. 25.

Oxford. Univ. Coll. 74 (Pss. xxii. 4–xli. 3).

Tanner 16 (Pss. i–lxxx. 7).

Brit. Mus. Reg. 18. D. 1 (Pss. i–lxxxix. 13).

Lincoln Cath. Libr. 35.

MS. Laud 321 has notes in the margin, written in a different hand from the rest of the text, beside the first few Psalms. These notes correspond to remarks in the interpolated Commentaries of this subdivision. In Pss. vii–ix interpolations appear in the text itself, but before Ps. vii and after Ps. ix the text of the Commentary contains no interpolations and is like that of MSS. of Group I. The MS. ends with Ps. cviii.

MS. Lambeth 34 contains the same interpolations as Bodl. 288 as far as Ps. lxxxiv. From there to Ps. lxxxviii, with which it ends, it differs from all the other MSS. I have seen.

(b) MSS. agreeing in the earlier Psalms with Laud 286.

Oxford. Merton Coll. 94 (Pss. i–ix. 8, written on 12 leaves found partly at the beginning, and partly at the end of a volume dating from the 15th century).

<sup>1</sup> This MS. was recently sold by Sotheby. It was seen by Miss Allen, who declares that it contains an uninterpolated commentary and is in the Northern dialect. Miss Paues also places among the uninterpolated Psalters MSS. Magd. Coll. (Oxford) 52, Phillipp's 8884 and a manuscript in the Church of St Nicholas, Newcastle, none of which I have been able to examine. The Vatican MS. should probably be placed in this group, since the passages transcribed from it by Karl Christ show no interpolations.

Oxford. Bodl. 877.

Brit. Mus. Reg. 18. B. 21 (Pss. i-viii. 5)<sup>1</sup>.

Laud 286 shows no interpolations after Ps. xvii. 53, where a new handwriting begins. From there to the end it belongs to Group I.

It is curious that Bramley, who used this MS. as the basis of his text where Univ. Coll. 64 lacked leaves, should not have noticed that in the earlier parts it differs from that MS. The writer of the Metrical Preface to Rolle's Psalter<sup>2</sup>, which appears in this MS. alone, seems to have had no inkling of the fact either. He declares that the Psalter which follows (i.e. the version of Laud 286) is the same 'in all degre' that Rolle 'wrote with his hondes,' and rails against the Lollards who altered Rolle's work.

These remarks in the Metrical Preface might lead to the supposition that Laud 286 and MSS. like it contain the original version of the early part of the Commentary rather than the MSS. of Group I, were it not that some of the latter MSS. are older than any of the former and preserve Rolle's dialect and vocabulary more faithfully. Since Laud 286 and MSS. like it have not preserved the original language as faithfully as some of the MSS. of Group I, it is unlikely that they will have preserved the original version of the early part of the book more faithfully. It may be concluded therefore that Laud 286 contains interpolations in Pss. i-xvii. 53. The Prologue also is interpolated.

Beside Laud 286, the only complete MS. of the group is Bodl. 877, which is unlike the MSS. of Group I throughout. In its latter half it is not unlike Bodl. 288. Its relation to that MS. will be discussed in connection with the problem of the number of writers responsible for the interpolated Psalters.

(c) Brit. Mus. Reg. 18. C. 26 (Pss. lxxxix-cxvii)<sup>3</sup>.

An account of the MSS. of Rolle's Psalter would be incomplete without some discussion of the Canticles, which, in most of them, follow Psalm cl without a break. They consist of an English version of certain passages from the Old and New Testament and a Commentary upon

<sup>1</sup> This MS. has a second commentary written in the margin at the beginning of almost every verse in the first two Psalms. It is not found after that. In Psalm i. 1 it runs: 'That man is blessed in dede whiche hath not folowed the councel of theym that lyue withoute any certayn lawe nor accompanied theym which purposly do euell muche lesse hath he bene so farre ouersene that the life of deceauers shulde please him.'

<sup>2</sup> Printed by Bramley, pp. 1, 2.

<sup>3</sup> Miss Paues includes among the MSS. containing an interpolated commentary Philipps 3849 and West Park 26 which I have not been able to examine. I cannot state, therefore, to which subdivision (a, b or c) they belong. Miss Paues mentions separately the MS. in Trinity Coll., Dublin (No. 71), which contains a Psalter based on the interpolated Psalters, but shortened and 'stripped of all controversial matter.'

them. Evidently they were intended to be read with the Psalter, and, on the face of it, there is no doubt that they are by Rolle. Examination of all the MSS. containing them shows, however, that the question of authenticity is not a simple one. The number of Canticles varies in different MSS.; there are two versions of the commentary on some of the Canticles; some are to be found in MSS. which do not contain Rolle's Psalter.

The seven passages printed in Bramley's edition of the Psalter—the Song of Isaiah (Is. xii), the Song of Hezekiah (Is. xxxviii), the Song of Hannah (I Ki. ii in the Vulgate), the first Song of Moses (Exod. xv), the Prayer of Habakkuk (Hab. iii), the second Song of Moses (Deut. xxxii) and the Magnificat—appear in the following MSS.:

Oxford. Laud 286.

Hatton 12.

Eton College 10.

Worcester Cathedral Library 158.

Univ. Coll. (Oxford) 64 and Tanner 1 contain only six; the end of the Song of Moses II, and the whole of the Magnificat are missing in both. Sid. Suss. 89 contains only six, the Song of Hezekiah being omitted.

In a number of MSS. five other Canticles have been added. These are the Te Deum, Benedictus, Nunc dimittis, Benedicite (called in many MSS. Canticum 3<sup>m</sup> puerorum) and the Athanasian Creed. They appear with the first seven in the following MSS.:

Oxford. Laud 448.

Bodl. 288, 877, 953 (one leaf missing from the Athanasian Creed).

Univ. Coll. 56.

New Coll. 320 (no comments; only the English rendering).

Magd. Coll. 52.

Brit. Mus. Harl. 1806.

Cambridge. Trin. Coll. B. v. 25 (Athanasian Creed imperfect).  
Corp. Chr. Coll. 387.

Lincoln Cathedral Library 35 (end of the Athanasian Creed missing).

Aberdeen Coll. Libr. D<sup>2</sup>. 7. 35 contains ten Canticles only, the Prayer of Habakkuk and the second Song of Moses being omitted.

In MS. New Coll. 95 only the last five Canticles appear; Canticles 1-11 appear in Bodl. 554, 11 and 12 in Laud 174, 12 only in Douce 258,



Bodl. 938 and Fairfax 2. None is found in Bodl. 467 which contains however Rolle's complete Psalter.

It is improbable that the last five Canticles and the Commentary on them are by Rolle. The comments have an unmistakable flavour of Lollardry. In the Benedictus, for instance, there is a tirade against the monastic orders:

And oure relegiouse þat seien þat þei suen him (i.e. John the Baptist) gaderen hem in coventis, and lyuen contrarye liif; for in þe stide of innocence þei han chosun flockis; instide of deseert placis þei han chosun citees; instide of greet penaunce aftir þe staat of innocence þei han chosun lustful liif for to feede her flesch. And where þei schulden forsake craftily bildyngis, þei chesun housis and cloistris to huyde þer richessis<sup>1</sup>.

The comments are unlike Rolle's comments in the Psalter in other ways also. In the Benedicite there are long explanations dealing with astrology (see Arnold. pp. 63-64), with the origin of springs and wells (p. 67), and the properties of water in different parts of the earth (pp. 67-68). To Rolle all such matters would have seemed irrelevant.

It may safely be concluded, therefore, that these Canticles were not originally part of Rolle's Psalter.

In Bodl. 288, and 877, and Trin. Coll. B. v. 25, the commentary on the first seven Canticles differs from that found in MSS. containing seven only, and in the majority of those containing twelve. The version in these three MSS. again seems to show the hand of a Lollard. In the Prayer of Habakkuk, the comment on v. 6 has a sentence condemning wicked bishops, which is not found in MSS. such as Sid. Suss. 89 or Eton Coll. 10:

Bishopis mytrid wip two hornys figuren þat þei schulden þoru good ensauple putte þe folk fro viciis to virtues, but now þoru pride and covetise þei ben principal ensaampleris of turnynge fro virtues til viciis<sup>2</sup>.

In the Song of Isaiah there are several references to confession which show the Lollard feeling that mere confession to a priest, without change of heart, is of no avail (vv. 1, 4).

This differing version of the first seven Canticles is unlikely to be by Rolle, and is possibly the work of the man who wrote the last five. These last five Canticles appear alone in one MS. (New College 95), and the fact that almost everything else in the MS. is the work of Wycliffe lends some probability to the belief expressed by Bale and others<sup>3</sup>, that

<sup>1</sup> From Bodl. 288. The Canticles as found in that MS. are printed by Arnold in Vol. III. pp. 5 ff. of the *Select Works of Wyclif*.

<sup>2</sup> From Bodl. 288.

<sup>3</sup> See Bale, *Scriptorum Illustrum maioris Britanniae...Catalogus*, p. 452; H. Wanley, *Catalogue of the Harleian MSS.*, No. 1806. He however ascribes the whole of MS. 1806, including the uninterpolated Psalter, to Wycliffe. See W. W. Shirley, *Catalogue of the Original Works of John Wyclif*, Oxford, 1865, pp. 36 ff.

they are by Wycliffe himself. It is not possible to make a more definite statement on this point than Arnold's, that they are 'by Wyclif himself, or by his school' (p. 4)<sup>1</sup>.

It remains to consider whether the earliest version of the first seven Canticles—that found in Eton Coll. 10, for instance—may be attributed to Rolle.

It has already been stated that in all the MSS. in which they are found they follow the Psalter without a break, so that if they are an addition, they must have been an early one. Rolle was apparently accustomed to think of the Canticles in connection with the Psalter, for he includes the six from the Old Testament (i.e. all those in his English Psalter except the Magnificat) in his Latin Psalter also. The dialect of the Canticles in the earliest MSS. is Northern and like that of the Psalter. The vocabulary is like that of the Psalter, and phrases are used which correspond exactly with those in the Psalter. In the Song of Moses II. 16, the comment runs 'goed men despisyis this life & hastis til heuen,' the last part of which has an exact parallel in the comments on Pss. cxxxvii. 6 and cxviii. 7. In the Song of Hezekiah, v. 13, there is the remark 'for na fayre louynge is in mouth of synful man' corresponding almost word for word to part of the comment on Psalm xxii. 1, 'for there is no faire louynge in a synful mouth.'

Most significant of all are the similarities between the comments on the six Old Testament Canticles and Rolle's Latin Commentary on them. In the Song of Isaiah, v. 2, for instance, the English comment runs:

All men behaldis . lo god ihū crist is my saueoure, clensand me of syn . and delyuerand me of tourment . now he me safes...traystfully i sall wirke . that is, i sall baldly say . that he sall cum to deme and zelde til ilke man eftire his dede....

The Latin comment on the same verse is :

[Ecce deus]<sup>2</sup> Iesus Christus vos omnes ad hoc intendite [saluator meus] mundans me a peccato, & liberans a tormento, nunc enim saluat...[fiducialiter agam] intrepide dicam eum venturum ad iudicium, & redditurum unicuique secundum opus suum.

In the Song of Moses II, v. 53, the English comment is :

He sall se . that is, he sall make to be sene . that all that ill men dos is noght suffyssaunt till thaire saluacioun . and the klosid in pouste of the deuyl . faylid for pynys . and all the other left and forsakyn of god is distroyd in endles ded.

<sup>1</sup> The question whether they were the work of any of the writers responsible for the Lollard interpolations in the Psalter itself cannot be answered with any certainty. They appear in MSS. containing the original Psalter as well as in those containing interpolated Psalters. Sometimes they treat of the same subjects as the comments in the latter, but there are no passages which agree very closely, nor is the phraseology strikingly similar.

<sup>2</sup> The words of the Vulgate are enclosed in square brackets in the Cologne edition (1536) of Rolle's Latin Psalter.

The Latin is :

[Videbit] id est, videri faciet [quod infirma sit manus] id est, insufficiens sit reproborum operatio ad salutem obtinendam [clausi quoque] scilicet impii in dæmonum potestate [defecerunt] id est . contabuerunt in tormentis [residuique] id est, omnes relictī a deo [consumpti sunt] morte æterna.

There are many other passages which agree quite as closely as these in the two Commentaries.

These similarities, with the other indications, prove that Rolle was the author of the English rendering of the six Old Testament Canticles and the Commentary on them. It is less easy to make any definite statement with regard to the version of the Magnificat, since the Latin Commentary does not include it. Two of the MSS. of the English Psalter (Tanner I and Univ. Coll. 64) do not include the English version of it, and in several of the MSS. containing twelve Canticles it is separated from the six Old Testament Canticles and appears tenth (Univ. Coll. 56, Bodl. 953) or twelfth (Corp. Chr. Coll. 387, Laud 448).

It is, however, found in Eton Coll. 10, Hatton 12, and Sid. Suss. 89, which are among the oldest MSS. of Rolle's Psalter, and there are two versions of it as of the six Old Testament Canticles, a shorter one (as in Eton Coll. 10), and a slightly longer one (as in Bodl. 288). There is no reason for separating the latter from the revised (Lollard) versions of the six Old Testament Canticles and it is likely therefore that the writer who made them, revised the Magnificat at the same time and found the original of them all in the same MS.—a MS. of Rolle's Psalter. Perhaps the phrase 'pryuelege of brennand luf,' which occurs in v. 2, is characteristic enough to prove Rolle the author of the shorter version of the Magnificat even in the face of the existing difficulties.

DOROTHY EVERETT.

OXFORD.



## SOME NEW FACTS ABOUT SHIRLEY.

### I.

THE author of a recent exhaustive biography is authority for the statement that 'our certain knowledge of the private life of Shirley is limited, except for an occasional allusion in his dedications, to the contents of five documents: the record of the christening of "James the sonne of James Sharlie" and other entries referring to their family, in the register of St Mary Woolchurch; the probation register of Merchant Taylors' School; the record of the christening of "Mathias, sonne of Mr James Shurley, gentleman" at St Giles without Cripplegate; Shirley's will...; and, finally, the passage in the burial register of St Giles in the Fields for October 29, 1666<sup>1</sup>.' It is the purpose of the present paper to record entries from four other documents, which fortunately shed light on one of the more obscure periods of his life. As Nason says, Shirley's life from the time he left 'Merchant Taylors' School in 1612 to the beginning of his dramatic career in 1625, is a subject of which we know with certainty almost nothing—unless we accept as certain the unsupported statements of Anthony à Wood, a generation subsequent to Shirley's death<sup>2</sup>.' It may be noted in anticipation that in one case at least the documents here cited confirm Wood's statement.

The passage in Anthony à Wood is brief but explicit:

Soon after entering into holy Orders, he became a Minister of God's word in, or near to, S. Albans in Hertfordshire. But being then unsettled in his mind, he changed His Religion for that of Rome, left his Living, and taught a Grammar School in the said Town of S. Alban; which employment also he finding uneasie to him, he retired to the Metropolis, lived in Greys inn, and set up for a play-maker<sup>3</sup>.

Upon this passage Nason's comment indicates scepticism. He says: 'Of the accuracy of this statement, we cannot judge. Concerning his ministry, we have only what Dyce and other scholars have been pleased to discover in his dramatic works; and concerning his term as pedagogue, we have merely the more or less unauthenticated statements contained in various histories of Hertfordshire.' It is only fair to say

<sup>1</sup> A. H. Nason, *James Shirley, Dramatist: A Biographical and Critical Study*, New York, 1915, pp. 385-6.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 385.

<sup>3</sup> Wood, *Athenae Oxoniensis*, 1817, III, p. 737; quoted Nason, pp. 31-32.

that he is right in hesitating to accept seemingly unsupported statements such as Wood's; and yet reason is not wholly wanting for placing some credit in the passage. It is to be remembered that on his own statement Wood had been informed of Shirley's birthplace by Shirley's son, 'the Butler of Furnival's inn, in Holbourn, near London', and it would have been strange if he had not taken occasion to obtain other information from the same source. We may wish for further evidence on some of the points, but, at all events, since in one particular Wood's statement now finds confirmation, the rest should not be too hastily dismissed.

One of the histories of Hertfordshire mentioned by Nason is no less an authority than the *Victoria County History*. Leach, writing in one of the volumes on Hertfordshire, says: 'In January, 1621, another distinguished author illuminated the head mastership of St Albans. This was James Shirley.... At St Albans the reign of Shirley, or Sherley as he was called, was signalized by a large expenditure on school building, the roof being renewed with no less than 624 lb. of lead, and by the entry in the account books, not merely of the number but of the names of the boys who paid entrance fees. Eight names were entered in 1622-3 in a most excellent copperplate hand. On 1 July, 1624, Shirley left St Albans, having become a Romanist.... At St Albans Shirley was followed in January, 1625, by John Westerman of Trinity College, Cambridge...<sup>1</sup>'

The facts which concern Shirley as master of St Albans are chiefly derived by Leach from the Corporation records and the school account book, and, except in one instance, are accurate. At the Town Clerk's Office, St Albans, the Court Minute Books have been preserved. Volumes exist for 1612-13, 1619-20, 1628, 1647, etc. Unfortunately the records for the period of Shirley's tenure seem to be temporarily mislaid. At all events, the Town Clerk was unable to locate them when I endeavoured to see them. However, extracts (more or less condensed) have been printed<sup>2</sup>. From these certain pertinent entries may be quoted:

<sup>1</sup> *V.C.H., Herts.* II, p. 63.

<sup>2</sup> In A. E. Gibbs, *Historical Records of St Albans*, St Albans, 1888, and A. E. Gibbs, *Corporation Records of St Albans*, St Albans, 1890. In the latter he says: 'As it would be quite impossible to print the whole of the contents of these books [Court Minute Books], I propose giving a short record of the principal business done at the Courts... Except in a few cases I have not given verbatim extracts, most of the entries being condensed as much as possible to avoid unnecessary verbiage and to save space' (p. 13). He also adds: 'Some unbound bundles of minutes have also been very helpful to me. These date from 1619 to 1721, but they are not continuous.' For additional information on the records of St Albans see H. T. Riley, 'The Manuscripts of the Corporation of St Alban's,' *Hist. MSS. Comm.*, 5th Report, Pt. I, pp. 565-8, and W. H. Black, 'On the Town Records of St Alban's,' *Journ. Brit. Archaeol. Assoc.* XXVI (1870), pp. 143-9.



1618.

*Court held November 2nd.*—The Mastership of the Free School was promised to James Sherley, of St Albans, Bachelor of Arts, after the death, relinquishing or departure of Thomas Gibson, gentleman, then schoolmaster<sup>1</sup>.

1626.

*Court held July 5th.*—Mr John Westerman, schoolmaster of the Free School, resigned his office. Mr John Harmer, Master of Arts, was chosen in his stead, all the rights and privileges being given him which belonged to Mr Thomas Gibson, Mr James Sherley, Mr John Westerman, or any other Master of the School<sup>2</sup>.

*Court held August 4th.*—John Harmer took his oath as Master of the Free School. A Constitution was made forbidding the buying and selling the Mastership of the School, negligent and unworthy persons having attained the said place by this means. Complaint was made that more worthy men had thus been hindered from becoming Masters, and the good education of the scholars much prejudiced. All future Masters were to take an oath not to sell their Mastership, a copy of which oath is entered in the Minute Book<sup>3</sup>.

It would be easy to speculate upon the passage just quoted. Leach, who cites from this part of the record, says, 'Who was aimed at by this retrospective rebuke does not appear, but probably Shirley and Westerman<sup>4</sup>.' At the same time it may have been Steed, whose tenure only lasted about a year.

Gibbs, in *Historical Records of St Albans*, says: 'A board hangs in one of the schoolrooms on which are painted the names of the Headmasters, with the years of their election from the time of Queen Elizabeth till 1845' (p. 34). He then lists among others Thomas Gibson 1603, Thomas Steed 1620, James Sherley 1623, John Westerman 1625, John Harmar 1626, etc., but, as he observes, the list is incomplete and inaccurate.

Further records which have not previously been published, are contained in a volume preserved along with the Corporation records at the Town Clerk's Office and bearing the title 'Book of Accounts belonging to the Free Grammar School in the Borough of St Albans.' The period covered by these accounts extends from 1587 to 1782. The extracts which are here printed include only those which throw light on the period of Shirley's mastership<sup>5</sup>.

The acompt of Robert Skelton & Robertt Gillmett, governeres of the free scholre of St Albones for the year 1619.

Payd Mr Gibsone ffor one yeares stipent endyng at Michellmas 1619

xxiiij<sup>li</sup> 13<sup>s</sup> 4<sup>d</sup>  
viiij<sup>li</sup>

Payd to Mr Gibson ffor the vsheres stipent

<sup>1</sup> Gibbs, *Corp. Rec.* p. 64.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 68. For the period between these two entries Gibbs cites from the records for all the intervening years, but his notes contain no reference to the schoolmaster. They concern for the most part simply the annual election of the mayor.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 68.

<sup>4</sup> *V.C.H., Herts.* ii, p. 63.

<sup>5</sup> They are not printed in F. Wilcox, 'The accounts of St Albans Grammar School,' *Middlesex and Hertf. Notes and Queries*, i, pp. 11-15, 39-42, 138-142, ii, pp. 40-43, and *Home Counties Mag.* vi, pp. 52-54.



The Accompt...beginning at the feast of all S<sup>ts</sup> 1619 & ending at the sam feest 1620.

It : payd to M<sup>r</sup> Stede & M<sup>r</sup> Carr for there wages the som of xxxij<sup>li</sup> xij<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup>

Thaccompt...beginninge at the feest of all Saintes 1620 & ending at the sam feast 1621.

It : payd M<sup>r</sup> Steed & the vsber in January 1620<sup>1</sup> for there wages for on quarter of a yere ended at cristmas last vij<sup>li</sup> iij<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup>

Payd to M<sup>r</sup> Sherly & his vsber for there wages for iij quarters of a yeere ended at michallmas last xxiiij<sup>li</sup> x<sup>s</sup>

The accompt...begining at the feast of All Saintes Anno Domini—1621 & ending at the same feast in Anno dni 1622.

[No entries : rest of page blank.]

The Accompt...begining at the feast of All Saintes Anno Dni 1622 & ending at the same feast in Anno 1623.

Inprimis paid to M<sup>r</sup> James Sherley Schoolem<sup>r</sup> for Christmas quarter vij<sup>li</sup> iij<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup>

Itm more paid to him for midsomer quarter vij<sup>li</sup> xij<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup>

Item more paid vnto M<sup>r</sup> James Sherley Schoolem<sup>r</sup> of the ffree schoole & vnto his Vsher for one other halfe yere xvj<sup>li</sup> vj<sup>s</sup> viij<sup>d</sup>

[No account for the year 1623–4 ; blank page reserved for it.]

The Accompt...for twoe whole yeares begininge att the feaste of all S<sup>ts</sup> A<sup>o</sup> Dni 1624 and endinge att the same feaste 1626.

Inpr paid to m<sup>r</sup> John Westerman schoolem<sup>r</sup> of the free schoole for one quarter of a yeares stipend ended att thannuncyacon 1625 vij<sup>li</sup> iij<sup>s</sup> iiij<sup>d</sup>

The first three entries in the above accounts are quoted because of their bearing upon the record of November 2, 1618, in the Corporation Minutes. Although this record says Shirley was promised the master-ship 'after the death, relinquishing or departure of Thomas Gibson, gentleman, then schoolmaster,' it is clear that Shirley did not immediately succeed Gibson. The latter was master only until September 29, 1619; and apparently from then for a year and a quarter, till Christmas 1620, a certain Stede or Steed held the position. Shirley succeeded Steed at the beginning of the next quarter, January 1621. The length of the future dramatist's stay is in some doubt. The last payment to him, it will be noticed, is for the period ending September 19, 1623. But as there is no account for the year 1623–4 and as the next record of a payment to the master is for the term beginning January 1625 (to John Westerman) Shirley's occupancy may have terminated at any time between September 1623 and January 1625. Leach, as quoted above, says Shirley left July 1, 1624, but I am not sure of his evidence. The board with the masters' names painted on it gives 1625 as the date of Westerman's appointment. The date beside Shirley's name on the board, however, is demonstrably wrong and the

<sup>1</sup> 1621, New Style.

list cannot be trusted. By February 26, 1625, the future dramatist was apparently settled in London, for on that date his eldest son Mathias was christened in the parish church of St Giles without Cripplegate.

Certain slight irregularities in the amounts which Shirley received are to be noted. The normal rate of wages for the schoolmaster at this time was £6. 3s. 4d. per quarter (four quarters per year); and for the usher £2 per quarter. Consequently when the sums recorded under a given year do not correspond to these figures or multiples of them, there is a presumption of error. Thus in 1622-3 Shirley is paid £7. 3s. 4d. on one occasion when we should expect £6. 3s. 4d. and on the second payment of the same year was given £7. 13s. 4d. (instead of 3s.). Possibly Shirley received more than the other masters, but the next entry for him and his usher is £16. 6s. 8d. which represents £4 for the usher and £12. 6s. 8d. for Shirley for a half year or payments at the regular rate of £6. 3s. 4d. per quarter. Moreover the subsequent masters all received £6. 3s. 4d. per quarter. Possibly an error was made in copying these accounts into the account book or, since no usher is mentioned in these two payments, perhaps Shirley was without one at this time and was paid extra because of that fact. The point is of no great importance.

It is interesting to note that Shirley's income was not limited to the amount paid him by the Corporation. At the end of the account book are found the 'Orders concerning the free Grammar School of the Burrough of St Albans devised by the Right Hon<sup>orable</sup> S<sup>r</sup> Nicholas Bacon Kn<sup>t</sup> Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England the xvij<sup>th</sup> of May 1570' together with certain later amendments, one of which reads:

The 13<sup>th</sup> of June 1602 it was decreed & constituted by the Maior of this Burrough & the more part of y<sup>e</sup> principall Burgesses assembled at a Court holden by them the day & year above written that M<sup>r</sup> Thomas Gibson y<sup>e</sup> p<sup>re</sup>sent Schoolmaster of the free School of St Albans as also every one of his Successo<sup>rs</sup> Masters of y<sup>e</sup> said School shall receive & have for every Schollar in the free School w<sup>ch</sup> shall be under the said Master & Masters for the time being & shall be taught by him & them, So as the Schollars be the Children of such as dwell & inhabite w<sup>th</sup>in y<sup>e</sup> Limits of this Burrough ffour pence Quarterly to be brought to the Master by every such Schollar or paid by his Parents or friends at the end of every Quarter. Also the s<sup>d</sup> Schoolmaster & his Successo<sup>rs</sup> for the time being shall receive & have of every such Schollar under them & taught by them, being the children of such as dwell and inhabite w<sup>th</sup>out this Burrough Twelve pence Quarterly to be paid as aforesaid. [The usher receives the same extra payments.]

One other short quotation from these orders will give some notion of the master's duties. It is apparently one of the original orders drawn up by Sir Nicholas Bacon in 1570, but there is nothing to indicate that it was not still in force in Shirley's day.

Item the Schoolmaster shall daily every Learning-day from the ffive & Twentieth day of March unto y<sup>e</sup> Last day of September be at the School by the Stroke of Six



of the Clock in the Morning, & every Learning-day from the Last day of September unto the ffive and Twentieth day of March by the Stroke of Seaven of the Clock in the Morning & there shall continue in teaching untill Eleaven of the Clock; and shall be at the School again by One of the Clock in the After-Noon & shall abid there untill ffive of the Clock in teaching.

## II.

From the evidence here produced it is apparent that Shirley's tenure of the St Albans Grammar School did not begin until January 1621. Yet as early as November 1618 the mastership was promised him. Was he already living in St Albans? From the following evidence it seems not unlikely. In the parish register of St Albans Abbey under date of December 27, 1619, is recorded the baptism of 'Marie doughter of Mr James Shurley by Elizabeth his wife'.<sup>1</sup> This daughter (by his first wife) is doubtless 'my Daughter Mary' to whom he left in his will two hundred pounds and a silver tankard<sup>2</sup>. Some two years later, May 15, 1622, the birth of a second daughter is recorded: 'Grace the doughter of Mr James Shurley by Elizabeth his wyfe'.<sup>3</sup> But the same year she died, for in the list of 'suche as have ben buried in the parish church of St Albanes & St Peters,' under date of December 20, 1622, occurs the entry: 'Grace daughter of Mr James Shurley'.<sup>4</sup> Since the other known children of the dramatist were born later, as we know by evidence and inference, those mentioned here are doubtless his eldest.

## III.

Still other evidence, though slight, would seem to connect Shirley with St Albans, this time with the church. In a calendar of St Albans records compiled by Mr H. R. W. Hall<sup>5</sup>, No. 251 is a mandate of January 16, 1623-4, requiring the clergy of the archdeaconry to elect Proctors in Convocation to meet in St Paul's Cathedral the following month. Accordingly on February 5 twenty-five were elected representing various parishes. However only ten ultimately attended and recorded their votes, three of whose names do not occur in the list of twenty-five. Of these three one is the name of 'James Sherley.' No parish is assigned to him. How his name happens to be here is not clear.

<sup>1</sup> *The Parish Registers of St Albans Abbey, 1558-1689*, transcribed by Wm. Brigg, Harpenden, 1897 (suppl. to *The Herts. Genealogist and Antiquary*), p. 54. 'This Register, supposed to have been burnt in a Fire, which destroyed the St Albans Rectory, A.D. MDCCCLIII, was in MDCCCLXXX discovered by Mr Craggs in a hay loft attached to his house in St Albans, the property of Mr J. Kent, great-grandson of the Mr John Kent who died in MDCCXVIII, having been for more than half a century clerk to the Abbey...' (Quoted by Brigg, in his preface, from a sheet of paper pasted inside the present binding.)

<sup>2</sup> Printed for the first time by Nason, pp. 158-160.

<sup>3</sup> Register, as cited, p. 57.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* p. 209.

<sup>5</sup> H. R. W. Hall, *Records of the Old Archdeaconry of St Albans. A Calendar of Papers A.D. 1575 to A.D. 1637*, St Albans, 1908.



It is not unlikely that a search of the records of St Albans described by Mr Hall would shed light on the question, and would very likely yield even other data about the poet. We do not yet know all there is to be known and all that we probably shall some day know about the period of Shirley's life which he spent at St Albans. But I must leave the further investigation of it regretfully to those on the spot. What the document here pointed out tells us is that Shirley was still in St Albans in February 1624 and, whether or not he was still serving as schoolmaster, was somehow connected with the church.

## IV.

Finally, one other question can now be answered: the question whether Shirley received a degree from Oxford or Cambridge. Nason, after summarizing previous opinion on the subject, says 'the question whether Shirley actually received even a baccalaureate degree cannot with certainty be answered' and 'until more certain evidence appears, we shall do well to avoid saying that Shirley did or did not receive degrees in arts.' It will be noted, however, that in the passage cited above from the Corporation Minutes for 1618 he is specifically styled 'Bachelor of Arts.' And through the kindness of Professor Moore Smith I am able to add more specific evidence. While the present paper was in his hands he called my attention to an entry in the recent *Book of Matriculations and Degrees...in the University of Cambridge*. This entry duly records Shirley's matriculation as a pensioner in St Catharine's College in the Easter term of 1615 and his graduation as Bachelor of Arts in 1617<sup>1</sup>. The statement in Bancroft's epigram<sup>2</sup>, 'James, thou and I did spend some precious yeeres At Katherine-Hall,' has a special point when we notice that Bancroft's matriculation in St Catharine's is recorded in the year 1613<sup>3</sup>. Professor Smith adds that perhaps Shirley was prevented from staying three more years for his M.A. by the death of his father, whose burial is recorded June 2, 1617, at St Mary Woolchurch.

Thus from the evidence that has now been assembled the following facts, considered in their chronological sequence, arise: Shirley graduated Bachelor of Arts from Cambridge in 1617; he was promised the mastership of the St Albans Grammar School in 1618; a daughter Mary (probably his first child) was baptised at St Albans, December

<sup>1</sup> John and J. A. Venn, *The Book of Matriculations and Degrees...in the University of Cambridge from 1544 to 1659*, Cambridge, 1913, p. 605.

<sup>2</sup> *Two Bookes of Epigrammes and Epitaphs...* By Thomas Bancroft. London, 1639, Book I, 13th epigram, 'To Iame[s] Shirley.'

<sup>3</sup> Venn, *op. cit.* p. 36.

1619 ; his first wife's name, as we learn from this record, was Elizabeth ; in January 1621 he became master of the school, and was certainly such until September 1623, possibly somewhat later ; in May 1622 a second daughter was born ; she died in December of the same year ; and finally, in 1624 he voted as one of the Proctors representing St Albans in Convocation at St Paul's Cathedral, a fact which indicates some connexion with the church. This is the last occasion on which we hear of him before he came up to London later in the same year or early in 1625.

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## THE PRACTICAL SIDE OF A PRÉCIEUSE.

THE *Modern Language Review* has already printed a series of letters from Madame de La Fayette to Ménage in which she refers to her reading of *Clélie*<sup>1</sup>. It is natural for a *précieuse* to be interested in such reading, but it does not follow that the occupation took any larger proportion of her time than does the light reading of a modern woman. The idea that a *précieuse* was always of the type portrayed by Molière is one that no amount of patient research work seems to be able to dispel. Madame de La Fayette was represented for more than a century as a weakling who spent her time in writing novels or in lying on a couch pitying herself. The famous 'C'est assez que d'être' has been quoted to satiety.

Then a seeker after truth discovered an entire correspondence of a political nature, the existence of which had been ignored, and he dared to say that it was the work of the author of the *Princesse de Clèves*<sup>2</sup>.

The critics naturally questioned the authenticity of these documents, particularly as the discoverer was a foreigner, but finally they admitted they were genuine<sup>3</sup>. Then away they all went to the other extreme<sup>4</sup>. Madame de La Fayette was cold, cunning, heartless. At the time of La Rochefoucauld's death, when everyone had decided for her that she was prostrated with grief, the little hussy was writing political letters to the secretary of Madame de Savoie. The critics seemed to resent not so much the lack of respect for the memory of the dear departed as the fact that the lady had dared to deceive them. When the literary historians have made a writer's portrait, touched it up and varnished it, hung it in its proper place in the national gallery, they are always wroth when they discover that the work has to be done all over again. The revised portrait generally suffers from their wrath—as though it were the poor victim's fault—and goes to the extreme of caricature. The truth, as usual, lies midway—a portrait with wrinkles—but a portrait nevertheless.

We have not yet come to any just appreciation of the *précieuses*

<sup>1</sup> Vol. xv, No. 2, April 1920, pp. 152-162.

<sup>2</sup> Perrero, A. D., *Lettere inedite di madama di La Fayette e sue relazioni con la corte di Torino. Curiosità e ricerche di storia subalpina*, No. xv, Turin, 1880.

<sup>3</sup> Hemon, Félix, *Revue politique et littéraire*, 5 avril, 3 mai, 1879, 2 octobre, 1880.

<sup>4</sup> Barine, Arvède, *Revue des deux mondes*, 15 septembre, 1880. Compare the last article of Hemon mentioned above.



because we persist in seeing them through Molière's spectacles. It will be shown elsewhere that the *précieuse* of the type represented by Madame de La Fayette did not spend much of her time in the reading of ephemeral literature and still less in discussing it in conversation or in writing to her friends about it. Yet surely Madame de La Fayette is fairly typical. She frequented the Hôtel de Rambouillet, was on very friendly terms with the daughters of the hostess, with Montausier, with the habitués, with the first members of the French Academy. She was a blue-stockings, for she knew Latin—not so much as she is generally given credit for—and Italian, corresponded with Huet and Ménage—she even wrote books. In spite of all this, her correspondence with a pedant shows her to be a very practical business woman, a good mother, a good friend and a head of a family who dwarfed her husband into insignificance, undertaking and bringing to a successful conclusion most of the work that should have been his alone.

The following letters have been chosen with a view to illustrating the practical side of her character. No one can read them and still continue of the opinion that she was weak and clinging and that most of her time was given to literary dilettantism and pseudo-psychological discussions.

*ce 26<sup>me</sup> decembre [1656].*

Je ne scauois point ce que vous m'aués mandé de la disposition qu'auoit faitte mon beau Pere<sup>1</sup> en cas qu'il fust mort il ne men a rien escrit et ie ne luy feray point semblant den rien scauoir parce quil croiroit peut estre si ie luy en parlois que ce seroit une maniere de plainte de ce quil auroit changé les sentiments quil m'auoit toujours temoignes de ne vouloir pas quil sortit de nostre maison la moindre partie de ce quil auroit eu de Ma Mere et ie ne me soucie en facon du monde quil en use autrement quand il moura le bien quil m'en reuiendra sera assés considerable pour me consoler de la perte des meubles nallés pas luy dire cecy ny a personne ie vous en prie comme vous ne me mandés rien de M<sup>e</sup> de Vitry<sup>2</sup> ie la croy hors de peril et ce que vous me mandes de la remise du mariage du Prince Eugene<sup>3</sup> me feroit croire ce mariage en grand peril de ne ce pas faire pour moy ie commence un peu a donner dans le sentiment du peuple qui croit il y a longtemps que lon veut faire

<sup>1</sup> Renaud de Sévigné. For the will see Lemoine and Saulnier, *Correspond. du Chev. de Sévigné*, p. 293.

<sup>2</sup> Marie-Louise-Elizabeth-Aimée Pot married (1646) François-Marie de l'Hôpital, duc de Vitry.

<sup>3</sup> Eugène-Maurice de Savoie, comte de Soissons, married Mazarin's niece, Olympe Mancini, February 20, 1657.

M<sup>le</sup> Manchini<sup>1</sup> nostre Reine quand M<sup>e</sup> de Seuigné<sup>2</sup> sera ariuee mandés moy comment vous serés ensemble et si le feu ne se remettra point a vostre amitie ie suis toujours persuadee que cela nest pas difficile et que vous luy pouriés dire Ardo si ma non t'amo adieu nostre cher amy conserués moy toujours le rang de vostre premiere amie ie vous en conjure.

ie vous rends graces de l'intention que vous auies de menuoier le livre de M<sup>r</sup> Costar<sup>3</sup> et vous prie de remercier pour moy M<sup>r</sup> Costar de ce quil vous a prie de me lenuoier.

ce 2<sup>me</sup> janvier [1657].

Il ny a plus de desordre a vos lettres et ie les reçois deux fois la sepmaine a point nommé pour moy ie vous escriis tous les huit jours sans y manquer prenés vous en a la poste quand vous ne receurés pas mes lettres ien ay eu aujourduy de M<sup>e</sup> de Seuigne<sup>4</sup> dattées de Paris et elle me mande aussi bien que vous quelle y est ariuee en bonne santé lon se porte toujours bien quand on arriue a Paris ie vous rends graces d'auoir parlé de mon affaire a M<sup>r</sup> Paluau<sup>5</sup> cette affaire nous importe tout a fait et l'hiuer quy vient ie vous donneray bien de locupation a la venir solliciter avec moy ie ne scay comment jay toujours oublié a vous parler du petit dixain<sup>6</sup> car il ma tout a fait pleu et ie lay trouué fort heureusement acheue jay releu avec soin vos poesies italiennes et jay leu en mesme temps l'oiseleuse<sup>7</sup> que vous m'auies enuoyée escrite a la main pour y remarquer les changements que vous y auiés faits ie suis bien honteuse que cette piece la soit si belle sans que ie vous aye aidé.

16<sup>me</sup> janvier [1657].

.....Je suis fort aise de la bonne mine que vous aués receu de M. le C.<sup>8</sup> et i'auray encore plus de ioye si cela vous produit quelque chose de solide car pour les belles paroles de ces M<sup>rs</sup> la c'est une viande si creuse que l'on ne s'en contente guere.....

13<sup>me</sup> janvier [1657].

.....Il m'a bien paru par la responce que mon beau père<sup>9</sup> ma faite qu'il auoit trouué une de mes lettres un peu seches mais neamoin il

<sup>1</sup> Olympe Mancini attracted Louis XIV, but it was Marie Mancini who nearly became queen. See Mme de La Fayette, *Henriette d'Angleterre*, and Perey, *Le Roman du Grand Roi*.

<sup>2</sup> Madame de Sévigné was at the Rochers at the end of 1656.

<sup>3</sup> *L'apologie de M. Costar* ? (1656).

<sup>4</sup> Back from Brittany.

<sup>5</sup> Palluau, conseiller de la grand'chambre. It was he who questioned la Brinvilliers. See Sévigné, *Lettres*, iv, pp. 410, 411.

<sup>6</sup> Published in the Additions to the *Poemata*, 1656.

<sup>7</sup> Corrected in another hand: 'oiseleur.' The reference may be to a revised version of *La bella uccellatrice* that appeared in the *Rime Italiane*, 1656, though it is more probable that the MS. of *L'oiseleur*, mentioned by Mme de La Fayette later in 1657, was already in her hands.

<sup>8</sup> Mazarin.

<sup>9</sup> Renaud de Sévigné married the widow of Marc-Pioche de la Vergne.

m'a fait responce le plus obligeamment du monde en me tesmoignant fort bonnement qu'il n'auoit eu nulle intention de me fascher ie ne pense pas que nous prenions sa maison<sup>1</sup> premierement parcequ'elle n'est point du tout logeable et secondement a cause du cartier qui est fort esloigné de tous les lieux ou les plaideuses ont affaire.....

*ce 5<sup>me</sup> juin [1657].*

Nous suivrons le sentiment de nostre aduocat du Parlement et celuy de laduocat que vous nous aués adressé au Priué conseil ie suis si en colere contre les gens d'affaire et contre les Proces que ie ne scay ou men mettre charbonnier nest pas a couuert de ma colere car il est bien cause quelques fois de mille fautes quy se font dans nos affaires et que lon a bien de la peine a reparer ie vous ay desja escrit une fois aujourduy en faueur de Mr de Gatelier<sup>2</sup> quy est retourné a Paris pour son affaire sa femme y est aussi ie luy ay donné un petit mot de louange en passant dans ma lettre afin que cela luy donnast courage de faire cognoissance avec vous elle le souhaite extresmemt en qualité de bel esprit elle fait des vers et discourt de science avec un ton et une autorité incomparable des la premiere veue vous cognoistrés bien tost ce quelle scait dire et Dieu scait le soing quelle prendra de dire merueille deuant vous ie nay point receu de vos lettres par le courier dhier et ie vous croy a Meudon ie vous enuoye une fort meschante lettre pour M<sup>e</sup> de Nemours<sup>3</sup> que ie vous prie de luy vouloir donner lon ne scait par ou si prendre pour luy dire que lon se resjouit de son mariage M<sup>e</sup> de Seigné ma mandé que celuy de M<sup>e</sup> de chambelay<sup>4</sup> estoit rompu ien suis au desespoir pour lamour d'elle car il est tres facheux de manquer un aussi bon party que le comte de Maran<sup>4</sup> apres auoir esté si pres de l'espouser adieu ie vous prie souuenés vous de m'aimer ie meurs de peur que vous l'oubliés pendant que vous ne me voyés point.

*ce 12<sup>me</sup> juin [1657].*

Je nay point receu de vos lettres cet ordinaire par celuy de la sepmaine passée vous m'apristes comme charbonier auoit changé d'aduis sur nos affaires ie ne vous remercie point du soing que vous en prenés et du

<sup>1</sup> Mme de La Fayette's mother died in February 1656. Writing from Auvergne, she charges Ménage to help find a house for her during a visit to Paris rendered necessary by law cases she wishes to direct herself.

<sup>2</sup> I have no information concerning M. de Gatelier or his wife.

<sup>3</sup> A difficult situation even for the diplomatic countess. Henri de Savoie had been Archbishop of Rheims. His brother died leaving no male issue, so the Archbishop left the Church and married Mlle de Longueville. The brothers Villers note in their *Journal de Voyage*, under date of May 23, 1657, '...sur le soir on nous dit que le mariage de M. le duc de Nemours avec Mlle de Longueville avoit esté enfin consommé, après qu'on avoit longtemps douté qu'il se fist, à cause qu'on accusoit le duc de tomber du haut mal.'

<sup>4</sup> She did not lose him. The marriage took place in April 1660.



rapporteur que vous nous aués obtenu car ie voy bien que si ie voulois vous remercier de tout ce que vous ferés pour nous ie ne vous escriroit dorsanauant que des lettres de remercement M<sup>r</sup> de La Fayette a un desmelé avec des M<sup>rs</sup> de Beaufort de ce pays icy duquel ie croy que vous entendres parler comme cest M<sup>r</sup> de Mata gendre de Gatelier qui tient leur parolle et que cest une affaire d'interest sur laquelle nous ne pouvons entrer en acomodement il a escrit a plusieurs personnes pour auoir des lettres de Mareschaux de France et entre autres a M<sup>r</sup> de Gatelier auquel M<sup>r</sup> de Bayard a mandé de s'adresser a vous pour en auoir ie vous conjure s'il s'adresse a vous de prendre des lettres du M<sup>al</sup> d'albret<sup>1</sup> s'il est a Paris comme M<sup>r</sup> de La Fayette est son parant asses proche et que cette affaire icy aura des suites ou il sera peut estre bon destre entre les mains de Mareschaux de France qui nous soient fauorables ie souhaite que ce soit le M<sup>al</sup> d'albret s'il n'est pas a Paris ie vous supplie d'en prendre de quelque autre qui soient tout aussi fortes quelles se peuvent escrire sur telles matieres vous pouués penser si cette affaire me touche et m'inquiette iay quelque esperance que lon fera entendre raison a ses M<sup>rs</sup> de Beaufort mais neamoins comme ce sont de jeunes fous l'on ne scauroit trop prendre de precaution peut estre que M<sup>r</sup> de Gatelier n'aura pas de besoing de s'adresser a vous parce que M<sup>r</sup> de dienne canillac qui est tuteur de ces M<sup>rs</sup> la aura desja eu des lettres des Mareschaux de france mais sil si adresse ie vous prie den auoir le plustost qu'il se pourra.

*ce 26<sup>me</sup> juin [1657].*

Je vous rends mille graces des lettres du M<sup>al</sup> destrees<sup>2</sup> que vous nous aués enuoyees M<sup>r</sup> de Mata les a et s'en seruira en temps et lieu si par malheur il ariue que lon en ait besoing ce que i'aprehende un peu a cause de la jeunesse et de l'emportement des petits M<sup>rs</sup> dont il est question ie ne m'estois pas souuenue de tout le desmelé qu'ont eu ces M<sup>rs</sup> de Canillac avec les amis et les parans du M<sup>al</sup> dalbret si ie m'en fusse souuenue ie ne vous aurois pas mandé de vous adresser a luy ie suis si persuadee de la part que vous prenés a nos interest et du soing que vous prenés pour les choses qui me regardent que comme ie vous lay mandé iay escrit a charbonier de ne rien faire a nos affaires qui ne vous consultast sil le fait cela mostera une partie de l'inquietude ou ie suis de nos affaires et quoy quil ne soit pas presentement question du fonds les choses dont il s'agist sont neamoins de tres grande consequence il nous seroit tout a fait aduantageux de sortir de la grande chambre et d'aller

<sup>1</sup> César-Phébus d'Albret, comte de Miossens, created Marshal in 1653.

<sup>2</sup> François-Annibal d'Estrées, marquis de Cœuvres.

a la sinquiesme nous aurions bien mieus raison de ce president Mole<sup>1</sup> que de ces vieux Presidents au mortier et il nous donneroit un rapporteur dans sa chambre dont nous disposerions mieus que ce vieux M<sup>r</sup> Benoise quy est un vray opiniastre ie suis rauie que vous ayes fait donner quelque chose a ce pauvre Salmonet<sup>2</sup> mandes moy un peu sil n'est plus nulle mention du C. de Rets et si lon ne vient point a bout de descourir quel coing de la terre il habite ie ne vois point encore de vos lettres dattees de Meudon jay bien enuie que vous y soyés afin que vous trauaillés a ces lettres dont nous auons parlé ensemble adieu ie suis la toute vostre.

*ce 3<sup>me</sup> juillet [1657].*

Il sen faut bien que mon mal de teste mait quitté de [bonne] foy il me prend tres souuent et ie ne pretends pas quil madonne [m'abandonne] jamais tout a fait vous scaués que cest la maladie des beaux esprits et ainsi il faut que jy soye suiette tant que ie seray bel esprit et aparament si tant est que ie le sois ie le seray toujours ie croy pourtant que lon se desfait quelque fois du bel esprit par exemple ie nay plus dans la teste que les sentences les exploits les arest les productions ie n'escris presque que pour mes affaires ie ne lis que des papiers de chicane ie ne songe non plus ny aux vers ny a litalien ny a lespagnol que si ie nen auois jamais ouy parler cela estant ainsi ie croy que quand j'aurois esté bel esprit que ie ne le serois plus et que ie ne serois qu'un esprit d'affaires asseurement jay fort les miennes dans la teste et comme vous voyés ie vous en parle assés souuent ie mestois touiours bien doutee quil nous faudroit demeurer a ces vieux barbons de la grande chambre et que le conseil mesme nous y renuoiroit mais considerés ce que cest quelque fois que le sentiment des aduocats sa esté par leur aduis que nous nous estion adresses au conseil eux disant que lon nous renuoiroit aussi tost aux enquestes qu'a la grande chambre qu'en [quand ?] la saisie de Valier seroit declaree bonne ladjudication que M<sup>r</sup> de La Fayette a obtenu ne seroit pas nulle car M<sup>r</sup> de La Fayette cest defendu jusques icy a la grande chambre en qualité dheritier par benefice dinuentaie soutenant que la debte de valier n'estoit pas legitime et quand elle seroit declaree bonne et la saisie aussi il faudroit voir apres a quy apartiennent les terres quy ont esté saisies car elles nestoient pas adjugees a M<sup>r</sup> de La Fayette quand Valier les a faittes saisir et ainsi la saisie a pu estre bonne mais ce seroit un second proces de discuter si les terres apartiennent a la

<sup>1</sup> Not the most famous of the Molé family—the first President Matthew—for he died in January 1656. In 1657, John Molé was Président aux enquêtes.

<sup>2</sup> Salmonet was attached to Retz at the same time as Ménage. He received a clergy pension. See Tallemant, *Historiettes*, iv, pp. 198, 199, 206. (Edition in 6 vols., Paris, Techener, 1842.)



succesion de feu M<sup>r</sup> de La Fayette<sup>1</sup> ou a M<sup>r</sup> de La Fayette d'aujourduy et cest ce que nous voulons esuiter en faisant joindre les deux instances et soutenant en mesme temps a Valier que sa debte nest pas bonne et que quand elle seroit le bien est a nous et quil ny a pas de quoy le payer a 50 mille escus pres que nous demandons de plus que la somme a quoy monte les terres de la maison quy nestoient pas substituees et quy sont celles que lon nous a adiugees cest une chose admirable que ce que fait l'interest que [l'on]<sup>2</sup> prend aux affaires si celle cy n'estoient point les miennes ie ny comprendrois que le haut alemant et ie les scay dans ma teste comme mon pater et dispute tous les jours contre nos gens d'affaire des choses dont ie nay nulle cognoissance et ou mon interest seul me donne de la lumiere ie suis espouuantee du prix ou sont les charges des M<sup>tres</sup> de Requetes cent mille escus grands dieux sceut esté autre fois la rançon dun Roy ie vous prie de vous bien informer de ceux quy ont pouvoir aupres de M<sup>r</sup> Benoise adieu ie suis a vous du meilleur de mon cœur.

*ce 17<sup>me</sup> juillet [1657].*

Nous sommes tout a fait dans la resolution d'aller a Paris apres la S<sup>t</sup> Martin et nous comprenons fort bien de quelle importance nous est ce proces la nous souhaitterions fort mesme quil ne si fit rien du tout entre cy et ce temps la et cest ce quy nous fait souhaitter que lon tente la voye du parquet pour la jonction des deux instances car quand nous n'en aurions pas le fruit que nous pourions esperer quy est destre r'envoyés aux enquestes cela nous servira toujours a retarder toutes les procedures quy se font presentement a la grande chambre M<sup>e</sup> de Seuigné cest chargee de me chercher une maison mais quand vous vous en mesleres cela ne gastera rien ie voudrois fort me loger proche de M<sup>e</sup> de Seuigné cest a dire vers la place royale dans ces rues de l'hostel dangoulisme ou mesme au cartier S<sup>t</sup> Paul ie ne veux pas y mettre plus de mille ou douse cent liures et si ie trouuois quelqu'un quy voulut prendre avec moy une grande maison beaucoup plus chere i'en serois asses aise si vous scauies l'affliction que jay de la mort du pauvre M<sup>r</sup> de Maulevrier<sup>3</sup> vous series persuadé que lon me fait injustice de croire que ie nay pas de tendresse pour mes amis.

*ce 3<sup>me</sup> aoust [1657].*

Si vous brulies de chaud en m'escriuant le d<sup>er</sup> ordinaire ie brulois si bien de la fieure le jour que jay acoutume de vous escrire que ie n'escriuis a quy que se soit ma fieure n'a pas este longue vint quatre heures et une

<sup>1</sup> Jean de La Fayette.

<sup>2</sup> Word omitted upon turning the page.

<sup>3</sup> Count Maulevrier died on Monday, July 9, 1657.



seigneurie men ont tiree mais ie nen suis pas tout a fait remise il fait une chaleur si insupportable qu'il est impossible de n'estre pas malade quelque santé que lon ait ordinairement et pour moy quy en ay une asses meschante il est aisé de comprendre que ie ne resiste pas aux fatigues de la saison ie suis fachee de la mort du pauvre Murinais cestoit un garçon dhonneur et a quy j'auois obligation i'escris a sa femme mais comme ie ne scay point ou elle demeure ie vous enuoye ma lettre afin que vous ayés la bonté de luy faire porter vous scaures aisement son logis ches M<sup>r</sup> Seruien<sup>1</sup> ie croy bien que ie ne seray pas logee comme une Reine pour mille ou douse [cents] francs par an et ie ne le pretends pas aussi mais comme nos affaires sont tournees a nous tenir lomtemps a Paris cela fait que ie ne veux pas une maison de si grand prix que si ie ne la deuois tenir que six mois joublié a vous dire en vous parlant dune maison que ie ne la voulois que pour Noel ne pouuant aller a Paris qu'a la fin de decembre ie nay point eu de lettres de charbonier par le d<sup>er</sup> ordinaire tellement que ie ne scay point s'il a songé a former cette contestation au Parquet ie pense qu'il n'a pas cela en teste et depuis que quelque chose n'entre pas dans son sens quoy quil soit le plus meschant du monde il ny a pas moyen de luy faire gouster.

depuis que cecy est escrit jay receu des lettres de charbonier et jay veu qu'il n'a pas manqué de laisser la le dessein de former une contestation au Parquet cependant cest une chose extremement important dont nous pouuons tirer grand auantage et quy ne nous peut nuire d'autant que si elle ne reussit pas nous demeurerons tout comme nous sommes presentement et en estat de faire les mesmes choses quil veulent faire de cette heure jay ouy dire les mesmes choses de M<sup>r</sup> Benoise que celle que vous me mandés et cest ce quy me fait encore plus souhaitter de sortir de ces mains car bien que le fonds de nostre affaire soit admirable un rapporteur fauorable et facile ny gastera rien et de plus cest que les deux instances quy sont jointes au proces de M<sup>r</sup> Benoise seroient plus fauorables en aparance si elles estoient separees nostre conseil auoit si bien preueu cela quil ny a rien que lon nay fait dans la procedure de Cusset pour empescher quelle ne fust jointe au proces de la grande chambre et ce mesme conseil quy nous auoit fait si fort apprehender cela quy est M<sup>r</sup> Fedeau aduocat est celuy presentement quy nous conseille de la laisser joindre et quy ne veut pas que lon tente aucune voye pr lempescher cela avec une longue suite dautres choses quy seroient trop longues a vous dire nous rend tres suspec des aduis de M<sup>r</sup> Fedeau et nous craignons qu'il n'ait quelque inteligence avec nos parties ie vous

<sup>1</sup> Abel Servien, surintendant des finances ?

conjure de vouloir prendre la peine de le voir charbonnier vous dira ou il loge ie luy viens descrire une grande lettre et ie luy mande que ie vous ay prie de le voir pour conferer s'il ny a point moyen de former cette contestation au parquet en cas que cela ce puisse il faudra que vous ayés la bonté de chercher une cognoissance bien forte aupres de M<sup>r</sup> Brodeau quy est le rapporteur des enquestes afin de lobliger de contester assés fortement au parquet afin quil ne cede point a M<sup>r</sup> Benoise et que le parquet ne les pouuant accorder nous renuoye au conseil si une fois nous sommes au conseil peut estre viendrons nous a bout destre renuoyés aux enquestes ie vous conjure de vouloir bien voir a fonds ce quy ce peut faire a cela car certainement cela nous est tout a fait de consequence et charbonnier a un sens si gauche sur les affaires quil me desespere pour les maisons dont vous me parlés comme ie les croy a louer pour la S<sup>t</sup> Remy et que ie nen veux une que pour Noel ie ne vous en dis rien si la nostre nestoit point louee vous pouues croire que nous la prendrions plustot que de la laisser vide adieu vous estes tout mon recours sur les sottises que fait charbonnier dans nos affaires.

ce 17<sup>me</sup> aoust [1657].

Me voila en repos sur nos affaires puisque vous aués conféré avec M<sup>r</sup> Fedeau et que vous estes de mesme aduis que luy tout le proces est en estat quon ny peut rien faire qu'apres la S<sup>t</sup> Martin et dans ce temps la nous serons a Paris pour prendre nous mesme nos resolutions ie trouue aussi bien que vous cette affaire la dune furieuse discussion et ie doute que non seulement le Parlement quy vient mais trois autres encore apres nous en fassent voir la fin si nous voulions reculer nos creantiers ne verroient jamais le jugement mais il y a plaisir destre en repos et de n'auoir point d'affaires vous agissés dans les nostre avec un soing si obligeant que ie commence a comprendre plus que que<sup>1</sup> jamais que vous dittes fort vray quand vous dittes que vous estes le meilleur amy du monde ie scay a peu pres ce que cest que la moettie du logis de M<sup>r</sup> des Fenestreaux<sup>2</sup> cela seroit trop petit pour nous si ie ne prends que la moettié dune maison ie veux au moins que se soit la moettie dune belle maison et celle la ne lest pas a mon gre ie ne scaurois rien resoudre pour un logement que nostre logis du faubourg ne soit loue ie trouue ce que vous me mandes du Gouverneur de Mommedi<sup>3</sup> si admirablement beau que si jamais ie fais un Roman il en sera le Heros j'estime infiniment

<sup>1</sup> Word repeated when turning the page.

<sup>2</sup> Last syllable doubtful—end of line.

<sup>3</sup> For the defence of Montmedy, see Villers, *Journal de Voyage*, pp. 223-4. The governor died on August 5, 1657.

M<sup>e</sup> de Launay Graué<sup>1</sup> quoy que ie ne la cognoisse point mais j'aurois peine a consentir de luy voir remplir la place de M<sup>e</sup> de Lesdigueres<sup>2</sup> il me semble quil ny a personne en France quy le puisse faire ie comprends plus que vous ne le scauries faire combien nous auons perdu au feu per President<sup>3</sup> et s'il nestoit point mort ie vous assure que ie ne songerois pas a faire sortir nostre proces de la grande chambre M<sup>r</sup> de Bayard me charge tous les jours de vous faire mille compliments de sa part et de vous assurer de la passion quil auroit de vous rendre service ie men acquite aujourduy pour toutes les fois que jy ay manqué ie suis presentement en assés bonne santé mais non durera lamitié et lestime que jay pour vous dureront eternellement mandes moy ie vous prie ou logera Mademoiselle<sup>4</sup>.

*ce 24<sup>me</sup> aoust [1657].*

Je vous ay fait responce sur la maison de M<sup>r</sup> des Fenetreux et vous deués l'avoir eue presentement quand vous me parlerés dorsanauant de quelque maison ie vous prie de me dire un peu exactement le logement quil y a parce qu'autrement ie ne pourrois vous donner de responce qu'apres vous auoir demande ce que se seroit que cette maison et cela iroit a de grandes longueurs iay trouué tout a fait plaisant en lisant vostre lettre d'aujourduy de ce qu'apres m'auoir mandé fort soigneusement tous les ordinaires passés des nouuelles du proces de M<sup>e</sup> de S<sup>t</sup> Geran et m'auoir dit par vostre autre lettre que ien scaurois le succes au p<sup>er</sup> jour et ce p<sup>er</sup> jour quy est aujourduy vous ne m'en parlés point du tout M<sup>e</sup> de Seigné quy de sa vie ne ma mandé nouuelles ma mandé par hasard celle du jugement de ce proces la quy paroist autant quil se peut a lauantage de M<sup>e</sup> de S<sup>t</sup> Geran<sup>5</sup> apropos de M<sup>e</sup> de Seigné aprenés moi un peu comment vous estes avec elle ou pour mieux dire comment elle est avec vous vous m'aues parlé dun certain moissonneur tircie dont jay fort enuie de scaoir des nouuelles ie vous prie aussi de men mander faites ie vous en conjure mes compliments a l'hostel de Rambouillet et a M<sup>e</sup> de Scudery adieu soyés persuadé que jay pour vous toute lamitié dont ie suis capable.

*ce d<sup>er</sup> aoust [1657].*

Vous aues veu par ma derniere lettre comme j'auois fort bien pris garde que vous auiés oublié de me mander le jugement de proces de

<sup>1</sup> Françoise Godet des Marais (Mme de Launay).

<sup>2</sup> 'La plus grande faute qu'elle ayt faite dans sa conduite, depuis qu'elle est veuve, c'est d'avoir prétendu à M. de L'EsdiGUIÈRES,' Tallemant, *Historiettes*, Paris, 1842, Vol. v, p. 219. M. Lesdiguières became a widower on July 2, 1656.

<sup>3</sup> Pomponne de Bellièvre.

<sup>4</sup> Mademoiselle took possession of the Luxembourg palace on September 18, 1657.

<sup>5</sup> The Villers hear of the first verdict in this case on September 12, 1657. See their *Journal de Voyage*, p. 274.



M<sup>e</sup> de S<sup>t</sup> Geran le sejour que vous deuies faire a Meudon cest changé ce me semble en de petites promenades d'une apres disnee mandes moy un peu d'ou est venu ce changement la car il me semble que vous m'aues escrit il y a desja lomtemps que vous esties apres a meubler vostre grotte pour y aller passer une grande partie de lesté si personne ne me veut donner 16 cents liures de ma maison et que ie ne trouue aussi personne quy me veille bien loger pour douse cents ie vous asseure que de beau depit ie me resoudray a aller loger dans nostre maison ce quy my obligera plus que cela cest que M<sup>r</sup> de La Fayette le souhaiite assés ce nest pas que se cartier la ne me soit pas fort incomode a cause quil est esloigné de celuy de M<sup>e</sup> de Seuigné et de chés M<sup>r</sup> Benoise ou j'auray affaire tous les jours mon Dieu ny a t il point moyen de le tuer ce M<sup>r</sup> Benoise afin daouir un autre rapporteur M<sup>r</sup> de Champré lestoit de la plus importante partie de laffaire et par une sottte jonction tout cela est allé a ce M<sup>r</sup> Benoise iauois este rauie que cela fust demeuré a M<sup>r</sup> de champré particulièrement a cette heure que vous estes si bien avec M<sup>e</sup> sa famme<sup>1</sup> j'admire le don que vous aués destre bon pour toutes sortes de personnes lon peut bien dire que vous estes de ces gens quy aués des amis en paradis et en enfer adieu jay fait vos compliments a M<sup>r</sup> de Bayard mon espoux que voila vous en fait cent mille.

*ce 9<sup>me</sup> octobre [1657].*

Il est vray que vostre lettre du mois passé ma appris que vous nestes point mort et que ie ne suis point brouillée avec vous mais en ne me donnant point de bonnes raisons de vostre silence elle mapris aussi que vous commencés a auoir un peu de negligence pour nostre commerce ie ne vous en fais point de reproches car il y a lomtemps que ie scay que labsence destruit toutes choses et ie ne me dois prendre qua moy mesme des maux quy m'ariueront par mon esloignement pour empescher quils ne deviennent trop grands et que de la negligence vous ne passies a l'oubly ie songe fort aussi a m'aller rendre presente et nous partirons dicy sans faute au commencement du mois de decembre il faut que ie parte d'icy dans ce mois la quy sera le septieme de ma grossesse car ie suis grosse de quatre mois et ie vous dis cela comme une nouuelle ne layant point mandé jusques a cette heure quoy que ma maison soit louee ie ne logeray point au marais ie prens la maison que M<sup>r</sup> de Seuigné louoit au marquis d'Urfé il me la donne le plus obligeamment du monde pour deux cents francs moins quon ne luy offre et comme le fonds de la maison est a moy et que jy pouray faire telles reparations que ie voudray

<sup>1</sup> Daughter of a conseiller au Parlement called Henry; widow of the son of the minister Ferrier; wife of Menardeau de Champré, conseiller.

cela me sera tres comode jay receu aujourduy deux de vos lettres a la fois quy nous ont appris milles nouuelles de consequence celle de lexecution de Barbesieres<sup>1</sup> ma tout a fait estonnee ie vous conjure de vouloir prendre la peine de me faire expedier un Commontimus par M<sup>r</sup> Salmon quy que ceux que lon obtient en vertu des anciennes lettres de conseillers destat ne seruent de rien ie suis asseuree que cettuy la me servira parce que cest pour enuoyer au fonds de la Picardie a des gens quy ne chercheront pas tant de chicaneries et que la peur de venir a Paris fera trembler ie vous supplie d'auoir ce comontimus avec toute la diligence possible et de lenuoier ches M<sup>r</sup> de Seigné cela mest de consequence adieu.

ce 13<sup>me</sup> novembre [1657].

me voila donc asseuree que ie ne perdray point vostre amitie pour auoir perdu le peu de beauté que j'auois ie perdrois trop a la fois si ie perdois lune et lautre il est vray pourtant que si vostre amitie ne tenoit qu'a ma beauté ce ne seroit pas une grande perte que celle dune amitie quy tiendrait a si peu de chose tout le malheur de mon changement ira sur loiseleur pour moy ie suis d'aduis que vous le datties de lannee passee j'estois assés jolie en ce temps la cela suffit de lauoir esté pour estre traitté de belle car enfin les beautés ne sont pas imortelles comme les louanges que lon leur donne ie vous prie lors que M<sup>e</sup> de Brissac vous parlera de moy de luy tesmoigner que ie vous ay toujours parlé d'elle depuis que jay lhonneur de la cognoistre comme dune personne que j'honorois infiniment et a quy j'estois redeuable de mille marques dune amitie fort obligeante effectiuement ie suis obligeée de viure avec elle avec recognoissance car on ne peut pas prendre plus de soing de tesmoigner de lamitie a une personne quelle a pris de m'en tesmoigner nous ne partirons dicy que le lendemain de la feste de Noel ie suis en peine d'auoir une litiere pour me venir querir a Briare<sup>2</sup> ou ie desendray par eau ien voudrois trouuer une de quelque personne de qualité parce que pour lordinaire celles que lon loue sont tres incomode et les mulets en sont si meschants que les fammes en lestat que ie suis y courent plus de risque qu'en carosse M<sup>e</sup> dangoulesme<sup>3</sup> en auoit un il y a quelque temps ie luy ay escrit pour lauoir et ie suis asseuree que si elle la encore elle me la prestera mais ie crains fort quelle s'en soit defaite mandes moy cependant si vous ne cognoisés personne quy en ait un que

<sup>1</sup> According to some authorities, executed for having abducted Mlle de Basinières, according to others, for having held for ransom a financier—Girardin. Compare the accounts by Gourville, *Mémoires*, Petitot, Vol. LII, pp. 312–3; Tallemant, *l.c.*, III, p. 503; Villers, *l.c.*, p. 303. The execution took place on October 5, 1657.

<sup>2</sup> On the Loire. It was the practice to land there and take the post to Paris.

<sup>3</sup> Henriette de la Guiche.



vous me puissies faire prester vous scaués comme nous auons absolument aresté la maison de M<sup>r</sup> de Seigné en attendant que nous layons meublee nous logerons ches M<sup>r</sup> de S<sup>t</sup> Pons<sup>1</sup> quy demeure proche l'hostel de Neuers nous serons asses vos voisins en cet endroit la adieu ie vous escriis des aujourduy quy n'est pas le jour de lordinaire parce que j'auray demain ceans une foule de monde horrible parmy laquelle ie n'aurois pas eu le temps de vous dire un mot.

It is not enough to look after the litigation of the family. There is also an uncle by marriage who is no less a person than the Bishop of Limoges and it is well to keep on good terms with him.

[1660-1676.]

J'enuoye scauoir de vos nouuelles et si vous estes a Paris ou a la campagne si vous estes a Paris voila deux placets que ie vous prie de donner et de recommander d'un bon ton l'un est p<sup>r</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Bricconnet<sup>2</sup> et lautre p<sup>r</sup> M<sup>r</sup> Bougeau ie vous supplie de dire a ce dernier de tesmoigner aux gens d'affaires de M<sup>r</sup> de Limoges quy liront solliciter p<sup>r</sup> cette affaire que vous luy aues recommandee a ma priere ces sortes de choses la font ma court admirablement bien a mon oncle leuesque mandes moy combien vous seres a Vitry.

[1660-1676.]

Je ne croy pas que vous pretendies me persuader que vous m'aues veue aujourduy pour moy ie ne comte pas la vissite que vous m'aues rendue p<sup>r</sup> une vissite nous en dirons demain dauantage si ie vous voy et ie voudrois bien vous voir et vous prie mesme de venir avec moy ches M<sup>r</sup> Bougeault iay une lettre de M<sup>r</sup> de limoges a luy rendre et un memoir a luy lire mais comme il faut un peu de temps ie voudrois bien si vous croyés que cela se puisse sans inciuité que vous enuoyassies luy demander a quelle heure nous le pourions voir sans lincomoder demain ou samedy si vous auies affaire et que vous ne pussies venir avec moy ie ne laisserois pas dy aller car cest une affaire dont il faut que ie rende compte a M<sup>r</sup> de Limoges ie serois perdue si jy auois manqué.

ce jedy au soir.

[1660-1676.]

Je pense que vostre heureux destin sopose que vous veniés faire icy meschante chere il faut que j'aille demain sur le midy faire une recom-

<sup>1</sup> The Villers visit Mme de La Fayette at the house of M. de Saint-Pons (rue Guénégaud, behind the Hôtel de Nevers) on January 4, 1658.

<sup>2</sup> A Bricconnet is mentioned in the *Gazette* (1649) as maître des requêtes, Président au Conseil (1666), died in 1672. Another Bricconnet, président des enquêtes (Third Chamber), is mentioned in the *Livre commode des adresses de Paris*, 1692. The former was a friend of Mme de Sévigné and the reference is probably to him.



mandation a M<sup>r</sup> doujat<sup>1</sup> p<sup>r</sup> M<sup>r</sup> de Limoges et entre une heure et deux tous ces gens quy se meslent de nostre acomodement doive venir ceans ainsi nostre lecon seroit trop courte et comme elles ne sont pas frequentes il faut au moins quelles soient longues ce sera donc pour jeudy si vous le voulés bien ainsi.

ce mardy au soir.

Even help given to another is given with an eye to possible advantages that may be derived from it:

[1660-70.]

Voila un placet que ie vous prie de faire donner a M<sup>r</sup> Herué cest pour un pauvre homme dont jay pourtant besoing dans une affaire ainsi cest trauailler pour mon seruice que le luy en rendre bon soir.

And so, when nearing the end of her life of suffering, she looks back on her achievements—not on what she has done as an author, not on her success as a bel esprit—but on the services rendered to her family and she decides that she has done well.

*a paris ce premier 9<sup>bre</sup> 1691.*

Je suis si mal de mes vapeurs depuis quelques jours que je nay put vous escrire, c'est un plaisir pour moy que de vous escrire que mes vapeurs ne me permette pas toujours de prendre, c'est un chien de mal que les vapeurs, on ne sçait d'ou il vient ny a quoy il tient, on ne sçait que luy faire, on croit l'adoucir il s'aigrit, si jamais je suis en estat d'escrire je fairay un livre entier contre ce mal la, il n'oste pas seulement la santé il oste l'esprit et la raison Si jamais jay la plume a la main je vous assure que j'en fairay un beau traitté.

La genealogie de mes enfans n'est point auancee du tout, j'en suis demeuree au grand pere<sup>2</sup> du mareschal<sup>3</sup> que jay trouué chez les Comtes de St Jean de Lion dans le Siecle 1300 Jay le cartulaire de Souscilanges<sup>4</sup> ce dans le siecle 1000 et ils sont qualifiés miles, jay encore trouue de leurs encestres entre ce cartulaire de Souscilange et les proeuues de St Jean de Lion mais je n'en ay pas des tiltres certains comme de ceux dont je viens de vous parler en l'estat ou est mon pauvre teste je ne trauailleroient pas a leurs genealogies quand ils seroient princes du Sang Il faut qu'il vienne apres moy quelqu'autre Madame De la fayette

<sup>1</sup> Jean Doujat, dean of the French Academy, of the Collège de France and of the Faculty of Law.

<sup>2</sup> Gilbert du Mottier VI.

<sup>3</sup> Gilbert du Mottier VII (fils de Guillaume du Mottier), Marshal as a reward for his services against the English (15th century).

<sup>4</sup> Gilbert du Mottier I, benefactor of Soucillanges in 1025.

qui fasse ce que je n'ay pue faire elle ne fairas pas mal pourru qu'elle en face autant que moy Je m'admire quelque fois toute seule, Je ne crois pas aussi auoir bien des camarades en cette occupation cependant je trouue que je dois estre admiree trouuée m'en un autre qui eust figure comme la mienne tournée au bel esprit comme vous my auiés tournée et qui ayt aussi bien fait pour sa maison, sont des choses assez rares rassemblee il resulte de tout cela que je n'ay plus le cens commun Je vous assure que c'est un bel exemple a qui s'en voudroit faire un bon usage Je voudrois bien en pouuoir profiter mais c'est une grace qu'il faut demander a dieu, adieu Monsieur merueille ou imbecille je suis toujours esgalement a vous et plus touchée de votre amitié parceque j'en suis moins dignes par bien des cottées, mais je la meritte par en scauoir connoistre le prix et par santir ce prix tel qu'il est.

H. ASHTON.

VANCOUVER, B.C.

## THE SPANISH MANDEVILLES.

### I.

THE introduction of Sir John de Mandeville into Spain was due both to a person and a temperament. Don Juan of Aragon, when Duch Primogénit, had received his training in literary patronage from his father, Pedro the Ceremonious, with whom he cooperated to advance the influence of the Arthurian Cycle in Catalonia (Docs. 204, 301, 354, etc.)<sup>1</sup>. To this schooling he added a personal interest, verging on the morbid, in remote travel and hidden knowledge, which gained for him an unsavoury reputation: 'all men murmured and then openly declared that he was worse than Nero<sup>2</sup>.' He wished, according to the formula of his friend and fellow-student, 'to be informed of all the strange things which are throughout the world.' Ireland naturally attracted his attention; and the two enthusiasts occupied themselves with Henry of Saltrey's *Purgatory of St Patrick*, which D. Juan demands, presumably in a Latin edition, in a letter dated from Gerona, August 13, 1386 (Doc. 382): bestowing in 1394 upon his daughter, the Countess of Foix, a Catalan rendering. Reports of travel in Palestine and hardly-accessible Tartary likewise appealed to him, and he formed a library of this type of work. In 1374 he obtained Theodoric, *De locis Terræ Sanctæ* (Doc. 274), Odoric, *De mirabilibus Terræ Sanctæ* in 1378 (Docs. 293, 296, 326), of which he already possessed a less perfect copy (Doc. 296). As Perellós 'verified' the *Purgatory* by his celebrated *Viatge*, so his master compared the narratives above-mentioned with the personal experiences of travellers (Docs. 411, 428). Mandeville has escaped Rubió's collection; but is found in characteristic intimacy with the work of Henry of Saltrey in No. 22 of the inventory of this king's library, *Lo Purgatori de San Patrici de Mandrevila* (1395)<sup>3</sup>.

To this impetus towards the study of Mandeville it seems right to refer the Aragonese translation preserved in El Escorial, which is entitled in a modern hand: Juan de Mandevilla, médico inglés, Viaje (del mundo) en Asia y Africa (M iii 7—115 iii 7—Est. 15. 4: parchment:

<sup>1</sup> Rubió y Lluch, *Documents per l'història de la cultura catalana mig-èval*.

<sup>2</sup> Quotation given in Miquel y Planas, *Llegendes del'altra vida*: 'Tot home mormurava e encara palesament dehia que era piyor que Nero.'

<sup>3</sup> Beer, *Handschriftenschätze Spaniens*, Para. 51.



xv cent.: 91 fols., numbered in same hand as title: 258 × 192 mm.: 33 l.). The title and foliation are modern; biblical quotations are given in red, initials ornamented, capitals dotted red. The manuscript is the work of one fifteenth century scribe, and the language and, as I was informed by the courteous librarian, also the lettering are markedly Aragonese. The narrative commences in the fifth chapter of the original (fol. 1: 'obispos en la tierra. Et en Famagoste, vno delos principalles puertos de mar.....'), owing to the loss of four folios. The careful and elegant handwriting, the permanence of the receptive material (parchment), the completeness of the text, witness to the social position of the first owner and his respect for the original. It is possible that this manuscript may have belonged to Zurita. It bears the library mark (25. 18) of the Conde-Duque de Olivares, from whom it passed into the royal library.

## II.

The presence of French incunables in Spain is attested by the following note which refers to the library of Doña Margarita de Austria (1498): 'Dos libros de molde en françes, que se llaman el uno Juan de Madevilla e otro Valentino Jesou<sup>1</sup>.' The omission of the 'n' suggests rather the first work cited by Brunet in his article: *Le liure appelle Mandeville*, sans lieu, 1480, which commences, on fol. A: 'Ce liure est appelle mã / deuille.....'

Owing to the loss of the initial folios of the Aragonese manuscript, it is impossible to say whether Martorell (before 1490) had read Mandeville in that or another translation of the first series, or whether his knowledge is to be derived from the French incunables. There is a third possibility, that the author may have read it in English and in England; but this is discounted by the circumstance that the influence of Mandeville occurs only towards the close of *Tirant lo Blanch* (chs. 395-8, ed. Aguiló), with all the air of an afterthought, and in a context that is relatively free from insular reminiscences. The passage is chiefly interesting because it illustrates Martorell's literary method. Having found, in chapter four of the *Voyage*, unfinished the adventure of the dragon-daughter of Hippocrates, he transfers the entire incident to his own work, making however the venture of the Caualler Spercius entirely successful. He makes no serious attempt to disguise the jointure of this episode with the rest of the narrative; it betrays itself obviously as an interpolation; and the author aggravates the incongruity of the whole by the contrast in style between the clear and literal Valencian of his

<sup>1</sup> Beer, *op. cit.*, Para. 181.

narrative and the involved and 'aureate' declaration of love to which the disenchanted lady capitulates—or succumbs (chaps. 396–7).

Translations of our author into Castilian followed in a series of editions which were produced in the early years of the sixteenth century at Valencia. A comparison of the respective epilogues will demonstrate the independence of this series from the elder Catalan-Aragonese tradition.

Escorial MS. fol. 90 v. :

Et yo jōh de mandeuilla sobredcho q' m.  
pti de nra tfa et passi lamar laynno de  
grā mil. ccc. xxij q' mucha tfa et mucha  
en contrada...de pues<sup>1</sup>...por q' he seido  
en mucha buena paynnia & visto mucho  
bel fecho como q'ere q' yo non fiziesse  
nūca ni bel fecho ni bella emp' sa ni otro  
bien de q' hombre deua teu' compto. Et  
agora so retornado / (91 r.) / afolgar mal  
mi grado por gotas artetitas qui me  
restreynian. En p'ndiendo solaz en mi  
mezq'no fuelgo & menbrando me del tpo  
passado he compilado estas cosas &  
puestas en esc'pto assi como me he  
podido menbrar laynno de grā mil. ccc.  
lvij al xxxv° ayuno q' yo me pti de nra  
tfa. Et ruego atodos los leedores si les  
plaze q' eillos q'eran rogar adios por mj  
Et yo rogare por eillos Et todos aque-  
llos qui por mj diran vna par' nostr' q'  
dios me faga remission de mis pecados  
(yo les fago p'ticipantes & lurs otorgo pr  
de todos los bueos romeages & de todos  
los biē fechos q' yo fiz nūca & q' yo fare  
en cora amj fin Et Ruego adios de q' biē  
& toda gracia descien de q' todos los ley-  
entes & oyentes xpianos q'era de su grā  
remplir & lures cuerpos & lures almas  
saluar ala gloria & loor suya q' es t'n<sup>2</sup> &  
vn<sup>2</sup> sin comecamēt & sin fin sin qualitat  
buō sin q' antidad grant en todos logares  
pūt et todas cosas stenient Et qui nūgun  
biē non puede amendar (nū nūgun mal  
empeorar. Qui in t'nitate pfecto viue &  
regna por todos los siglos & por todos  
tpos. Amen. Explicit.<sup>2</sup>

Bibl. Nac. R 13149 fol. lxiii :

Es de saber que yo Johan de Mandaui /  
la Cauallero suso dicho me parti de mi  
tierra y passe la mar en el Año / dela  
gracia y salud dela natura humana de  
Mil y .ccc. y .xxij. Años y / despues aca  
he andado muchos passos y tierras y he  
estado en compañías bue / nas y en  
muchos y diuersos fechos lindos y en  
grandes empresas. agora soy ve / nido  
a reposar en edad de viejo antiguo. y  
acordádo me delas cosas passadas he /  
escrito como mejor pude aquellas cosas  
q' vi & oy. por las tierras por donde an /  
duue: tornado ami tierra auia. xxiiij  
años. Por que ruego atodos los que  
eneste / libro leeran. quieran rogar a  
dios por mi. & yo rogare por ellos que  
dios nos de / remission de nuestros  
peccados. Amen.

<sup>1</sup> Corrupt passage.

<sup>2</sup> It should be mentioned that the French version contained in the MS. of the Bibl. Nac. No. 9602=Ee 65 (Parchment: 52 ff. not numbered throughout: 2 cols.: xivth century: titles ornam., 38 l.) is more recent in Spain than the translations. The title on the back of the cover is *Voy de Man / MSS.*, and the superscription of fol. 1: *Description / De la Terre Sainte / Et autres Lieux / VOIAGE / Du Sr. Jean De Mandeville En / L'an 1322 / Ou Il y fait Mention detoutes Les Particularités / Remarquables, Curieuses et Tres Circonstanciées / Par la Lecture qu'en a faite le Sr. Beraud. Commences: 'Come il soit ainsi que la terre doultremer cest ass / la t're sainte la t're de promission...' Ends: '...et Regne p touz temps et p touz siecles. Amen. Explicit le liure de māderville.'*



Seven editions have been cited as pertaining to this Valencian tradition: namely, 1500, 1515, 1521 (by Jorge Castillo), 1524 (sine nomine, probably by Castillo), 1531, 1540 (by Juan Navarro), and 1547<sup>1</sup>. The title of the edition of 1524 became partly obliterated and now stands restored in the handwriting of D. Pascual de Gayangos: that of 1521 runs: 'Juan de Mandeuilla. Libro de las maravillas del mundo y del viaje de la tierra sancta de Jeſſm̃ y todas las prouincias y ciubdades de las Indias y de todos los ombres monstruos q̃ hay por el mundo con otras muchas admirables cosas.' This edition is described by Brunet (*Suppl.*, I, p. 933) as 'in fol.: goth.: à 2 cols.: de lxxiii ff., signés a—h par 8: le 64e feuillet blanc: fig. s. bois': that of 1524 is in folio: goth.: 2 cols.: 64 ff.: part of 63rd and 64th occupied by a Tabla: 133 woodcuts. Salvá gives a fuller description of his edition and reproduces the woodcuts of the titlepage, so that it is possible to affirm that the editions of 1521 and 1524 coincide in every respect other than the insertion of an index in the second. This index is introduced by the phrase, the significance of which will be seen later: 'Aqui comiença la tabla del pre / sente libro. Llamado Juan de Mandauila, el qual andu / uo todas las partidas del mundo.'

The Valencian editions appear to have been issued for commercial purposes. So as to increase the sales, the Castilian language has been preferred to the local dialect. The garrulity of the author is strictly curbed, and the large number of woodcuts, uniformly measuring about an inch and a half square, and each devoted to some portent or monstrosity, is calculated to direct the readers' attention to the more novelesque and exciting, but less worthy, aspect of the work. To proceed from them to a formal teratology was an obvious step; which was duly taken by Antonio de Torquemada in his *Jardín de Flores Curiosas* (Salamanca, por Juan de Terranova: 1570), Englished by Ferdinand Walker at London in 1600 as *The Spanish Mandeville of Miracles*, which is to be blamed for some of the prodigies and aberrations of Cervantes' septentrional novel of *Persiles y Sigismunda*. The worthier aspect of Mandeville's contribution to literature and geographical knowledge is evidenced by Andrés Bernáldez (1513), who connects our author with another name of universal significance in chapter cxviii of his *Historia de los Reyes Católicos*:

<sup>1</sup> 1500, 1531, 1547. Cited by D. Cesáreo Fernández Duro, *El infante D. Pedro*. An edition before 1513 is implied by the reference in Andrés Bernáldez (vide infra). 1515 (Barcia, Burger, Gayangos). 1521 (Salvá 3782, Brunet, Burger, Gayangos). 1524 (Biblioteca Nacional Madrid R 13149, belonged to Gayangos and contains his bibliographical note). 1540 (Nicolás Antonio, Gayangos). Cf. also Menéndez Pelayo, *Orígenes de la Novela*, I, p. 410.



En el nombre de Dios Todo-poderoso, ovo un hombre de tierra de Génova, mercader de libros de estampa, que trataba en esta tierra de Andalucía, que llamaban Christobal Colon, hombre de muy alto ingenio, sin saber muchas letras, muy diestro de la arte de Cosmographia, é del repartir del mundo, el qual sintió, por lo que en Ptolemeo leyó, y por otros libros y su delgadez, cómo y en qué manera el mundo este en que nacemos y andamos está fijo entre la esfera de los cielos, que no llega por ninguna parte á los cielos, ni á otra cosa de firmeza á que se arrime; salvo tierra é agua, abrazadas en redondez, entre la vaguidad de los cielos; y sintió por qué via se hallaba tierra de mucho oro; y sintió como *este mundo y firmamento de tierra y agua es todo andable en derredor por tierra y por agua, segun cuenta Juan de Mandavilla...*

### III.

The travels of Sir John de Mandeville were superseded by those of D. Pedro of Portugal. The actual itinerary of this ill-starred prince has been fixed by Mme de Vasconcellos in the words of his son, the Constable (*Homenaje a Menéndez Pelayo*, I, pp. 637 ff.), and included Great Britain, France, Germany, Hungary, Bohemia, (P)russia, Venice and Rome; nor does any other account of his activities seem to have been regarded as authoritative at the time when Camões wrote:

Aquelle faz que fama illustre fique  
D'elle em Germania, com que a morte engane.

(*Lus.* viii, 37.)

It is not necessary, therefore, in spite of the frigid hyperboles of Juan de Mena, to discuss with Snr. Oliveira Martins the literal accuracy of the voyages imputed to him, 'a exactidão perfeita da narrativa de Gomes de Santo Estevão.' This writer or pseudonym, who, if we may judge by his repeated insistence on the Kingdom of León, may have been of that province, found in D. Pedro a convenient stalking-horse for his unlettered plagiarism of Mandeville. His book appeared in 1544, and was reissued at Salamanca in 1547, under the style and title of 'Libro del infante don Pedro de Portugal, el cual anduvo las cuatro partidas del mundo.' The number of Parts of the World was later raised to Seven, by a blundering reminiscence of the Siete Partidas of Alfonso the Wise: and the work ran subsequently into nineteen other Castilian editions and ten Portuguese (the princeps of the latter being 1602)<sup>1</sup>.

In general, the *Libro del Infante* is an imitation, but coincidences of detail are rare. A broad modification is introduced by the author's recollections of Ruy González de Clavijo's account of his mission to

<sup>1</sup> D. Cesáreo Fernández Duro, *op. cit.*, quotes the following editions: Castilian: 1544, 1547, 1563, 1564, 1570, 1595(bis), 1622, 1626, sine anno Barcelona, 1669, 1690, 1696, 1720, s.a. Valencia, 1800?(bis), 1815, 1852, 1873, 1893. Portuguese: 1602, 1644, 1646, 1698, 1713, 1732, 1739, 1767, 1794, 1882. He prints in full the texts of Madrid: 1893 and Oporto: 1882. Oliveira Martins compares Madrid: 1873 with the Oporto edition (*Os filhos de D. João*, I). Bibl. Nac. Madrid, U 6292 is the edition s.a. (1800?) published at Córdoba, by D. Rafael García Rodríguez.

Tamburlane, and of the *Andanzas* of Tafur. Under this influence the goal of enterprise is no longer the Pekinese court of Kublai Khan, but that of Timur in Hither Asia: and the lands of Prester John are transferred from Japan and the East Indies to Abyssinia, in conformity with the taste of a later age. But the author makes no attempt to correct the rest of his narrative so as to suit these alterations, as he is manifestly, unlike the compiler or compilers of Mandeville, quite devoid of geographic sense. Nothing, for example, could be more simple (ch. ii) than to include Norway in the line of D. Pedro's progress from Greece to Babylon the Great. The description of Jerusalem, of Noah's Ark on Mount Ararat, of Dead Sea fruit, of Lot's wife, and of the tomb of Saint Catherine, are commonplaces shared between the two writers: but the resemblances are confined to generalities. Perhaps the description of the Valley of Jehoshaphat as one 'whose surface is so great and spacious that its confines are lost to sight on the horizon' (ch. ii) may be a transposition of Mandeville's 'great plain that is between the church and the city. And on the east side...is the vale of Jehoshaphat'; and 'Tierra de Promission' is one of the latter's consecrated phrases. Mandeville imprisons the Lost Tribes between high mountains near the Caspian, and in subjection to the Amazons: D. Pedro finds them in Cananêa, subjects of Prester John, while it is the race of the Cyclopes that is walled in by mountains, awaiting the coming of Antichrist. The Pigmies are transferred from the Yangtze (?) to the Nile (?) (Caudaloso Río, ch. vi), reversing their character. The apples of Paradise become pears: priestly marriage and penalties for remarriage are customs transferred from the Greek Church to that of Prester John. The dooms by the hand of St Thomas become the sign of the election of the Prester, following Mandeville's hint that the primate of Pentexoire was also the Patriarch of St Thomas. The statistics of the kingdoms are parallel: Mand.: 72 kings, 12 archbishops, 20 bishops; D. Pedro: 64 kings, 12 archbishops, 30 bishops, 4 patriarchs. The streams of Paradise, Amazons, howdahs, Cyclopes, Cynoscephali, eating of sick relatives, etc., are common topics which differ widely as to distribution.

The narrative of Gomes de Santisteban is brief and pedestrian. Lacking both knowledge and imagination, he is content to offer a dry, bald and vulgar summary. He seems to have had Mandeville constantly in mind, but not at hand; as if he were more accustomed to hear than to read literature. The marked declension in every literary quality from the English and French versions is rendered less conspicuous by the mediation of the Valencian series. The relatively firm sense of geography

in the early work becomes dissipated and hazy in the Leonese. Having adopted a prince for hero, he does not know how to treat him with the deference due to his rank. But in spite of these defects, or perhaps because of them, combined with the virtues of brevity and accessibility, the *Libro del Infante* has been popular to this day; and it has added to the language of the peasants the phrase which describes globetrotting; 'correr las siete partidas del mundo.' 'In like manner will I take no rest, but traverse the seven parts of the universe, with more punctuality than did the Infante Don Pedro of Portugal,' says Don Quixote in ch. xxiii of his Second Part. Once again Mandeville reaches Cervantes through a plagiarist.

WILLIAM J. ENTWISTLE.

MANCHESTER.



## THE HILL SONGS OF PERO MOOGO.

I HAVE adopted provisionally the suggestion of D. Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos: Moogo for Meogo. No doubt the word 'Meogo' existed—it occurs in King Alfonso X's *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, in the sense 'medius'—but, as a name, Moogo, with its clear significance (Monachus, Moago, Moogo, 'Monk'), is preferable, and a Pedro Moogo was actually living at Sanfins in Galicia in 1271<sup>1</sup>. We may in any case say that the poet, Peter the Monk or Pero Meogo, flourished, like Zorro and other *jograis*, in the middle of the thirteenth century. His introduction of the *cervo* in all his poems, which gives them a curious fascination, has suggested that he was a Jew, or, at least, that he was well acquainted with the language and oriental imagery of the Old Testament. Cf. *The Song of Solomon* viii. 14: 'Make haste, my beloved, and be thou like to a roe or to a young hart upon the mountains of spices.'

### I. CANTIGA DE AMIGO.

O meu amig' a que preito talhei  
Con vosso medo, madre, mentir-lh' ei  
E se non for assanhar s' a.

Talhei lh' eu preito de o ir ver  
En a fonte u os cervos van beber  
E se non for assanhar s' a.

E non ei eu de lhi mentir sabor  
Mais mentir lh' ei con vosso pavor  
E se non for assanhar s' a.

De lhi mentir nenhum sabor ei,  
Con vosso med' a mentir lh' averei  
E se non for assanhar s' a.

Mother, for fear of you will I  
To my plighted lover lie.  
Yet if I go not, how angry he !

For I made a tryst to go to him,  
Where the deer drink in the stream ;  
And if I go not, how angry he !

To him would I fain be true,  
Yet will be false for fear of you,  
And if I go not, how angry he !

True would I be, yet of you sore afraid,  
I will be false to the tryst I made.  
Yet if I go not, how angry he !

### II. CANTIGA DE AMIGO.

Por mui fremosa que sanhuda estou  
A meu amigo que me demandou  
Que o fosse ver  
A la fonte u os cervos van beber.

Non faç' eu torto de mi lh' assanhar  
Por s' atrever el de me demandar  
Que o fosse ver  
A la fonte u os cervos van beber.

Fair am I, yet anger keen  
Comes me and my love between,  
For he bade me go to him  
Where the deer drink in the stream.

And my wrath is right and fair,  
That my lover should so dare  
Send to bid me go to him  
Where the deer drink in the stream.

Afeito me ten ja per seu dia  
Que el non ven mas envia  
Que o fosse ver  
A la fonte u os cervos van beber.

Little care hath he for me,  
To come not, but send secretly,  
Send to bid me go to him  
Where the deer drink in the stream.

### III. CANTIGA DE AMIGO.

Tal vai o meu amigo  
Con amor que lh' eu dei  
Come cervo ferido  
De monteiro del rei.

Tal vai o meu amigo,  
Madre, con meu amor  
Come cervo ferido  
De monteiro maior.

E se el vai ferido  
Ira morrer al mar,  
'ssi fará meu amigo  
Se eu del non pensar.

E guardade-vos, filha,  
Ca ja m' eu a tal vi  
Que se fez coitado  
Por guanhar de mi.

E guardade-vos, filha,  
Ca ja m' eu vi a tal  
Que se fez coitado  
Por de mi guanhar.

With love in his heart  
Went my lover from here,  
As when the king's huntsman  
Has wounded a deer.

With the wound of my love  
My lover did part  
As when the chief huntsman  
Has stricken a hart.

And wounded he goes  
To die by the sea,  
So my lover will die  
If he hear not from me.

O not so, my daughter,  
Beware : more than one  
Have I seen who so grieved  
To his profit alone.

Beware, O my daughter,  
More than one did I see,  
Who pretended to grieve  
To win favour of me.

### IV. COSSANTE.

Ai cervos do monte, vin vos preguntar :

Foi-s' o meu amig' e se ala tardar

Que farei, velidas ?

Ai cervos do monte vin volo dizer :

Foi-s' o meu amig' e querria saber

Que farei, velidas ?

Wild deer of the hills, if you would I  
know,

Since my love is gone from me and comes  
not and lo,

Fair deer, what of me now ?

Wild deer of the hills, I came this to say,  
For fain would I know, since my love is  
away,

Fair deer, what of me now ?

### V. ALVORADA.

Leda dos amores levou-s' a velida,  
Vai lavar cabelos na fontana fria,

Leda dos amores, dos amores leda.

Dos amores leda levou-s' a louçana  
Vai lavar cabelos na fria fontana

Leda dos amores, dos amores leda.

In love and merry the fair maid arose,  
And to bathe her hair in the spring she  
goes.

In love and merrily, glad at heart goes she.

Lovely and merry to the cold spring  
There to bathe her hair is she hastening.

In love and merrily, glad at heart goes she.

II, 9. *seu dia* C. V. M. *sendia* C. V. B.

III, 2. *dei* C. V. M. *ei* C. V. B. 3. *come* C. V. M. *como* C. V. B. 5. *amigo* C. V. M. *amado* C. V. B. 11. *ssy* C. V. M. *'ssy* C. V. B. 14, 18. *atal* C. V. M. *a tal* C. V. B.

IV, 1. *de* C. V. M. 2. *ala* C. V. M. *a lá* C. V. B. 6. *faria* C. V. M.

V, 1. *Leuoussa uenda* C. V. M. *Levou-s' a velida* C. V. B. *Levou-s' a louçana, levou-s' a velida* C. A. N. 4. *Leuoussa louçana* C. V. M. *Levou-s' a velida, levou-s' a louçana* C. A. N.

Vai lavar cabelos na fontana fria,  
Passou seu amigo que lhi ben queria.  
Leda dos amores, dos amores leda.

Vai lavar cabelos na fria fontana,  
Passa seu amigo que muito a ama.  
Leda dos amores, dos amores leda.

Passa seu amigo que lhi ben queria,  
O cervo do monte a agua volvia.  
Leda dos amores, dos amores leda.

Passa seu amigo que muito a ama,  
O cervo do monte volvia a agua.

Leda dos amores, dos amores leda.

To the cold spring to bathe her hair,  
And her lover true came there, came there.  
In love and merrily, glad at heart is she.

For to bathe her hair by the spring so cold,  
And her lover true doth her there behold.  
In love and merrily, glad at heart is she.

For her lover chanced to come that way,  
The hill-deer troubled the stream that day.  
In love and merrily, glad at heart is she.

For he chanced that way, her lover dear,  
The hill-deer hath troubled the water  
clear.

In love and merrily, glad at heart is she.

## VI. CANTIGA DE AMIGO.

Preguntar-vos quer' eu, madre,  
Que mi digades verdade,  
Se ousará meu amigo  
Ante vos falar comigo.

Pois eu mig' ei seu mandado  
Querria saber de grado  
Se ousará meu amigo  
Ante vos falar comigo.

Irei, mia madre, a la fonte  
U van os cervos do monte,  
Se ousará meu amigo  
Ante vos falar comigo.

Mother, my mother, tell me true  
This that I would ask of you :  
Will my lover ever dare  
Speak with me when you are there ?

Since he has plighted his troth to me,  
This would I know right willingly :  
Will my lover ever dare  
Speak with me when you are there ?

I will go, mother, to the spring  
Where the deer have their gathering.  
Will my lover ever dare  
Speak with me when you are there ?

## VII. CANTIGA DE AMIGO.

Enas verdes ervas  
Vi anda-las cervas,  
Meu amigo.

Enos verdes prados  
Vi os cervos bravos,  
Meu amigo.

E con sabor delas  
Lavei mias garceras,  
Meu amigo.

E con sabor delos  
Lavei meus cabelos,  
Meu amigo.

Des que os lavei  
D' ouro los liei,  
Meu amigo.

In the green meadow grass  
I saw the deer pass,  
O lover of mine.

In the pastures green  
The wild deer have I seen,  
O lover of mine.

And for joy of them there  
I bathed my hair,  
O lover of mine.

Yea, for pleasure of them  
Bathed my locks in the stream,  
O lover of mine.

And when I had bathed them  
With gold then I swathed them,  
O lover of mine.

V, 8. *Passou* C. V. M., C. V. B. *Passa* C. A. N. 11. *muytaus* C. V. M.  
*muyt' a vos ama* C. V. B. *muito a ama* C. A. N. 16-18 *desunt in* C. V. M., C. V. B.  
17. *Do monte o cervo* C. A. N.

VI, 3. *ousara* C. V. M., C. V. B. *ousará* C. A. N.

VII, 1, 4. *E nas, E nos* C. V. M. *En as, En os* C. V. B. *Enas, Enos* C. A. N.  
7, 10. *dalhas, delhos* C. V. M. *d' elhas* C. V. B. *d' elas* C. A. N. 8. *garjetas* C. V. M.  
*graceras* C. V. B.



Des que las lavara  
D' ouro las liara,  
Meu amigo.

D' ouro los liei  
E vos aspereí,  
Meu amigo.

D' ouro las liara  
E vos asperava,  
Meu amigo.

I bathed them, behold,  
Then I bound them with gold,  
O lover of mine.

Bound with gold so fair,  
And awaited thee there,  
O lover of mine.

All with gold for thee,  
Whom I waited to see,  
O lover of mine.

## VIII. BAILADA.

Fostes, filha, eno bailar  
E rompestes i o brial.  
Poi-lo cervo i ven  
Esta fonte seguide-a ben,  
Poi-lo cervo i ven.

Fostes, filha, eno loir  
E rompestes o vestir,  
Poi-lo cervo i ven  
Esta fonte seguide-a ben.

E rompestes i o brial  
Que fezeastes no meu pesar,  
Poi-lo cervo i ven  
Esta fonte seguide-a ben.

E rompestes i o vestir  
Que fezeastes a pesar de mi,  
Poi-lo cervo i ven  
Esta fonte seguide-a ben.

You went, my daughter, to the dance  
And tore your cloak there by mischance.  
Follow, follow the water clear,  
For the deer to drink is wont to come here,  
Follow, since hither comes the deer.

My daughter, to the dance you went :  
Your dress was in the romping rent.  
Follow, follow the water clear,  
For the deer to drink is wont to come here.

You tore your dress there, new and bright,  
That you made in my despite.  
Follow, follow the water clear,  
For the deer to drink is wont to come here.

You tore your dress there as you played  
That against my will you made.  
Follow, follow the water clear,  
For the deer to drink is wont to come here.

## IX. CANTIGA DE AMIGO.

Digades, filha, mia filha velida,  
Porque tardastes na fontana fria ?

Os amores ei.

Digades, filha, mia filha louçana,  
Porque tardastes na fria fontana ?

Os amores ei.

Tardei, mia madre, no fontana fria,  
Cervos do monte a agua volvian.

Os amores ei.

Tardei, mia madre, na fria fontana,  
Cervos do monte volvian a agua.

Os amores ei.

Tell me, daughter, my daughter fair,  
At the cold spring why so long did you  
linger?

Alas, I am in love.

Tell me, my daughter, my lovely daughter,  
At the cold spring why so long did you  
tarry?

Alas, I am in love.

Mother, by the cold spring I lingered,  
The wild deer had troubled the water  
there.

Alas, I am in love.

Mother, by the cold spring I tarried,  
The deer from the hills were troubling  
the water.

Alas, I am in love.

VII, 23. *asperava* C. V. M., C. V. B. *asperara* C. A. N.

VIII, 1, 6. *eno* C. V. M., C. A. N. *en o* C. V. B. 3, 5. *Poys o namorado* C. V. M.,  
C. V. B. *Poi-lo cervo* C. A. N. 6. *loyr* C. V. M. *royr* C. V. B. 11. *ao meu pesar*  
C. V. M., C. V. B. *a meu pesar* C. A. N. 15. *a pesar de mi* C. V. M. *a pesar min* C. A. N.

Mentes, mia filha, mentes por amigo,

Nunca vi cervo que volvess' o rio.  
Os amores ei.

Mentes, mia filha, mentes por amigo,

Nunca vi cervo que volvess' o alto.

Os amores ei.

'Tis a lie, O my daughter, with your lover  
you lingered,  
Ne'er saw I deer trouble the water there.  
Alas, I am in love.

'Tis a lie, O my daughter, with your lover  
you tarried,  
For ne'er saw I deer that would trouble  
the water.

Alas, I am in love.

IX, 13, 16. *mentir* C. V. M. *mentis* C. V. B. *mentes* C. A. N. 14. *uoluisse orrio*  
C. V. M. *volvesse rio* C. V. B.

## NOTES.

I (C. V. 789). The *amiga* addresses her mother and laments that for fear of her she must renounce her meeting at the fountain with her lover. 1. *talhar preto*. Cf. *talhar preços*, 'to agree as to the price.'

II (C. V. 790). Here the *amiga* professes to be angry with her lover for asking her to meet him at the fountain, apparently because he had not come to arrange it in person, but sent a message (*non ven mas envia*). Cf. San Juan de la Cruz: 'No quieras enviarme De hoy más mensajero, que no saben decirme lo que quiero.'

III (C. V. 791). This is one of the numerous dialogues between mother and daughter. The *amiga* says that the *amigo* is wounded by the dart of love like the stricken deer. Her mother professes to doubt his sincerity.

IV (C. V. 792). The *amiga* mourning for her lover, addresses the deer as in King Dinis' *cossante* she addresses the pines:

Ai flores, ai flores do verde pino  
Se sabedes novas do meu amigo?  
Ai Deus, e u é?

V (C. V. 793). Other beautiful *alvas* or *alvoradas* (dawn-songs) in the *Cancioneiro da Vaticana* are Nuno Fernandez Torneol's *Levad' amigo, que dormides as manhãs frias* (C. V. 242), King Dinis' *Levantou-s' a velida* (C. V. 172), and Pedr' Eanez Solaz' *Eu velida non dormia* (C. V. 415). The first line or (if we print in distichs, as seems preferable) the first half of the first line of the first and second verses is missing. Senhor Nunes supplies *Levou-s' a louçana* and *Levou-s' a velida* (cf. the first verse of C. V. 172: *Levantou-s' a velida levantou-se a alva*), although it seems unlikely that we should have a second parallel (*louçana—velida* or *virgo—d'algo*) with *velida—louçana*. D. Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos has suggested: *Levou-se mui cedo* (cf. *Aalis tót se leva*); but the omissions in these poems are usually of the exceedingly obvious. The sixth verse, for instance, of the present *alvorada* was omitted, as being implicit in the fourth and fifth. This song was set to music by P. E. Wagner (see W. Storck, *Altportuguesische Lieder*, Paderborn, 1885).

VI (C. V. 794). This *amigo* song has a strange, almost a foreign beauty which seems slightly to confirm the impression that Moogo may have been a Jew. 5. Cf. C. V. 168, a *cossante* by King Dinis: *pois seu mandad' ei migo*.

VII (C. V. 795). 8. For *garceras* cf. C. V. 756.

VIII (C. V. 796). A dance-song, somewhat similar to this, is that of King Dinis: *Mia madre velida Vou-m' a la bailia Do amor* (C. V. 195). 6. *loir*. D. Carolina Michaëlis de Vasconcellos derives from Lat. *ludere* (to play).

IX (C. V. 797). This is the most beautiful of Moogo's *cervo* songs, full of melancholy and passion. Cf. Gil Vicente's less gloomy *Donde vundes, filha, branca e colorida*. 13, 16. The original has four times *mentir*, and it is of course just possible to maintain it: 'To lie, O my daughter, to lie for a lover!'

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## NOTES ON NORTH FRISIAN (SYLT) ETYMOLOGY.

It would appear almost supererogatory to attempt to add information to the admirably documented dictionary of the Sylt dialect, compiled by Mr Boy P. Möller, especially as his etymologies have passed the scrutiny of the Germanic seminar in Hamburg. There are, however, a few parallels and cognate forms, which, though omitted by the author, may possibly be worthy of consideration. In particular, I have endeavoured to trace the correspondences of some of the more striking compounds and to ascertain the range of certain colloquial idioms and proverbial sayings, the full discussion of which naturally lay beyond Mr Möller's scope. These are both fields in which much fruitful work remains to be done.

A glance at the appended word-list shows the close resemblance in usage between the Sylt dialect and its Frisian congeners. No less striking is the number of Sylt words exhibiting analogies in form and meaning with words still current in English (especially North Country and Scottish) dialects. Though a few of these latter correspondences (e.g. *gööl*) may be due to common derivation from Norse or another language, there remain a certain number, which appear to antedate the departure of the English from the neighbourhood of the Frisians. Several of these English dialectal forms will be found to supply *lacunae* in Möller's etymologies; in return the Sylt forms may be of value to English etymologists. Even the lexicologists of the standard language may find some useful material in some of the words here discussed, e.g. *bocht*, *bruarwinning*, *haurstal*, *sirroop* etc.

Quotations are made for West Frisian [W. Fris.] from Dijkstra's *Friesch Woordenboek*, Leeuwarden 1900-1911; East Frisian<sup>1</sup> [E. Fris.] from ten Doornkat-Koolman; Föhr from Petersen's dictionary; Old Dutch [Old Du.] from Verdam's *Middelnederlandsch Woordenboek*; German from the *Deutsches Wörterbuch* [D.Wb.]; English from the *New English Dictionary* [N.E.D.] and *English Dialect Dictionary* [E.D.D.]. The Jutish parallels are drawn from the well-stocked dictionary of

<sup>1</sup> This term is really a misnomer, for the modern dialects known by it are really Low-German, East Frisian in the stricter sense only surviving in the Saterland and on the island of Wangeroog. The term North Frisian is often restricted to the dialects of the mainland and the Halligs, those of the islands of Föhr, Amrum, Heligoland and Sylt being comprised under Insular Frisian (*Inselfriesisch*).



Feilberg, *Bidrag til en Ordbog over Jyske Almuesmål* [Jut.]. For proverbs reference is made to Wander's *Sprichwörterlexikon* [Wander].

*āpbaak* 'to put bread back into the oven,' cf. W. Fris. *opbakke* in *ālde boltsjes opbakke* 'to bake up stale rolls,' E. Fris. *opbaken*, Du. *opbakken* and Dan. *bage op*.

*āpbor* (*āpbod*) 'auction,' cf. W. Fris. *by opbod forkeapje*; Du. *opbod*.

*balk* 'whipcord,' cf. E.D.D. *balch* (Devon, Cornwall) 'a small rope or sash cord,' Jut. *bolk* 'thin tarred rope; kind of fishing line.'

*balstjüürich* 'fractionous.' To the parallels given add W. Fris. *balstjurich* and Jut. *balstyrig*. Middle Low German has synonym *asturich*.

*barl* 'dirty wool on the whicks of sheep,' cf. W. Yorks. *burl* 'a knot or other irregularity in cloth' and synonymous with the Sylt word the derivative *burlings*. Perhaps ultimately related to Lettish *būra* 'a heap' and the root of Latin *furunculus*.

*bidārigi* 'to think it over,' cf. W. Fris. *bidaerje* 'mitescere, sedari'; Du. and E. Fris. *bedaren*. Adopted in Jut. *bedare sig*.

*bikunkli* 'to take in, trick,' cf. W. Fris. *bikonkelje* 'to plot, intrigue.' Sylt apparently does not show the unprefix form, which appears in E. Fris. as *kunkel* 'an old gossip' and *kunkelē* 'gossiping.'

*blak* 'ink.' The other insular Frisian dialects use the same expression (Heligoland *blak*, Föhr *blakk*) in agreement with Scandinavian usage (Dan. *blæk*, Swed. *bläck*, Finnish 'Lehnübersetzung' *muste*). In English *black* occurs in this sense ca. 1000 A.D. (cf. N.E.D.). *Blak* also occurs in E. Fris., though Cadovius-Müller in his *Memoriale* records *incket*, cf. W. Fris. and Du. *inkt*. Du. has *blakvisch* 'cuttlefish.'

*blēn* specialized in the sense of 'carding wools of various colours,' cf. W. Yorks. *blend* 'to mix wool ready for manufacture.'

*blösmi* 'to be in heat (of sheep or goats).' Add to E. Fris. parallel the English dialectal *blissom* (vb. and adj.), used especially of sheep and referred by E.D.D. to Old Norse *blæsma*.

*bloster* 'bloom,' cf. Jut. *æ ævaltræ stor i full blåster*.

*blün'erig* 'turbid (of liquids).' The same derivative in N. Yorks. *blundry* 'turbid after rain.'

*bocht* in *en lüng bocht* 'a long time.' This use supports the etymology, advanced tentatively by the N.E.D. and more definitely by Skeat, of Engl. *bout* from a specialized sense of *bought* 'a bend, turn.' It is curious that the Scottish forms adduced by E.D.D. should be without the back open [χ]. Wedgwood equated *bout* in its various senses with W. Flem. *bonte*, *bont* (to which add E. Fris. *bott*), but this rather

- tempting hypothesis is weakened by the Sylt parallel to *bought*, which I can also match with Jut. *wi ka ta æn böwt* (= bugt) *mæ*.
- bor*<sup>3</sup> (*bod*) 'the slack of a rope.' To the Low German *bott* quoted, add the W. Fris. parallel *bod*, employed in the same sense and phonetically nearer the Sylt form (final *d* > *r*).
- brak-falig* 'weak, tumble-down,' cf. W. Fris. *brekfallich*, E. Fris. and Westfalian *brekfällig*. The H.G. *bruchfällig* bears a different meaning, i.e. 'punishable,' 'ruinosus' being rendered by *baufällig*. M.L.G. used *vallachtich* and W. Fris. has a substantive *âldfalom*.
- bras* 'long apron, pinafore,' cf. W. Fris. *bras* 'handbag, pouch' and Northumberland dialect *brass*. Relationship to Engl. *brat* (Old Northumbrian *bratt*) 'apron' is obscure.
- bresli* 'sheep's droppings dried for use as fuel.' Möller omits the etymology. In English dialects there are *bristle* 'to dry, scorch, burn' and *briss* (Devon) in the collocation *briss and buttons* 'sheep's droppings.' Perhaps the ultimate root in Germanic is *\*brus* 'to break, crackle,' cf. Falk and Torp, *Wortschatz der Germanischen Spracheinheit* in Fick's *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Indogermanischen Sprachen*, 4th edition, Göttingen, 1909, p. 282.
- brirman* 'bridegroom.' W. Fris. had *brêgeman* (G. Japiks); Engl. *bride-man* is obsolete and dialectal. Jut. has *brudemænd*.
- brot* 'rude,' cf. W. Fris. (Hindeloopen) *brôt* 'surly.'
- bruarwening* 'bread-winning.' From the prevalence of this word throughout the Frisian area (W. Fris. *breawinning*, *breawinner*, E. Fris. *brôdwinning*, *brôdwinner*) and its occurrence in the Jutish dialect of West Schleswig in the phrase *det er en sur brôdvinding* (quoted in the Supplement to Feilberg's dictionary) as well as in English I conclude that this compound is very old, though, oddly enough, the earliest quotation for *breadwinner* in the N.E.D. dates from 1818. The usual Dutch equivalent is *kostwinning*, *kostwinnaar*, the Westfalian *brôdsörger*. Van Dale quotes the Dutch phrase *die zaak is geene broodwinning, maar eene geldwinning*, i.e. more profitable.
- brumsk* 'in heat (of pigs).' There is a W. Fris. *brimsk* 'unapproachable' connected with *brimme* 'to roar.' Cf. further Jut. (West Angel) *brylsk*.
- bumer-is* 'ice containing air-bubbles.' In addition to E. Fris. there are correspondences in W. Fris. *bomîs* and Du. *bomijs*. De Bô supplies W. Flem. *bomiis*, synonym *kuipijs* for 'ice which forms in ditches and will not bear' and connects it with verb *bommen* 'to indent, dint, bump.' Perhaps connected with Germanic root *\*bemb* 'to swell,' cf.



Falk and Torp, *loc. cit.* p. 260. In Middle Low German the idea was expressed by *bollis* and *rotis*, the former apparently from Germanic \**bul* 'to swell.'

*daageraad*, *daageruar* 'red of dawn,' Add W. Fris. *dageread*.

*dingeli* 'to dangle,' cf. Jut. *dingle*.

*döörsteek*, p.p. *döörstat* in *döörstat kraam* 'a got up job.' The W. Fris. p.p. *trochstitsen* and Old Du. *een doorgestoken werk* have the same sense. Dutch still uses *eene doorgestoken kant* for 'a card marked with a hole,' fig. 'a "plant".' Cf. further H.G. *abgekartet* and W. Flem. *een doorstekte deugeniet*. M.L.G. said *ên maket rei*.

*döörtrapet* 'sly,' cf. W. Fris. *trochtrape*, E. Fris. *dörtrapd*; Du. *doortrapt*.

*drāgeli* 'to draggle,' cf. W. Fris. *dragelje*.

*drai*<sup>2</sup> 'to turn,' apparently a loan word, for Sylt also has the form *tre*.

*draiom* 'a crank,' cf. W. Fris. *draeiom*. E. Fris. has *dreier*.

*drech* 'lasting,' cf. Engl. *dree* (Sc. *dreech*, Donegal *dreagh*) 'long, slow, tedious; persistent, continuous.'

*drengsfaamen* 'a tomboy,' lit. a boy's girl, cf. Du. *jongedochter*, Jut. *drengknægt*. The complementary form is *faamensdrenge* 'a "girly" boy,' cf. Jut. *pigetps*. W. Fris. shows *feintejongens* and *fammejongens* in the sense of male and female children respectively, and in contemporary English we form on analogous lines *a man's man* and *a woman's man* in a specialized sense.

*droog* 'a hair-sieve.' Ultimately connected with O.E. *dréahnian*.

*droonk* 'pig's wash,' cf. W. Fris. *drank* in the phrase *in bulte bargaen* (pigs) *meitsje tinne drank* (cf. Wander IV 453, Schwein 139), E. Fris. *drank* and Westfalian *drank* (*fatt*).

*duntji* 'a bag-wig.' Might be a nasalized diminutive of Germ. \**dutta*-, cf. E. Fris. *dott* 'a tuft.' Hardly connected with Scots *dunch* 'a bundle or truss of rags.'

*duutj* 'a nap,' cf. Engl. *dute*, *dutt* (N.Sc.) 'to doze.'

*eeskenskop* 'ash shovel,' cf. W. Fris. *yeskskeppe*; Du. *aschscop*.

*eetgröör* 'aftermath.' Germanic cognates are discussed in Franck's *Etym. Woordenboek der Nederlandschen Taal* (1912 ed.), s.v. *eetgroen*. I would add that Welsh uses the same Indo-european prefix in its equivalent *adlodd*. Middle Low German used as a synonym *nagras*.

*eetmeel* 'a period of 24 hours,' like Scand. *døgn* or *døgr*. To the parallels given by Falk and Torp, *Norwegisch-dänisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, s.v. *etmaal* add W. Fris. *etmäl*.

*fan-hun'ig* 'off side (of a horse),' cf. W. Fris. *fenderhånsk* (correlative



*byderhânsk* 'near side'), E. Fris. *fanhand* (correl. *tohand*); Du. *vanderhandsch* (correl. *bijderhandsch*); Westfalian *vannerhandsk*, M.L.G. *van der hant* 'right,' *to der hant* 'left'; Dan. *frahands*, Jut. *frahân* (correl. *tilhând*, *nêrhând*).

*fat* 'fat.' The proverbial saying *fat drest booven* (fat floats on top) is expanded in W. Fris. to *it fet wol altyd boppe wêzen, behalven yn 'e Potmage* and *it fet driuwt altyd boppe, al is't ek fen en dea houn* (cf. E. Fris. *'t fet drift dog bafen, al is't ôk man fan 'n dôden hund*). Cf. further Jut. *æ fet vel oltir âwenâ*, i.e. 'the fat will always (be) on top,' and Wander I 989, *Fett* 2—16.

*fêsk weeter* 'fresh (i.e. not salt) water,' cf. in this sense W. Fris. *farsk wetter* and *farske bâter*. Cf. further Falk and Torp's Danish dictionary, *op. cit.* s.v. *frisk*.

*fleepi* 'to draw down the lower lip when crying,' cf. further Engl. *flep*, *fleb*, *flip*, subs. 'the underlip,' vb. 'to pull a face'; Jut. *flæbe* 'to weep.'

*flii* 'pterygium,' cf. also W. Fris. *flij* (n.) 'the skin of boiled milk or of an egg'; E. Fris. *flêje*, *flêi*, *flê*; Westfalian *vlir* 'eyelid.'

*foraarberi*<sup>2</sup> 'to overwork one's self,' cf. in this sense W. Fris. *forar(re)-beidsje* and Old Du. (*hem*) *verarbeiden*. Adopted in Jut. *forarbejde sig*.

*forbunt* 'alliance,' cf. W. Fris. *forboun*, E. Fris. *ferbund*; Old Du. *verbont*, M.H.G. *verbunt*.

*forfiir* 'to frighten.' The simplex *fiir* is apparently not found. The p.p. *forfird* is paralleled by W. Fris. *forfeard*, E. Fris. *ferfârd*; Westfalian *verveerd*, Du. *vervaard*. Cf. further M.H.G. *vervâren* and Early N.H.G. adjective *ververlich* (A. Götze, *Frühneuhochdeutsches Glossar*, 2nd edition, 1920).

*forgön* 'to grudge,' cf. in this sense W. Fris. *forginne* and Cad. Müller *vergunnen*; Old Du. *vergonnen* (glossed by Kiliaen 'invidere') and M.H.G. *vergunnen* (which also denotes the opposite 'to grant willingly'); Early N.H.G. *vergönstig*.

*forhaali* refl. 'to recover,' cf. for prefix W. Fris. *forhelje* and *forhael* (*op yens forhael komme* 'reconvalesce'), E. Fris. *ferhâl*, *sik verhâlen*; Old Du. *verhalen*; Westfalian *sik verhalên*; M.H.G. *sich verholn*.

*forpuanigi* 'to pledge.' For suffix cf. W. Fris. *forpânje* and M.L.G. *verpendigen*.

*forsair* (-said) 'engaged,' cf. W. Fris. *forsizze* 'to promise'; E. Fris. *fersegd*.

*forslofi* 'to neglect.' Add W. Fris. *forslofje*, E. Fris. *fersluffen* (v.i.).

*forswiar* 'to renounce, forswear,' cf. in this sense W. Fris. *forswiere* (as against E. Fris. *ferswaren* 'to promise'); Westfalian *verswären*; Old Du. *versweren* 'abjurare' (Kiliaen); M.H.G. *verswern* (both meanings); Jut. *forsværge*.

*forweli* 'to fade, wilt,' cf. W. Fris. *forwylgje, forwylje, forwylkje*.

*fraagbok* 'catechism,' cf. W. Fris. *fraechboek*.

*fuarelk* in the phrase *di klok gair olter fuarelk* (the clock is fast), cf. W.

Fris. *de klok is moai foarlik*. The Sylt phrase *best jít ek fuarelker?* (aren't you any forwarder yet?) is paralleled by W. Fris. *wy binne foarlik mei 't wirk*, cf. Jut. *frammelig mæ æ arbeid*.

*fuarhamer* 'sledge hammer,' add W. Fris. *foarhammer*, E. Fris. *förhamer*; Du. *voorhamer*; Engl. *forehammer* (Northern and Scottish) in N.E.D.; Jutish *forhammer*.

*fuarlíkung* 'preceding the corpse (by the mourners),' a ceremony known in W. Fris. as *de foargong*.

*fúlighair* 'afterbirth (of cattle),' cf. W. Fris. *fúlens*. The English abstract *foulness* has the concrete sense of 'dirty matter' as early as Trevisa, 1398, cf. N.E.D.

*fúlśnütig* 'cheeky, foul-mouthed (from 16th cent.),' cf. W. Fris. *fáltút*, E. Fris. *fúlśwút* and Du. *vuilbek*.

*galboten*, cf. Engl. *botts*, reinforcing the Germanic etymology of the word (cf. W. Flem. *botse*) substituted by Skeat in 4th edition of his dictionary for his former Celtic etymology. W. Fris. also has *botten* and *botgall*.

*galeri* 'to laugh and chatter loudly,' cf. E. Fris. *gallern*. To Möller's Hessian parallel add Engl. *galder* (Scottish and E. Antrim) 'to laugh, talk or sing boisterously,' a word referred by the E.D.D. to Old Norse *galdr* and O.E. *gealdor*.

*gāpi* 'to gape.' The proverbial saying *gāpi jens töögen en baakaun*, lit. 'to gape against an oven (of a pointless proceeding)' has its counterpart in W. Fris. *men kin tsjin in oun net gapje* and E. Fris. *tägen 'n bakáfen kan man nit gapen*. For English correspondences (one as old as the *Owl and Nightingale*) cf. N.E.D. *sub voce* 'gape' and 'oven' 2 b, and for German cf. D. Wb., vol. iv, col. 1137. Jutland has *de ær et gæt o gāv öwär åwns moñ*.

*gēmeli* 'to move the lips before laughing.' Nearer in meaning and form than Möller's citations is the Engl. *gimble* (Lincs. and E. Antrim) 'to make a face as a child about to cry; to grin, smile,' referred by the E.D.D. to Swedish dial. *gimla* 'to move the lips awry' (as in Sylt phrase *Piðer gēmelt tö lachin*).

*gē(r)sböter* 'grass butter,' cf. W. Fris. *gêrsbûter*, E. Fris. *grasbotter*. Engl. also has *grass-cheese* (Cheshire). Du. shows *grasboter* in contradistinction to *hooi-*, *stalboter*.

*gē(r)shuper* 'grasshopper' (q.v. N.E.D.), cf. W. Fris. *gêrshipper*, E. Fris. *grashûpper*, Du. *grashopper* and Scandinavian (e.g. Dan. *græs-hoppe*).

*gest* 'dry, not giving milk,' add Engl. *gast* (Westmorland and E. Antrim) 'barren; not producing at the proper season (of cows and ewes)' and the widespread Engl. dialect form *guess*. W. Fris. has the ablaut form *gust*. The Germanic root is \**gas*, cf. Falk-Torp, *op. cit.* p. 132. For further information cf. D. Wb., vol. iv, part 1, col. 2058, s.v. *geest*.

*giriïfelk* 'convenient.' Add W. Fris. *geryflik*, E. Fris. *gerîflik*.

*glinteri* 'to glitter.' Nasalization is found also in Engl. *glint*, M.H.G. *glinzen* and W. Fris. *glinsterje*.

*glüürioog* 'goggle eye,' cf. W. Fris. *glûreagje* (verb).

*gnûdelstiin* 'smooth stone used for ironing,' cf. E. Fris. *gnêde(l)stên* (to which Koolman supplies parallels from Low German and Swedish). The W. Fris. designation is *glêdstien*, Hindeloopen *glisterstien*. Jut. *gnidesten* is used to crush coffee or tobacco, is made of glass and sometimes serves as an iron. Cf. M.L.G. *glip stên* = 'Schrägstein,' cf. *persestên* and *strîkglas*.

*gööl* 'to howl,' is referred by Möller to Old Norse *gaula*, which may also be the origin of the Engl. *gowl* (used of a dog in Sc., Irish and North Country dialects).

*grai* 'to scream.' More closely related in form are the W. Fris. *graeije* 'to cry, scream' and Old Du. *greien*, *grayen* 'to scream.'

*grer* (*gred*) 'meadow,' cf. W. Fris. (Terschelling and Ameland dialects) *grie* and Old Du. *grede*.

*grimeli* 'to teem,' cf. W. Fris. *grî(m)melje*. It is doubtful whether this is ultimately related to Du. *wriemelen* and Dan. *vrímle*, used in the same sense.

*grof* in the secondary sense of 'pregnant,' cf. Old Du. *grof* (and French use of 'gros') and the W. Fris. idiom *dat wiif rint ek al wer mei 't grou liif*.

*grop* 'gutter (in cowshed),' cf. W. Fris. *groppe*, E. Fris. *grôpe*; Du. *greppel*. Jut. *grop*, cf. Feilberg, s.v. *grob*.

*grüming* 'two pegs connected by a cord used in tethering animals' is referred by Möller to Dan. *grime* 'a halter.' I note that the Shetland dialect has another derivative *grimack* for 'a rope fitted round a



horse's head as a substitute for a bridle.' As to the suffix cf. M.L.G. *helsink* 'neck-strap for horses.'

*grür* (*grüd*) 'a bundle of corn,' cf. W. Fris. *grude* (syn. *skobben*) 'a bundle of straw' and vb. *grúdsje* 'to tie straw in bundles'; E. Fris. *grude* 'tied end of a sack.'

*gungerstok* 'walking-stick,' cf. W. Fris. *gongelstok* (Du. *gaanstok*).

*gursii* 'to go surety for,' cf. W. Fris. *goedsizze*; Jut. *sige god for*.

*gurthartig*. The special sense of 'haughty' is seen in W. Fris. *great-hertich* and also in some older uses of Engl. *great-hearted*.

*haisteri* 'to romp,' cf. W. Fris. *heisterje* 'to ransack, spring-clean,' E. Fris. *heistern* 'to romp.'

*haurstal*. This is the exact equivalent of Engl. *headstall* (of a horse's harness), first quoted in N.E.D. from 15th century. The N.E.D. notes the corresponding use of *stall* in *fingerstall* (add *thumbstall*), but adduces no parallels in other languages. W. Fris. has *haedstal* and Du. *hoofdstal*.

*helhaak* 'a shrewish woman,' cf. W. Fris. *Diñels helheak* and *in boaze heak*, E. Fris. *helhake* = (i) an oven rake, (ii) a shrew. The N.E.D. quotes from the Tudor period the expression *unhappy hook*, rendering it by 'unhappy wight,' but this personal use of *hook* may be a mere coincidence. In the Frisian forms I suspect popular etymology and refer the constituent *hel-* to M.H.G. *helle* 'space between the oven and the wall.' We then have a metonymical use of *helhake* (perhaps from its scraping sound!) with which cf. the personal use of *Besen* etc.

*hēm* 'to hem.' A further parallel is found in the W. Fris. (Hindeloopen dial.) *himje*.

*heng* 'hinge,' cf. further W. Fris. *hinge*, Old Du. *heng(en)e*, now usually replaced by *hengsel*.

*hi-kat* 'tom cat' and *jü-kat* 'she cat' in accordance with both English and Scandinavian usage. M.L.G. has *sē* subs. for female animal. The N.E.D. quotes *he-cat* from a 15th century vocabulary. In this connection I note the parallelism between the Engl. *is it a he or a she?* (used as early as Aelfric) with W. Fris. *is 't en hy of in sy?*, E. Fris. *'t is en hē un gīn sē* and Du. *is die vogel een hij of eene zij?* German shows this usage as early as the O.H.G. *Physiologus*, cf. D. Wb. III, 690 f. *sub voce* 'er' (11).

*hiarmaal* 'the worn edge of the scythe after much hammering.' The corresponding W. Fris. designation is *harpaed*.

*hingslot* 'padlock,' cf. W. Fris. *hingelslot*.

*hingstskoeh* like Engl. *horseshoe* and Scandinavian (Swed. *hästsko* etc.)

as against E. Fris. *hûfiser*, W. Fris. *izer*, *hoech-* or *hoefizer*, *hynsteizer*, Du. *hoefijzer* etc.

*höfki* 'to threaten with raised fist.' In addition to the Dan. *høfte* 'to threaten' I note W. Fris. *hifkje* 'to poise in one's hand.' The Sylt form is possibly due to a contamination between these two stems.

*hualer-bööken* 'half-baked' (and fig.), cf. W. Fris. *healbakken* signifying 'luke-warm (in one's allegiance)'; E. Fris. and Du. *halfbakken* and Ger. *halbgebacken* 'semicrudis'; Jut. *halvbagt* 'foolish.'

*huanig* from *huan* 'a cock,' cf. W. Fris. *hoanich*, Du. *hanig* and Engl. *cocky*.

*hün'-bai* 'solanum nigrum,' lit. dog-berry, cf. W. Fris. *hounebei-stâl* 'solanum dulcamarum.'

*hüsji* (euphemism) 'a privy,' cf. Ger. *Häuschen*, W. Fris. *húske*, E. Fris. *húske* or *húske*, Du. *huisje* in the same sense.

*iinholt* 'the ribs of a ship,' cf. also W. Fris. *ynhouten*, E. Fris. *inholten*.

*iiven* 'even.' For the phrase (in the addenda) *nü sen wat om iiven*, cf.

Engl. *now we are both even with each other*. The collocation of the

preposition *om* with this word occurs also in W. Fris. *it is my om 't*

*effen* 'it is all one to me.' An 'even number' is rendered in Sylt by

*iiven tal* (cf. also W. Fris. and Du.), but the question *odd or even?*

shows the Ger. *paar of ünpaar*, whereas W. Fris. has *even of on?*

The phrase *üp iiven slocht* is paralleled by W. Jut. *o æ jawn sloet*

*inji* 'to get dusk,' cf. W. Fris. *jounje*, a denominative verb like M.H.G.

*âben*; Swiss *âben, ôben* (s.v. *Abend* in Kluge); Jutish *aftnes*, Du.

*avonden*. W. Fris. also has the denominative *nachtsje*.

*ispik* 'icicle,' not unlike W. Fris. (Dongeradeel dial.) *iispylk*, but *pik* is

from Germanic stem *pika-* 'a point,' while *pylk* is a diminutive of

the loan word *pyl*.

*jacht(er)i* 'to romp,' cf. W. Fris. adj. *jachterich* 'wanton,' Du. *jachterig*.

*janki* 'to groan, whimper,' cf. W. Fris. *jank(er)je* (of a dog). Adopted

in Jut. *janke*.

(To be continued.)

W. E. COLLINSON.

LIVERPOOL.

## THE GERMAN INFLUENCE ON COLERIDGE.

THIS subject has been discussed in England, Germany, and America; and the influence of Kant, Schelling, and A. W. v. Schlegel on Coleridge as a literary critic and philosopher has been worked out in detail<sup>1</sup>. The influence of Schiller and Herder on Coleridge, however, has not been fully appreciated. Brandl suggests that Coleridge may owe something to the aesthetic works of Schiller, but he gives no definite proof; Shawcross and Helene Richter, on the other hand, assume that Coleridge was practically untouched by Schiller's critical essays<sup>2</sup>.

It is the purpose of this paper to show that Coleridge as a literary critic was influenced by Schiller and Herder rather than by Kant, Schelling, and A. W. v. Schlegel; that Kant's influence is limited to the presentation of general principles of aesthetic, and that Schlegel influenced Coleridge neither in general principles nor in the application of such principles. An attempt is made to reconcile Coleridge's express denial of plagiarism with the fact that his lectures contain much that we find in Schlegel's lectures.

### I. COLERIDGE AND SCHILLER.

Coleridge and Schiller are alike in many ways<sup>3</sup>. Both of them had to contend with bad health, and to struggle hard with poverty, and, although their work won recognition<sup>4</sup> comparatively early in their lives, they had to rely on friends for pecuniary help.

Both passed through a period in which the poetic spring seemed to dry up, a period in which they devoted themselves to philosophy and

<sup>1</sup> Bibliographies of S. T. Coleridge have been published by J. L. Haney (1903) and T. J. Wise (1913). The German influence on Coleridge has been considered by: A. Brandl, *Coleridge und die englische Romantik*, Berlin, 1886; L. J. Wylie, *Studies in Evolution of Criticism*, Boston, 1894; J. L. Haney, *The German Influence on S. T. Coleridge*, Philadelphia, 1902; A. A. Helmholz, *The Indebtedness of S. T. Coleridge to A. W. v. Schlegel*, Madison, Wisconsin, 1907; J. Shawcross, edition of *Biographia Literaria*, Oxford, 1907; E. Pizzo, *S. T. Coleridge als Kritiker*, in *Anglia*, xxviii, pp. 201-255; Helene Richter, *Die philosophische Weltanschauung von S. T. Coleridge und ihr Verhältnis zur deutschen Philosophie*, in *Anglia*, xxxii, 1920, pp. 261-290, 297-324. See also *Modern Language Review*, ii, pp. 86 ff.; iv, pp. 121 ff.; ix, pp. 348 ff.

<sup>2</sup> Helene Richter says: 'Übrigens liegt kein Zeugnis vor, dass Coleridge Schillers ästhetische Abhandlungen gekannt hätte.'

<sup>3</sup> Their early education differed. Whilst Coleridge had a classical education, Schiller did not make the acquaintance of Aristotle until he was thirty-eight years old, and Goethe lent him a German translation of Aristotle's *Poetics* (Letter to Goethe, May 5, 1797).

<sup>4</sup> But it was also to some extent subjected to vindictive criticism.



literary criticism. Both acknowledged Kant as their teacher. In their study of philosophy they seem to have followed the same method and to have had the same aim. They applied philosophy to the fine arts, especially poetry; and to art they attributed a high moral purpose. For them the study of poetry included the whole range of mental and moral philosophy<sup>1</sup>. And just as both regarded poetry as the most important of the fine arts, so did they agree in giving great attention to drama, as a very important branch of poetry.

One of the most striking illustrations of the similarity of their tastes is the fact that though they fully appreciated the part played by the comic element in Shakespeare's plays yet they rejected the Porter's scene in *Macbeth*. Coleridge expressly denied that it could be Shakespeare's work<sup>2</sup>, and Schiller in his translation of *Macbeth*, which was based on the prose translations of Wieland and Eschenburg, both<sup>3</sup> of whom rendered the porter's speech, also omitted it.

Both Coleridge and Schiller discuss the question of the dependence of genius on public taste<sup>4</sup>, and stress the duty of the poet 'to raise people up to his own level, not to descend to theirs<sup>5</sup>,' and they are equally impatient with that 'love of the ludicrous which...will lie in wait for a jeer at any phrase<sup>6</sup>,' 'denn was ist so heilig und ernsthaft, das, wenn man es falsch verdreht, nicht belacht werden kann?'<sup>7</sup>

Coleridge first became acquainted with Schiller in November 1794 when he read a translation of *Die Räuber* and praised it highly in a letter to Southey. Writing to Cottle nearly three years later, i.e. June 1797, he again speaks highly of *Die Räuber*, and says that it contains 'profound touches of the human heart.' But, as we see from his note on *Wallenstein* (quoted below), his admiration for Schiller's dramas began to cool, and the twenty-third chapter of *Biographia Literaria* contains a criticism of Schiller's dramas in which the praise is lukewarm. Coleridge nowhere discusses Schiller's contributions to criticism. The note to *Wallenstein*<sup>8</sup>, in which Coleridge says, 'It is wonderful, however, that Schiller, who had studied Shakspeare'—a statement which could hardly be based on the evidence afforded by Schiller's dramas alone—suggests that Coleridge was familiar with Schiller's critical writings.

<sup>1</sup> See Coleridge's letter to Davy, 1801 (*Letters*, I, p. 353). Coleridge intends to write 'an essay concerning Poetry, and the pleasures to be derived from it, which would supersede all the books of morals, and all the books of metaphysics too.'

<sup>2</sup> *Lectures and Notes on Shakspeare*, ed. T. Ashe, pp. 368, 377.

<sup>3</sup> Wieland omits a few lines, 'die in Wortspielen bestehen.'

<sup>4</sup> *Notes*, p. 214 and *Die Braut von Messina* (preface).

<sup>5</sup> *Satyrane's Letters*, III.

<sup>6</sup> *Notes*, p. 214.

<sup>7</sup> *Die Räuber* (preface).

<sup>8</sup> Coleridge's *Poems*, edited E. H. Coleridge, Oxford, 1912, II, p. 598.

Definite proof that Coleridge was familiar with *Über naive und sentimentalische Dichtung* is found in the following extracts, which are quoted fully since they throw considerable light on Coleridge's German studies.

In studying Dante, therefore, we must consider carefully the differences produced, first, by allegory being substituted for polytheism; and secondly and mainly, by the opposition of Christianity to the spirit of pagan Greece, which receiving the very names of its gods from Egypt, soon deprived them of all that was universal. The Greeks changed the ideas into finites, and these finites into anthropomorphi, or forms of men. Hence their religion, their poetry, nay their very pictures, became statuesque. With them the form was the end. The reverse of this was the natural effect of Christianity, in which finites, even the human form, must, in order to satisfy the mind, be brought into connexion with, and be in fact symbolical of, the infinite; and must be considered in some enduring, however shadowy and indistinct, point of view, as the vehicle or representative of moral truth.

Hence resulted two great effects; a combination of poetry with doctrine, and, by turning the mind inward on its own essence instead of letting it act only on its outward circumstances and communities, a combination of poetry with sentiment. And it is this inwardness or subjectivity, which principally and most fundamentally distinguishes all the classic from all the modern poetry. Compare the passage in the *Iliad* (Z' vi, 119-236) in which Diomed and Glaucus change arms,—

'They took each other by the hand, and pledged friendship,'—

with the scene in Ariosto (*Orlando Furioso*, c. i, st. 20-22), where Rinaldo and Ferranto fight and afterwards make it up:—

'Al Pagan

E per l'orme d'Angelica galoppa.'

Here Homer would have left it. But the Christian poet has his own feelings to express, and goes on:—

'Oh gran bontà de' cavalieri antiqui!...'

And here you will observe, that the reaction of Ariosto's own feelings on the

Dasselbe ist mir auch mit dem Homer begegnet, den ich in einer noch späteren Periode kennen lernte. Ich erinnere mich jetzt der merkwürdigen Stelle im sechsten Buch der *Ilias*, wo Glaukus und Diomed im Gefecht aufeinander stossen und, nachdem sie sich als Gastfreunde erkannt, einander Geschenke geben. Diesem rührenden Gemälde der Pietät, mit der die Gesetze des *Gastrechts* selbst im Kriege beobachtet wurden, kann eine Schilderung des ritterlichen *Edelmuts* im Ariost an die Seite gestellt werden, wo zwei Ritter und Nebenbuhler, Ferran und Rinald, dieser ein Christ, jener ein Sarazene, nach einem heftigen Kampf und mit Wunden bedeckt, Friede machen und, um die flüchtige Angelika einzuholen, das nämliche Pferd besteigen. Beide Beispiele, so verschieden sie übrigens sein mögen, kommen einander in der Wirkung auf unser Herz beinahe gleich, weil beide den schönen Sieg der Sitten über die Leidenschaft malen und uns durch Naivetät der Gesinnungen rühren. Aber wie ganz verschieden nehmen sich die Dichter bei Beischreibung dieser ähnlichen Handlung. Ariost, der Bürger einer spätern und von der Einfalt der Sitten abgekommenen Welt, kann bei der Erzählung dieses Vorfalles seine eigne Verwunderung, seine Rührung nicht verbergen. Das Gefühl des Abstandes jener Sitten von denjenigen, die sein Zeitalter charakterisieren, überwältigt ihn. Er verlässt auf einmal das Gemälde des Gegenstandes und erscheint in eigner Person. Man kennt die schöne Stanze und hat sie immer vorzüglich bewundert:—

'O Edelmut der alten Rittersitten!...'

(Der rasende Roland. Erster Gesang, Stanze 22.)

Und nun der alte Homer! Kaum erfährt Diomed aus Glaukus', seines Gegners, Erzählung, dass dieser von Väterzeiten her ein Gastfreund seines Geschlechts ist, so steckt er die Lanze in die Erde, redet freundlich mit ihm und macht mit ihm aus, dass sie einander im Gefechte künftig ausweichen



image or act is more foregrounded (to use a painter's phrase) than the image or act itself.

The two different modes in which the imagination is acted on by the ancient and modern poetry may be illustrated by the parallel effects caused by the contemplation of the Greek or Roman-Greek architecture, compared with the Gothic. In the Pantheon, the whole is perceived in a perceived harmony with the parts which compose it; and generally you will remember that where the parts preserve any distinct individuality, there simple beauty, or beauty simply, arises; but where the parts melt undistinguished into the whole, there majestic beauty, or majesty is the result. In York Minster, the parts, the grotesques, are in themselves very sharply distinct and separate, and this distinction and separation of the parts is counterbalanced only by the multiple and variety of those parts, by which the attention is bewildered;—whilst the whole or that there is a whole produced,—is altogether a feeling in which the thousand distinct impressions lose themselves as in a universal solvent. Hence in a Gothic cathedral as in a prospect from a mountain's top, there is, indeed, a unity, an awful oneness;—but it is, because all distinction evades the eye. And just such is the distinction between the *Antigone* of Sophocles and the *Hamlet* of Shakspeare<sup>1</sup>.

Coleridge not only makes the same distinction as Schiller between ancient and modern poets, he also illustrates the distinction by the same passages. We must, therefore, draw the conclusion that the most important part of Coleridge's lecture on Dante was based mainly on the most striking section of Schiller's essay<sup>2</sup>.

Now there are numerous passages in other lectures by Coleridge which are similar to passages in this work of Schiller's. To Coleridge 'the poet is one who carries the simplicity of childhood into the powers of manhood<sup>3</sup>,' and Schiller speaks of 'den kindlichen Charakter, den das Genie in seinen Werken abdrückt<sup>4</sup>.' Coleridge says 'the poet is not only the man made to solve the riddle of the universe<sup>5</sup>,' and Schiller says, 'die verwickeltsten Aufgaben muss das Genie mit anspruchloser Simplicität und Leichtigkeit lösen<sup>7</sup>.' They agree not only in their descrip-

wollen. Doch man höre den Homer selbst.

'Also bin ich nunmehr dein Gastfreund mitten in Argos,

Fassten sie beide einander die Hand und gelobten sich Freundschaft.'

Schwerlich dürfte ein *moderner* Dichter (wenigstens schwerlich einer, der es in der moralischen Bedeutung dieses Wortes ist) auch nur bis hierher gewartet haben, um seine Freude an dieser Handlung zu bezeugen. Wir würden es ihm um so leichter verzeihen, da auch unser Herz beim Lesen einen Stillstand macht und sich von dem Objekte gern entfernt, um in sich selbst zu schauen. Aber von allem diesem keine Spur im Homer; als ob er etwas Alltägliches berichtet hätte, ja als ob er selbst kein Herz im Busen trüge, fährt er in seiner trockenen Wahrhaftigkeit fort:—

'Doch den Glaukus erregte Zeus,...' (*Ilias* VI, 234–36 [Voss'sche Übersetzung]).

Dichter von dieser naiven Gattung sind in einem künstlichen Weltalter nicht so recht mehr an ihrer Stelle<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Miscellanies, Aesthetic and Literary*, edited T. Ashe, p. 140.

<sup>2</sup> Schiller's *Werke* (Säkular-Ausgabe), Stuttgart, 1904–5, XII, p. 184.

<sup>3</sup> Goethe's influence will be dealt with in a subsequent paper.

<sup>4</sup> *Notes*, p. 104.

<sup>5</sup> *Werke*, XII, p. 174.

<sup>6</sup> *Notes*, p. 105.

<sup>7</sup> *Werke*, XII, p. 174.



tions of the poet and his work, they describe poetic diction in the same way.

But the language of nature is a subordinate Logos, that was in the beginning, and was with the thing it represented, and was the thing it represented. Now the language of Shakspeare, ... not merely recalling the cold notion of the thing, but expressing the reality of it, ... being itself a part of that which it manifests<sup>1</sup>.

Wenn dort [*viz.* Schulverstand] das Zeichen dem Bezeichneten ewig heterogen und fremd bleibt, so springt hier wie durch innere Notwendigkeit die Sprache aus dem Gedanken hervor und ist so sehr Eins mit demselben, dass selbst unter der körperlichen Hülle der Geist wie entblösset erscheint<sup>2</sup>.

They distinguish 'picturesque' from 'musical' poets in the same way. Coleridge's example of the 'musical poet' is Milton, Schiller's Klopstock.

In the 'Paradise Lost' the sublimest parts are the revelations of Milton's own mind, producing itself and evolving its own greatness; and this is so truly so, that when that which is merely entertaining for its objective beauty is introduced, it at first seems a discord.... Milton is not a picturesque, but a musical poet, although he has this merit that the object chosen by him for any particular foreground always remains prominent to the end<sup>3</sup>.

Was nur immer, ausserhalb den Grenzen lebendiger Form und ausser dem Gebiete der Individualität, im Felde der Idealität zu erreichen ist, ist von diesem musikalischen Dichter geleistet.... Je nachdem die Poesie entweder einen bestimmten Gegenstand nachahmt, wie die bildenden Künste tun, oder je nachdem sie, wie die Tonkunst, bloss einen bestimmten Zustand des Gemüts hervorbringt, ohne dazu eines bestimmten Gegenstandes nötig zu haben, kann sie bildend (plastisch) oder musikalisch genannt werden<sup>4</sup>.

The drama must provide an 'imitation of nature'; this Coleridge expresses, 'If we want to witness mere pain, we can visit the hospitals.... It is the representation of it, not the reality, that we require, the imitation, and not the thing itself<sup>5</sup>.' Schiller complains of German tragedy which 'anstatt die wahre Natur nachzuahmen, nur den geistlosen und unedeln Ausdruck der wirklichen erreicht, so dass es uns nach einem solchen Thränenmahle gerade zu Mute ist, als wenn wir einen Besuch in Spitälern abgelegt...hätten<sup>6</sup>.'

This subject is treated more fully by Coleridge in another passage; and the treatment is like Schiller's.

We all know that art is an imitatrix of nature.... The impression on the wax is not an imitation, but a copy of the seal, the seal itself is an imitation.... If there be likeness to nature without any check of difference, the result is disgusting, and the more complete the delusion, the more loathsome the effect. Why are such simulations of nature, as waxwork

Könnte man einer gemachten Blume den Schein der Natur mit der vollkommensten Täuschung geben ..., so würde die Entdeckung, dass es Nachahmung sei, das Gefühl, von dem die Rede ist, gänzlich vernichten. Kant, meines Wissens der erste, der über dieses Phänomen eigens zu reflektieren angefangen, erinnert, dass, wenn wir von einem Menschen

<sup>1</sup> Notes, p. 216.

<sup>2</sup> Werke, XII, p. 176.

<sup>3</sup> Notes, pp. 525-6.

<sup>4</sup> Werke, XII, p. 209.

<sup>5</sup> Notes, p. 53.

<sup>6</sup> Werke, XII, p. 237.

figures of men and women, so disagreeable? Because, not finding the motion and the life which we expected, we are shocked as by a falsehood.... The fundamental principle of all this is undoubtedly the horror of falsehood and the love of truth inherent in the human breast<sup>1</sup>.

Coleridge's remarks on Nature and Man are also like those of Schiller:

The wisdom in nature is distinguished from that in man by the co-instanteity of the plan and the execution, the thought and the product are one, or are given at once, but there is no reflex act, and hence there is no moral responsibility. In man there is reflexion, freedom, and choice.... In every work of art there is a reconciliation of the external with the internal.... He who combines the two is the man of genius, and for that reason he must partake of both.... He must out of his own mind create forms according to the severe law of the intellect, in order to generate in himself that co-ordination of freedom and law, that involution of obedience in the prescript, and of the prescript in the impulse to obey, which assimilates him to nature and enables him to understand her<sup>3</sup>.

There are two other passages where Coleridge deals with ancient and modern poetry quite in the manner of Schiller:

The ancient was allied to statuary, the modern refers to painting. In the first there is a predominance of rhythm and melody, in the second of harmony and counterpoint. The Greeks idolized the finite, and therefore were the masters of all grace, elegance, proportion, fancy, dignity, majesty—of whatever, in short, is capable of being definitely conveyed by defined forms or thoughts: the moderns revere the infinite, and affect the indefinite as a vehicle of the infinite; hence their passions, their obscure hopes and fears, their wandering through the unknown, their grander moral feelings, their more august conception of man as man, their future rather than their past—in a word, their sublimity<sup>5</sup>.

den Schlag der Nachtigall bis zur höchsten Täuschung nachgeahmt fänden und uns dem Eindruck desselben mit ganzer Rührung überliessen, mit der Zerstörung dieser Illusion alle unsre Lust verschwinden würde<sup>2</sup>.

Sie [natural objects] *sind*, was wir *waren*, sie sind was wir wieder *werden sollen*. Wir waren Natur, wie sie, und unsere Kultur soll uns, auf dem Wege der Vernunft und der Freiheit, zur Natur zurückführen.... Aber ihre Vollkommenheit ist nicht ihr Verdienst, weil sie nicht das Werk ihrer Wahl ist. Sie gewähren uns also die ganz eigne Lust, dass sie, ohne uns zu beschämen, unsre Muster sind.... Wir sind frei, und sie sind notwendig, wir wechseln, sie bleiben Eins. Aber nur, wenn beides sich miteinander verbindet—wenn der Wille das Gesetz der Notwendigkeit frei befolgt und bei allem Wechsel der Phantasie die Vernunft ihre Regel behauptet, geht das Göttliche oder das Ideal hervor<sup>4</sup>.

Wenn man nur das Poesie nennt, was zu allen Zeiten auf die einfältige Natur gleichförmig wirkte, so kann es nicht anders sein, als dass man den neuern Poeten gerade in ihrer eigensten und erhabensten Schönheit den Namen der Dichter wird streitig machen müssen.... Jener [the ancient]...ist mächtig durch die Kunst der Begrenzung; dieser [the modern] ist es durch die Kunst des Unendlichen. [Schiller then states that ancient poetry is like ancient statuary] und siegen gleich die alten Dichter auch hier in der Einfalt der Formen und in dem, was sinnlich darstellbar und körperlich ist, so kann der neuere sie wieder im Reichtum des Stoffes, in dem, was undarstellbar und unaussprechlich ist, kurz, in dem, was man in Kunstwerken Geist nennt, hinter sich lassen<sup>6</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> *Misc.* p. 45, Schelling's influence will be dealt with later.

<sup>3</sup> *Misc.* p. 47.

<sup>5</sup> *Notes*, p. 194.

<sup>4</sup> *Werke*, XII, p. 163.

<sup>6</sup> *Werke*, XII, pp. 190–2.

<sup>2</sup> *Werke*, XII, p. 162.



The Greeks reared a structure, which in its parts, and as a whole, fitted the mind with the calm and elevated impression of perfect beauty and symmetrical proportion. The moderns produced a whole, a more striking whole, but it was by blending materials and fusing the parts together. And as the Pantheon is to York Minster or Westminster Abbey, so is Sophocles compared with Shakspeare, in the one a completeness, a satisfaction, on which the mind rests with complacency; in the other a multitude of interlaced materials, great and little, magnificent and mean, accompanied, indeed, with the sense of a falling short of perfection, and yet, at the same time, so promising of our social and individual progression, that we would not, if we could, exchange it for that repose of the mind which dwells on the forms of symmetry in the acquiescent admiration of grace<sup>1</sup>.

Solange der Mensch noch reine...Natur ist, wirkt er als ungeteilte sinnliche Einheit und als ein harmonisierendes Ganze.... Ist der Mensch in den Stand der Kultur getreten, und hat die Kunst ihre Hand an ihn gelegt, so ist jene sinnliche Harmonie in ihm aufgehoben, und er kann nur noch als moralische Einheit, d.h. als nach Einheit strebend sich äussern...und dies sind auch die zwei einzig möglichen Arten, wie sich überhaupt der poetische Genius äussern kann. Sie sind, wie man sieht, äusserst voneinander verschieden. ...Weil aber das Ideal ein Unendliches ist, das er [the modern poet] niemals erreicht, so kann der kultivierte Mensch in seiner Art niemals vollkommen werden, wie doch der natürliche Mensch es in der seinigen zu werden vermag.... Der eine erhält also seinen Wert durch absolute Erreichung einer endlichen, der andere erlangt ihn durch Annäherung zu einer unendlichen Grösse. Weil aber nur die letztere Grade und einen Fortschritt hat ...so ist keine Frage, welchem von beiden ...der Vorzug gebühre<sup>2</sup>.

The extracts quoted above show that Coleridge and Schiller entirely agree on the subjects of poetic genius, poetic diction, the difference between 'picturesque' and 'musical' poets, and the relations between nature and art, nature and man, ancient and modern poetry, and in their interpretation of the phrase 'to imitate nature.' When we take all these extracts together we can hardly draw any conclusion other than that Coleridge owed a great deal to this one essay of Schiller's.

We come now to consider the question of Coleridge's indebtedness to other critical works by Schiller. That Coleridge knew Schiller's dramas is clear<sup>3</sup>. It is a curious fact—and it shows how deep an impression Schiller had made on Coleridge's mind—that in a lecture in which Coleridge states that in tragedy the catastrophe must not be caused by an accident, the example chosen to illustrate this principle should be taken from a drama by Schiller. Coleridge says, 'To cause the death of a hero by accident, such as slipping off a plank into the sea, would be beneath the tragic muse<sup>4</sup>.' Schiller, in his preface to *Fiesco*, after mentioning the *Hamburgische Dramaturgie*, states the necessity of altering historical facts; he could not let Fiesco be drowned by accident, 'denn die Natur des Dramas duldet den Finger des Ohngefährs...nicht.'

<sup>1</sup> Notes, p. 234. Schlegel's influence will be dealt with later.

<sup>2</sup> Werke, XII, p. 187.

<sup>3</sup> *Biographia Literaria*, Ch. xxiii.

<sup>4</sup> Notes, p. 478.



Coleridge had no sympathy with Schiller's experiment in *Die Braut von Messina*; the introduction of a chorus is to Coleridge 'pedantry'<sup>1</sup>. Schiller defended the use of the chorus in a preface to his drama. His defence did not convince Coleridge, but we find a good deal of Schiller's preface in Coleridge's lectures. To some extent this is to be expected, since both Coleridge and Schiller give an account of the Greek chorus and re-state what was commonly accepted. There are, however, a few parallels which possibly deserve mention, as illustrating the similar views of Coleridge and Schiller rather than as evidence of borrowing.

On the aim and effects of art—both writers are, of course, thinking particularly of poetry—Coleridge says, 'In poetry the general good is to be accomplished through the pleasure<sup>2</sup>,' and again, 'the proper and immediate object of poetry is the communication of immediate pleasure<sup>3</sup>.' Art produces a 'pleasurable emotion, which the exertion of all our faculties gives in a certain degree<sup>4</sup>.' Schiller puts it thus: 'Alle Kunst ist der Freude gewidmet,...die rechte Kunst ist nur diese, welche den höchsten Genuss verschafft. Der höchste Genuss aber ist die Freiheit des Gemüts in dem lebendigen Spiel aller seiner Kräfte.' Of Greek plays Coleridge says, 'the plays represented were made to include within a short space of time events which it is impossible should have occurred in that short space. This fact alone establishes that all dramatic performances were then looked upon merely as ideal<sup>5</sup>.' And Schiller, 'Der Tag selbst auf dem Theater ist nur ein künstlicher, die Architektur ist nur eine symbolische, die metrische Sprache selbst ist ideal,...als ob hier ein anderer Ort wäre als der bloss ideale Raum, und eine andere Zeit als bloss die stetige Folge der Handlung.' In discussing poetic diction Coleridge remarks that just as the Greek drama demanded the chorus 'and high language accordant,' so Shakespearean drama demanded 'an intermixture of ludicrous character.' Coleridge enumerates the advantages, viz. a greater assimilation to nature, a greater scope of power, more truths, more feelings, effects of contrast, 'and especially this, that the true language of passion becomes sufficiently elevated by your having previously heard, in the same piece, the lighter conversation of men under no strong emotion<sup>6</sup>.' Schiller remarks that the Greeks found the chorus 'in nature,' and used it because it was found; he goes on to

<sup>1</sup> *Notes*, p. 478.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* p. 47.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* p. 183.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.* p. 184.

<sup>5</sup> *Ib.* p. 53. Coleridge's general definition of drama as 'not a copy, but an imitation of nature' (*Notes*, p. 211) is in agreement with Schiller's demand that it must be 'ganz ideell und doch im tiefsten Sinne reell,' that it must leave 'das Wirkliche,' and yet 'aufs genaueste mit der Natur übereinstimmen' (preface to *Die Braut von Messina*).

<sup>6</sup> *Notes*, p. 207.

say, 'so legt die lyrische Sprache des Chors dem Dichter auf, verhältnissmässig die ganze Sprache des Gedichts zu erheben und dadurch die sinnliche Gewalt des Ausdrucks zu verstärken. Nur der Chor berechtigt den tragischen Dichter zu dieser Erhebung des Tons, die das Ohr ausfüllt, die den Geist anspannt, die das ganze Gemüt erweitert.... Nimmt man den Chor hinweg, so muss die Sprache der Tragödie im Ganzen sinken, oder was jetzt gross und mächtig ist, wird gezwungen und überspannt erscheinen.' In his discussion of the differences between poetry and painting Coleridge says, 'The grandest efforts of poetry are where the imagination is called forth, not to produce a distinct form, but a strong working of the mind..., the result being what the poet wishes to impress, namely, the substitution of a sublime feeling of the unimaginable for a mere image<sup>1</sup>.' Schiller contrasts poetry and painting in their effect on the imagination elsewhere<sup>2</sup>; in the preface to *Die Braut von Messina* he says, '[die Kunst des Ideals] kann ihn [diesen Geist des Alls] zwar nie vor die Sinne, aber doch durch ihre schaffende Gewalt vor die Einbildungskraft bringen und dadurch wahrer sein als alle Wirklichkeit und realer als alle Erfahrung.'

It would require too much space to deal fully with the similar theories of Coleridge and Schiller<sup>3</sup>. Both hold that poetry is superior to history as a source of wisdom<sup>4</sup>, and that drama must be poetical and thus deal with that 'which is the permanent in our nature,' for 'the events themselves are immaterial<sup>5</sup>.' Tragedy has the power 'die historische Wahrheit den Gesetzen der Dichtkunst unterzuordnen<sup>6</sup>.' Although both writers tend towards cosmopolitanism, yet they would welcome a 'national' drama dealing with national history. Coleridge thinks it would 'tend to counteract...mock cosmopolitanism. By its nationality must every nation retain its independence<sup>7</sup>.' And Schiller, speaking of the great influence this type of drama would have on Germany, says, 'Wenn wir es erlebten, eine Nationalbühne zu haben, so würden wir auch eine Nation<sup>8</sup>.'

On the question of the relation of body and soul, both mention Stahl

<sup>1</sup> *Ib.* p. 91.

<sup>2</sup> *Werke*, XII, p. 289.

<sup>3</sup> Some of this similarity is due to the fact that they both follow Kant. They agree, for example, in their distinction between the agreeable, the beautiful, and the good, and in stating that in women morality does not rest in analytic process, but in feeling. (*Notes*, p. 278, and *Über die notwendigen Grenzen beim Gebrauch schöner Formen* (*Werke*, XII, p. 136).)

<sup>4</sup> *Notes*, p. 64 and *Über das Erhabene* (*Werke*, XII, p. 277).

<sup>5</sup> *Notes*, p. 253.

<sup>6</sup> *Über die tragische Kunst* (*Werke*, XI, p. 175; cp. *Hamb. Dramaturgie*, St. 19).

<sup>7</sup> *Notes*, p. 254.

<sup>8</sup> *Die Schaubühne als eine moralische Anstalt betrachtet* (*Werke*, XI, p. 98).

(the author of *Theoria medica*) and reject his 'error in deriving the phenomena of life from the unconscious actions of the rational soul'<sup>1</sup>, but they agree that in a certain sense 'die Seele bildet den Körper'<sup>2</sup>.

When we make every allowance for the fact that both Coleridge and Schiller were enthusiastic readers of Kant, and that Schiller reproduces many of Kant's doctrines, it seems legitimate from the evidence we have that Coleridge studied closely many (if not all) of Schiller's works, and that much is common to Coleridge and Schiller which is not found in Kant<sup>3</sup> to draw the conclusion that Coleridge owes a great deal to Schiller and did not arrive at his conclusions independently.

(*To be continued.*)

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<sup>1</sup> *Misc.* p. 377 (cp. *Notes*, p. 114).

<sup>2</sup> *Werke*, xi, pp. 73, 196.

<sup>3</sup> E.g. the comparison between Homer and Ariosto, and the distinction between 'picturesque' and 'musical' poets, a distinction based on Schiller's own experience and regarded by him as of great importance,—see letters to Körner (May 25, 1792) and to Goethe (March 18, 1796); see also notes to *Werke*, xii, p. 209. These two important parallels alone show that Coleridge is indebted to Schiller, and not only to Kant. Even where Coleridge follows Kant closely, as in his definition of the Beautiful (*Misc.* p. 31), he expresses himself similarly to Schiller. Compare Coleridge's 'Hence the Greeks called a beautiful object *καλόν*, quasi *καλοῦν*, i.e. calling on the soul, which receives instantly, and welcomes it as something connatural,' with Schiller's 'Schon der Zweck der Natur bringt es mit sich, dass wir der Schönheit zuerst entgegenneilen...' (*Über das Erhabene, Werke*, xii, p. 273).



## MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

### MULCASTER AND DU BELLAY.

The problem of diction and some part at least of its solution were almost certainly brought to the notice of Spenser early in life by his schoolmaster, Richard Mulcaster, whose alert mind, original methods, and literary interests must have left their impression on Spenser as they did on Lancelot Andrewes. *The First Part of the Elementarie* was published only in 1582, but we may take it that Mulcaster, like every schoolmaster, was drawing on his long experience—in his Dedication to the Earl of Leicester he says ‘I haue trauelled in this point of our English writing, somewhat more then ordinary’—and that he was teaching on these principles before Spenser left the Merchant Taylors’ School in 1569. It is typical of the discursive habit of the time that a treatise on spelling should be the vehicle of the first educative force in the life of the first master and maker of modern English poetic art: the problem of orthography, however, weighed on many poets, French and English, and for artists in sound the relation of eye and ear was more pertinent to literature than it might seem. Mulcaster’s orthographical theories are not to the present purpose, but it may be noted in passing that he agrees with Ronsard’s early views on the treatment of foreign words: ‘The English rule for writing, must be the right thereof<sup>1</sup>’; ‘C’est vne regle generale d’appropriier sur la terminaizon françoise tous les mots tirés des Italiens, Latins, et des Grecs, pour l’ornement et perfection de nostre langue<sup>2</sup>.’

Like Ascham, and indeed like the defenders of the vernacular in all countries, Mulcaster was inspired by a patriotic motive. ‘All which I do, concerneth my cuntrie youth and tung, it entertaineth her profit, and enuieth not her pleasur, and desireth to se hir enriched so in euerie kinde of argument, and honored so with euerie ornament of eloquence, as she maie vy with the foren, if I maie work it with wishing<sup>3</sup>.’ His own share in the improvement of the mother tongue was the normalising of English spelling, but there is abundant evidence of keen interest in the

<sup>1</sup> Cap. xxii.

<sup>2</sup> *Odes*, ed. Vaganay, p. 112; see also *Art Poétique*, pp. 234–235.

<sup>3</sup> Peroration.

larger problems, and careful study. His general position is utterly divorced from that of Ascham and the Cambridge purists—so different that the terms of licence of his *Positions*, providing that it should contain nothing contrary to the teaching of Ascham, might be interpreted as evidence of the notoriety of Mulcaster's revolutionary tendencies, as much as of Ascham's credit with authority. The present interest of his views on language is that, so far as they are expressed, they are precisely those of Du Bellay's *Deffence et Illustration*. The mother tongue is insufficient, but not to be despaired of: 'It is verie manifest, that the tung itself hath matter enough in itself, to furnish out an art, and that the same mean, which hath been vused in the reducing of other tongs to their right, will serue this of ours, both for generalitie of precept, and certainty of ground<sup>1</sup>.' To suggest a contrary opinion was an aspersion on a great nation: 'Quand à la pieté, religion, integrité de moeurs, magnanimité de couraiges, et toutes ces vertuz rares et antiques (qui est la vraye et solide louange), la France a tousiours obtenu sans controuerse le premier lieu<sup>2</sup>'; 'The English nation hath allwaie bene of good credit, and great estimation, euer since credit and estimation by historie came on this side the Alps<sup>3</sup>.' In any case—and this was the foundation of the whole theory—all languages were equal in innate possibilities: their varying powers and beauties were the result of cultivation, not the gift of nature. 'The finest tung, was once in filth, the verie course of nature proceeding from weaknesse, to strength, from imperfection, to perfitnesse, from a mean degree, to a main dignitie<sup>4</sup>'; 'No one tung is more fine then other naturallie, but by industry of the speaker, which...endeuoreth himself to garnish it with eloquence, and to enrich it with learning<sup>5</sup>.' 'Les langues ne sont nées d'elles mesmes en façon d'Herbes, Racines, et Arbres: les vnes infirmes, et debiles en leurs especes: les autres saines, et robustes, et plus aptes à porter le faiz des conceptions humaines: mais toute leur vertu est née au monde du vouloir, et arbitre des mortels...Il est vray que par succession de tens les vnes, pour auoir été plus curieusement reiglées, sont deuenues plus riches, que les autres: mais cela ne se doit attribuer à la felicité desdites langues, ains au seul artifice, et industrie des hommes<sup>6</sup>.' 'Qui voudroit dire que la Greque, et Romaine eussent tousiours été en l'excellence qu'on les a vues du tens d'Homere, et de Demosthene, de Virgile, et de Ciceron? Et si ces aucteurs eussent iugé que iamais, pour quelque

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 79–80.

<sup>2</sup> *Deffence et Illustration*, p. 156.

<sup>3</sup> P. 80.

<sup>4</sup> P. 62.

<sup>5</sup> P. 253.

<sup>6</sup> *Deffence et Illustration*, p. 50.

diligence, et culture qu'on y eust peu faire, elles n'eussent sceu produyre plus grand fruct, se feussent ilz tant eforcez de les mettre au point, ou nous les voyons maintenant<sup>1</sup>?" 'The diligent labor of learned countrymen did so enrich these tungs and not the tungs themselues, tho theie proued verie pliable, as our tung will proue, I dare assure it of knowledge, if our learned cuntriemen will put to their labor<sup>2</sup>.' Mulcaster had the same faith and the same sense of duty: 'Our English is our own, our Sparta must be spunged, by the inhabitants that haue it, as well as those tungs were by the industrie of their people, which be braued with the most, and brag as the best<sup>3</sup>.' 'Our tung is capable, if our peple wold be painfull<sup>4</sup>.'

The attitude to the classics is the same. 'Which two considerations being fullie answered, that we seke them from *profit* and kepe them for that conference, whatsoeuer else maie be don in our tung, either to serue priuat uses, or the beawtifying of our speche, I do not se, but it maie well be admitted, euen tho in the end it displaced the *Latin*, as the *Latin* did others, and furnished itself by the *Latin* learning...For is it not in dede a maruellous bondage, to becom seruents to one tung for learning sake, the most of our time, with losse of most time, whereas we maie haue the verie same treasur in our own tung, with the gain of most time...I loue *Rome*, but *London* better, I fauor *Italie*, but *England* more, I honor the *Latin*, but I worship the *English*. I wish all were in ours, which theie had from others...It is no obiection to saie, well ye rob those tungs of their honor, which haue honored you? or which if theie had not bene to make you learned, you had not bene to strip them of from learning? For I honor them still, and that so much as who doth most, euen in wishing mine own tung partaker of their honor...I confess their furniture and wish it were in ours<sup>5</sup>.' 'Yet are we not ignorant of the mean thereof to turn to our vse all the great treasur, of either foren soil, or foren language. And why maie not the English wits, if they will bend their wills, either for matter or for method in their own tung be in time as well sought to, by foren students for increase of their knowledge, as our soil is sought to at this same time, by foren merchants, for increase of their welth? as the soil is fertile, bycause it is applied, so the wits be not barren if theie list to brede<sup>6</sup>.' 'Et certes songeant beaucoup de foyes, d'ou prouient que les Hommes de se Siecle generalement sont moins scauans en toutes Sciences, et de moindre prix

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 56-57, also p. 158.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 256.

<sup>3</sup> P. 255.

<sup>4</sup> *Elementarie*, p. 255.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.* p. 258.

<sup>6</sup> P. 256.



que les Anciens, entre beaucoup de raysons ie treuve cete cy, que i'oseroy dire la principale : c'est l'Etude des Langues Greque, et Latine. Car si le Tens, que nous consumons à apprendre les dites Langues, estoit employé à l'étude des Sciences, la Nature sertes n'est point deuenue si Brehaigne, qu'elle n'enfantast de nostre Tens, des Platons et des Aristotes...Faut il donques laisser l'étude des Langues ? non : d'autant que les Ars, et Sciences sont pour le present entre les mains des Grecz, et Latins. Mais il se deuroit faire à l'auenir qu'on peust parler de toute chose, par tout le monde, et en toute Langue<sup>1</sup>. 'Our *English* wits be verie well able, thanks be to God, if their wils were as good, to make those vnouth and vnknown learnings verie familiar to our peple, euen in our own tung, and that both by president and protection of those same writers, whom we esteme so much of, who doing that for others, which I do wish for ours, in the like case must needs allow of vs, onelesse theie wil auouch that which theie cannot auow, that the praise of that labor to conueie cunning from a foren tung into a man's own, did dy with them, not to reuiue in vs<sup>2</sup>.' 'For the tungs which we study, were not the first getters, tho by learned trauell the(ie) proue good keepers<sup>3</sup>.' Wisdom travelled from Egypt and Chaldaea to Greece, from Greece to Rome, now it is time for the modern tongues to enter into the inheritance : it is the same doctrine that Du Bellay taught<sup>4</sup>.

'Voyla quand aux Disciplines': in the question of diction—the *Illustration* of the mother tongue after its *Deffence*—the main point on which Mulcaster touches is that which most troubled English criticism, the expediency of borrowing. On this question, as one might expect after the heresies just quoted, he ran counter to the humanist purists. 'For mine own words and the terms, that I vse, theie be generallie *English*. And if anie be either an incorporate stranger, or otherwise translated, or quite coined a new, I haue shaped it as fit for the place, where I vse it, as my cunning will giue me. And to be bold that waie for either enfranchising the foren, or translating our own, without to manifest insolence, and to wanton affection, or else to inuent new upon euident note, which will bear witness, that it fitteth well, where it is to be vsd...till oft vsing do make it well known, we ar sufficiently warranted both by president and precept of them, that can iudge best<sup>5</sup>.' Nor was Mulcaster bound to the adoption of new terms by necessity alone ; English was 'to furnish out an art,' and fine as well as useful terms were welcome to him.

<sup>1</sup> *Deffence et Illustration*, pp. 83-85.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 254.

<sup>5</sup> *Elementarie*, p. 269.

<sup>2</sup> *Elementarie*, p. 255.

<sup>4</sup> Liure I, Chaps. ix, x *et passim*.

In his discussion of this point he displayed something of that fine insolence—the pride of the humanist transferred to the vulgar—which claims from the reader something more than a casual and condescending attention. This was no Ascham writing in simple wise for the benefit of his unlettered countrymen, but a scholar treating in a well-studied style a matter which demanded serious consideration. For him, as for Du Bellay and Ronsard, vernacular literature was worthy of the pains commonly bestowed only on the classics. Reacting from the unambitious simplicity of Marot, the Pléiade declared that the best poetry is not necessarily the easiest; they appealed to a cultivated audience—

Les François qui ces vers liront,  
S'ils ne sont et Grecs et Romains,  
En lieu de mon liure ils n'auront  
Qu'un pesant faix entre les mains<sup>1</sup>—

and refused consistently to consider the opinions of 'le vulgaire,' which category included all, princes and pedants alike, who were uninstructed or who were uninterested in the Pléiade cause of intellectual progress. Mulcaster also recognised the restriction of appeal: 'In the force of words...there are to be considered *commonesse* for euery man, *beawtie* for the learned, *brauerie* to rauish, *borowing* to enlarge our natural speche, and readiest deliuerie<sup>2</sup>.' Beauty is for such as can appreciate it, and it is the duty of the reader to take pains to understand. 'And therefor if anie reader find falt with anie word, which is not sutable to his ear, bycause it is not he, for whom that word serues, let him mark his own, which he knoweth, and make much of the other, which is worthie his knowing. Know you not som words? Why? no maruell. It is a metaphor, a learned translation, remoued from where it is proper, into som such place where it is more properly vsed, and most significant to, if it be well vnderstood: take pains to know it, you haue of whom to learn... Is it a stranger? but no Turk. And tho it were an enemies word, yet good is worth the getting, tho it be from your fo, as well by speche of writers, as by spoill of soldiers...He hath skill in language, whether learned and old, or liked and new, will not wonder at words which he knoweth whence theie ar, neither maruell at a conceit quickly deliuered, the like whereof he meteth oft abroad<sup>3</sup>.' 'He must take acquaintance and make the thing familiar if it seme to be strange. For all strange things seme great nouelties, and hard of entertainment at their first arriual, till theie be acquainted: but after acquaintance they be verie familiar, and easie to entreat. And words likewise, which either conueie

<sup>1</sup> Prefixed to *La Franciade*.

<sup>2</sup> *Elementarie*, p. 268.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 268–269.

strange matters, or be strangers themselues, either in name or in vse, be no wilde beasts, tho theie be vnwont, neither is a term a *Tiger* to proue untractable. Familiaritie and acquaintance will cause facilitie, both in matter and in words<sup>1</sup>. Here Mulcaster lays a duty on the reader, on all 'which know the *Latin* tung better then our own, bycause we pore vpon it, and neuer mark our own<sup>2</sup>': and to the writer he counsels freedom and boldness, claiming that it is for him to lead. Like Ronsard, Mulcaster knew the weakness of his mother tongue, and the difficulties to which its poverty led: 'For when the mind is fraught with matter to deliuer, it is still in pain vntill it haue deliuered, and therefore to haue the deliuerie such, as maie discharge the thing well, and content all parties... it seketh both home helps, where theie be sufficient, and significant, and where the own home yeildeth nothing at all, or not pithie enough, it craueth help of that tung, from whence it receiued the matter of deliuerie.' Like Du Bellay, he acclaims 'the conquering mind, such as he must haue, which either seketh himself, or is desirous to se his cuntrie tung enlarged, and the same made the instrument of all his knowledge, as it is of his needs'—the mind that will aid the English tongue by the invention and usage of 'the latest terms which it boroweth dailie from foren tungs, either of pure necessitie in new matters, or of mere brauerie, to garnish itself withal.'

Spenser, then, was educated under a principal master who held views on the nature of language and on the necessity for labour, freedom, and boldness in the improvement of the mother tongue which were in sharp conflict with those of the most famous English educationists of his day, and which were those identified with the *Pléiade*, and especially with the *Deffence et Illustration* of Du Bellay. It was under this tutelage that he translated the *Songe ou Vision* from Du Bellay's *Antiquitez de Rome*, published in van der Noodt's *Theatre* and afterwards acknowledged. The inference that thus early he became acquainted with the prose as well as with the poetical work of Du Bellay is at least possible.

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#### SPENSER AND THE PLÉIADE.

I am indebted to Professor John W. Draper of Bryn Mawr for the reference to an article by J. B. Fletcher on 'Areopagus and *Pléiade*' in the American *Journal of Germanic Philology*, Vol. II (1898). In this

<sup>1</sup> P. 263.

<sup>2</sup> P. 265. Cf. E. K. in Gregory Smith, Vol. I, p. 130, l. 17.



article, which was unknown to me when I wrote the essay on *The Critical Origins of Spenser's Diction*, published in the January number of this *Review*, Fletcher traces the parallel between the theories of du Bellay and Ronsard and those of Spenser and Sidney, with results similar to mine, though differently oriented. The only references given in my article were such as saved discussion on points which I considered to be adequately dealt with in accessible publications, but this reference to a predecessor would certainly have been given had I known of it at the time.

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‘THE FIGHT AT FINSBURG.’

In the *Modern Language Review* of January, 1921 (xvi, pp. 59 ff.), Dr Sedgefield has published a number of suggested emendations in Old English poetical texts. The first two, which refer to *The Fight at Finsburg*, seem to me particularly open to criticism.

l. 35: Hickes, *ymb hine godra fæla hwearflacra hrær*. Several emendations of *hwearflacra hrær* have been put forward, of which Grundtvig's (not Grein's) *hwearflicra hræw* is closest to the original reading. Dr Sedgefield is mistaken in saying that *hwearflic* does not occur elsewhere. It is found, in the form *hwerflic*, in Alfred's translation of Boethius, xi, 1, *Hū hwerflice ðas woruldsælþa sint*, ‘How fleeting are these worldly blessings.’ Grundtvig's emendation gives good sense if we translate, ‘Around him (fell) many good men, (around him fell) the corpses of mortals.’ Dr Sedgefield's *hræas wlanera hræw* is not only more distant from the original, but seems to contain a plural subject and a singular verb.

l. 40: Hickes, *ne nefre swa noc hwitne medo sel forgyldan*. Dr Sedgefield thinks that *swa noc* should simply be omitted as a printer's error, and adds that this omission would also correct the metre (type B), quite overlooking the fact that in correcting the metre he has dispensed with alliteration. In an article upon *The Fight at Finsburg* published in the *Journal of English and Germanic Philology* (xvi, pp. 250 ff.), I pointed out that Grein's emendation of *swa noc* to *swānas* would, if accepted, imply a comparatively late date for the poem, but at the same time tried to show that the text of the poem contained no indication that it was an early composition. If *swānas* be rejected, I doubt whether we can improve upon Trautmann's theory that *swa noc* and *hwitne* represent two attempts by a scribe to decipher *swetne* in his original.

CAPE TOWN.

W. S. MACKIE.

## A NOTE ON 'THE SEVEN SAGES OF ROME.'

Apropos of Mr E. H. Tuttle's comments on my edition of the *Seven Sages* in the *M. L. R.* of April, 1921 (pp. 166 f.), I wish to say that Mr Tuttle is entitled to my thanks for pointing out certain additions that should be made to my list of *ā*-rhymes in the Cotton manuscript of the *Seven Sages* (on which my text is based), but he is mistaken, I believe, in his proposed emendation of *pat* to *hat* (= 'called') in lines 1302 and 2345:

'Dame,' he said, 'what was he *pat*?'

And pou wil make him *pat* þine a[y]re.

Mr Tuttle overlooks the fact that the form of the perfect participle of *hight* (whether with the meaning of 'be called' or of 'promise') in the Cotton MS. is not *hat*, but *hight* or *hyght* (see ll. 2160, 1736, 1744, 4005, 4023). He also fails to take account of the evidence afforded by the nearly related MSS., which is wholly against his suggestion. The Auchinleck, Balliol, and Egerton MSS., respectively, present the following readings paralleling l. 1302 of the Cotton MS.:

O, dame, who might that be ?

Who was he that dide suche a dede ?

Dame, telle me nowe hardily

Hoo dyde hys fadyr suche vylonye ?

while the Auchinleck, Arundel, and Egerton MSS.<sup>1</sup>, respectively, exhibit the following readings closely paralleling l. 2345:

And desire to make thin air.

And desiren to make þyne eyere.

And þu desyrest thyne ayre to make.

It is proper to add that the *Promptorium Parvulorum* (E. E. T. S., Ex. S., III, column 216) cites 'Hee, or hee that' as equivalent to 'ille aut ipse<sup>2</sup>,' which would seem, if its testimony may be relied on, to validate the troublesome constructions (*he pat*, *him pat*) in both the lines in question.

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## SIR GAWAIN'S COAT OF ARMS.

(*M. L. R.*, xv, p. 77.)

In the above note I quoted O'Kearney's article 'Folk Lore' as an authority. The resources of the Modern Humanities Research Associa-

<sup>1</sup> The Auchinleck MS. is older than the Cotton MS., while the Arundel, Egerton, and Balliol MSS. are all later than the Cotton MS.

<sup>2</sup> This citation was first brought to my attention by an anonymous reviewer of my edition of the *Seven Sages* in the *Athenæum* for May 4, 1907, p. 536.

tion have however lately procured me a loan of a transcript of the story referred to by O'Kearney, and an opinion from Professor O'Rahilly of Dublin who very kindly warns me against O'Kearney as a forger of prophecies, etc. Certainly the transcript shows no such gloss, and three at least of the MSS. date no further back than the eighteenth century.

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GREENOCK.

#### NOTES ON PEELE.

##### *Edward I.*

Sc. II, ll. 234, 235 Bullen : ll. 537, 538 Malone.

'Then shall Brute be born a new  
And Wales record their aunicient hew.'

'Record' should perhaps be 'recure' (cp. l. 150 Malone, and Spenser, *Fowre Hymnes* I, 298, where it clearly = 'recover.' See also *N.E.D.*).

Sc. x, l. 18 Bullen : l. 1597 Malone.

Stage-direction : 'attended by Mary, Dutches of Lancaster.'

Mr Bullen quotes P. A. Daniel, who, remarking that neither of the two wives of Lancaster was named Mary, says 'I suspect that "Mary, Duchess of Lancaster" is a corruption of "Mary Mayoress of London"; she is the nurse and her name is Mary' (see l. 2343).

If Daniel is right in thinking that the Mayoress is present as the nurse in this scene (which is not very clear to me), an easier emendation would be : 'attended by Maris, Dutches of Lancaster' &c. The form 'Maris' (see ll. 2311, 2316 &c.) might naturally be corrupted to 'Marie' or 'Mary.'

Sc. XII, l. 155 Bullen : l. 2061 Malone.

'I must lope his Longshankes, for ile eare to a paire of Longshankes.'

Bullen : 'fore I'll ear' &c., adding 'This word [ear] cannot be right.' Dr Nicholson proposes 'lower.'

May not 'ear' = 'heir,' and be here used as a verb : 'before I'll heir to' (= 'be indebted to')? See *N.E.D.*

Sc. XIII, l. 102 Bullen : l. 2251 Malone.

'Perswaded.'

Dyce and Bullen accept Collier's 'Prepared.' Query, 'Resolved.'

##### *Battle of Alcazar.*

I, Prol. 14 Bullen : l. 17 Malone.

'Abdallas dies, and deisnes this tyrant king.'



Dyce's correction 'leaves' for 'deisnes' is accepted by Bullen. Query, 'reignes.'

III, iii, l. 6 Bullen : l. 517 Malone.

'Fight earth-quakes in the intrailles of the earth,  
And Easterne whirl-windes in the hellish shades.'

'Eastern' seems unmeaning. Query, 'loosen.'

Jonson, ridiculing the passage in *Poetaster* III, 4 has 'eastern': but he naturally follows Peele's printed text.

*ibid.* l. 25 Bullen : l. 536 Malone.

'Yet patience Lord to conquere sorrowes so.'

Bullen : 'Qy. "to conquer sorrowes owe" ("own patience—have patience—to conquer sorrows").'

In Malone's copy in the Bodleian Library 'so' is corrected to 'serves.' Query, 'Yet patience, Lord : you conquer sorrows so.'

*ibid.* l. 38 Bullen : l. 549 Malone.

'I will go hunt these cursed solitaires.'

Bullen, following Dyce, takes 'solitaires' as = 'deserts.' Query, read 'those' for 'these' and interpret 'solitaires' of the 'lyons and vntamed beasts,' of the desert. Cp. l. 594 : [the lioness] 'rangde thorough the woodes, and rent the breeding vaultes | of proudest sauages.'

*ibid.* l. 58 Bullen : l. 570 Malone.

'He can submit himselfe, and liue below.'

Bullen suggests 'dive below.' But may not 'live below' = 'live in subserviency'?

*ibid.* ll. 120, 121 Bullen : ll. 746, 747 Malone.

These lines seem to be out of place. They may perhaps find a place after l. 132 Bullen, l. 759 Malone, with the slight change of 'Ay' for 'And':

'Ay, even in Spain, where all the traitors dance,  
And play themselves upon a summer's day.'

For 'play themselves' see *N.E.D.* 'play' *vb.* (reflexive) II, 11 *a.*

III, i, l. 35 Bullen : l. 857 Malone.

'The offer of the holdes he makes.'

Bullen says 'There has been no mention of any "holds".' But there has been an offer to resign 'the Islands of Moluccus.' Why should not they be referred to as 'holds'? If they are not, the offer is passed over without a word.

IV, ii, l. 74 Bullen: l. 1231 Malone.

'Fiends, Fairies, hags that fight in beds of steele.'

Query, for 'beds,' 'weeds.'

*Old Wives Tale.*

l. 58. 'Open door, Madge; take in guests.'

(No stop after 'dore' or 'Madge' in the quarto.) There is an intransitive use of 'take in' = 'go in,' 'put in,' 'enter.' The *N.E.D.* has no earlier example than H. L'Estrange, 1654: 'Taking in at a Cooks shop where he supt.' I think however this is the use here. It seems to me that Madge would not be told to 'take in guests,' and that, on the other hand, the two directions 'Open the door, Madge: step in, guests' are extremely natural.

*David and Bethsabe.*

Sc. II, l. 73. 'And scaled [skaled, Q] where the royal palace is.'

Bullen: 'Qy. "sealed".'

But 'scaled' must be right: cp. II, 24 and III, 189.

Sc. III, l. 83. Bullen alters 'sit' to 'rife.' But with a different punctuation 'sit' may be kept:

'Whither, alas, ah whither shall I fly,  
With folded arms and all amazed soul,  
Cast as was Eva from that glorious soil  
Where all delights sat bating, winged with thoughts,  
Ready to nestle in her naked breasts?  
To bare and barren vales with floods made waste,  
To desert woods, and hills with lightning scorched?  
With death, with shame, with hell, with horror sit?'

*ibid.* ll. 92-96.

'Rend hair and garments...  
And scatter them by these unhallowed doors,  
To figure Amnon's resting cruelty  
And tragic spoil of Thamar's chastity.'

Bullen's note on 'resting': 'There seems to be some corruption here; but "resting" may be used in the sense of "lasting" (Qy. "wresting" ?).'

Read rather 'rifling' and cp. *Rape of Lucrece*, l. 692: 'Pure Chastity is rifled of her store,' and l. 1050, 'Of that true type hath Tarquin rifled me.' The confusion of 'f' and long 's' is of course common.

*ibid.* l. 152. 'then grant, my lord the king,  
Himself with all his other lords would come....'

This is Bullen's punctuation. But 'my lord the king' is not vocative, but nominative. There are no commas in the Q.

*ibid.* l. 241. 'Till Joab triumph in my secret vows.'

Bullen's note: 'The words "my secret vows" are to me unintelligible. Were it not that a rhyme seems to be required for "house," I would read "in thy sacred cause".'

It seems to me that the text may mean: 'Till Joab triumph in the accomplishment of my secret vows,' i.e. in the victory I have prayed for.

Cp. Sc. VIII, ll. 46-48:

'Jacobs righteous God,  
That promised never to forsake your throne,  
Will still be just and pure in his vows'

(i.e. in fulfilling his promises), and l. 51:

'I know my God is spotless in his vows.'

G. C. MOORE SMITH.

SHEFFIELD.

'HENRY V.' ACT II, CHORUS, LL. 41-2.

But till the King come forth, and not till then,  
Vnto Southampton do we shift our Scene.

In his very kind review of my pamphlet (*M. L. R.*, Vol. XVI, pp. 339, 340), Mr Pollard regards this 'incredibly lame couplet' as 'an addition to explain the insertion of two London scenes in an Act which the rest of the Prologue places wholly in Southampton.' It is probable that the couplet was added to explain that the first scene of the Act was laid in London, but it does not follow that 'there must have been an earlier version of the play to correspond with the Prologue in its original form.' We must consider the subject-matter of the Choruses. They deal with the heroic episodes of the play and circle round the figure of Henry, glorifying him to the almost entire exclusion of the other characters. They ignore the scenes of low comedy. Naturally. You cannot celebrate the deeds of Bardolph or of Pistol with a Muse of Fire. The Chorus to Act II was written to set forth the heroic incidents of that Act, and like all the other Choruses it passes over the low comedy scenes in silence. As it happens, the Act begins with one of these scenes laid in London, while the events referred to in the Chorus begin at Southampton. It is very probable that the lame couplet was added



in order to explain that we are not to think ourselves at Southampton until the King appears. It was the best way out of the difficulty. A rearrangement of the scenes in the Act was impossible for technical reasons, which it would take too long to discuss here. Besides, it would still have been necessary to add something to the Chorus to explain the presence of Pistol and his friends in London, so it was simpler to leave the Act as it was.

In any case we must not suppose that because the Choruses ignore scenes of comedy that there was a form of the play in which these scenes did not appear. The earliest version we know, the *Famous Victories*, has them, and the latest version, the Folio *Henry V*, still contains them, full of suggestions from the *Famous Victories*. The conclusion is irresistible that any intermediate version must have had them too. They are not mentioned in the Choruses for the simple reason that it was impossible to do so without sinking from the sublime to the ridiculous.

H. T. PRICE.

'RAS' IN 'LE MYSTÈRE D'ADAM,' 482.

Mr I. N. Raamsdonk may have been right in tracing this word to *L. rasus* (in *M. L. R.*, xvi, pp. 325-329), but the translation 'tête?' given by Godefroy is *not* that of Palustre, whom Godefroy merely names as the editor of the text he cites. Somewhat strangely, both Mr Raamsdonk and Professor Studer seem to have omitted to consult Palustre's edition for this line. That editor in fact gives 'RAS: *radius*, dard, aiguillon' in his 'glossaire,' and renders lines 481 f. in his modern F. version:

Tu chercheras à la piquer au talon,  
*Mais elle t'arrachera le dard;*  
 Elle te frappera la tête d'un marteau tellement lourd,  
 Qu'il te fera un mal épouvantable.

Thus Palustre in 1877 actually arrived at the interpretation suggested by Professor Studer at p. 53 of his recent edition. *Quandoque dormitat editor optimus!*

Godefroy's tentative 'tête?' clearly suggests the Arabic word *rās* as the source of *ras* in l. 482. My colleague, Mr E. G. R. Waters, would read '*Cele t'escachera le ras*,' i.e. 'she shall crush thy head': the repetition of almost the same idea in the next two lines (to which he was the first to direct my serious attention) does not seem to him fatal, and he believes Greban's line 'et t'espyra de l'esguillon' can scarcely mean

anything but 'and shall lie in wait for thee with the dart.' (The 'souvent' of the next line in fact seems to make Professor Studer's rendering of Greban's line highly improbable.) Personally I see no serious objection to the rendering 'she shall crush thy head,' but it is not the only possible rendering, even if *ras* be derived from the Arabic word; and it would seem possible to preserve both the version of Palustre (and Studer) and the etymology suggested by Godefroy's rendering 'tête,' as I hope to show.

Arabic *râs* means 'head,' but it also means numerous other things. *Origine, chapiteau* (of an alembic), *pièce* (= Stück), *proue, source, tête* may be paralleled by *extremitas vaginae ensis, fin, bout, base* and *balanus* (cf. the *Dictt.* of Freytag and Dozy; other exx. in Lane). In the vocabulary to the little book on *The Spoken Arabic of Mesopotamia* by Mr John van Ess (Oxford, 1918) we read 'POINT: n. (sharp end) *râs*.' The word also occurs in the Arabic terms for hawthorn (*spina alba*), and for the summit (vertex) of a mountain or the top of a tower: 'fastigium, pinaculum, culmen' are some equivalents given by Cañes (*Dicc. Español-lat-arab.*, Madrid, 1787). G. Baist (in *Roman. Forsch.* IV, p. 415) discusses *ras*, *ras-al-air* and *rezmilla del genital miembro* and concludes 'auf jeden Fall ist *rez* = *râs*.' He takes it here as 'caput,' but it might equally mean 'end,' one would suppose. Our Elizabethan Thomas Cooper (*Thesaurus*, 1575) renders *balanus* 'a man's yarde,' with which we may compare M. H. G. *gart* (= 'Stachel,' 'stimulus,' 'aculeus'), found in the Biblical phrase 'wider dem garte streben.' The original sense of *gart* seems to be 'pointed rod' or 'goad,' for it corresponds to L. *hasta*, Gothic *gazds*. The Celtic counterpart *gas* might conceivably have originally stood in our line and later been supplanted by *ras*. Or the latter might be from O. N. *rass* (also *ars* = 'fundamentum'); the corresponding O. Ir. *err* has the sense of 'tail, end, point.' But to establish direct connection with one of these or with O. H. G. *râzî*, 'sharpness' (cf. Breton *raza* = 'raser'?), would hardly be easy, although the M. H. G. line in a riddle about the tongue, 'er ist snabelræzer dann ein vipernâter müge sîn,' seems to be apposite, and *râzî*, like *raza*, would lead us back to L. *rado* according to Walde.

To return to the Arabic derivation, we might also take *ras* in the *Mystère d'Adam* as meaning the same as mod. French *race* ('race,' 'family,' 'lineage'). This is said to be derived from Ital. *razza*, which is the same as Sp. *raza*. The latter, G. Baist pointed out (*loc. cit.*), is the 'dem Geschlecht zu Lieb erweiterte' word *raz* (= *ras*). Thus we should possibly be justified in translating 'she shall destroy thy seed.' (The

other Ital. word *razza*, 'ray, thornback,' etc. presumably derives from \**L. rādīā*, see Walde s.v. *raia*.)

The word *ras* is not quite a *hapax legomenon* in O. F., if derived from Arabic. In the Provençal *Mystère* on the *Assentio de Nostre Senhor Jesu Christ*, published by M. A. Thomas in *Annales du Midi*, II, pp. 414-416, it occurs in the last line of the following jargon spoken by 'l'autre de Arabés':

Zodich, zodich taffh  
Alpha bita dama omegua  
Thau ypsilon delta  
Ras nom Zima thaffa.

The middle lines are, as M. Thomas says all four are, composed of 'les noms plus ou moins corrects de quelques lettres grecques.' But the first and fourth lines sound more like Arabic, and 'Ras' seems to be a compound of the Arabic and Hebrew names of R.

In Gen. iii. 15, the Hebrew for 'head' is *râsh* [ro:f] and in our passage there might be a confusion with the Hebrew word *rôsh*, translated in our Bible by 'gall,' 'poison,' etc., but actually some poisonous bitter herb<sup>1</sup>. Israel Abrahams, *Jewish Life in the Middle Ages*, p. 369, reminds us that 'some of the oldest French extant is to be found in the glosses of Rashi,' the famous French Rabbi of the eleventh century, and perhaps these might throw some light on our problem. A collation of all the Romance versions and paraphrases of Gen. iii. 15 might be still more helpful. In Giovanni Diodati's Italian the verse runs: 'Ed io metterò inimicizia fra te e la donna; e fra la tua progenie e la progenie di essa; essa *progenie* ti triterà il capo, e tu le ferirai il calcagno.' Perhaps this lends a little support to the idea of rendering *ras* by 'seed' (*semen* in the Vulgate): but more naturally one would equate it with 'il capo.' At present the evidence is hardly decisive; one may render *ras* at will by 'head,' 'sting' or 'seed,' without abandoning the derivation from the Arabic *râs*.

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<sup>1</sup> Cf. Gesenius' *Thesaurus*, p. 1251 a.



## REVIEWS.

*Poetic Origins and the Ballad.* By LOUISE POUND. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1921. 8vo. x + 247 pp. 13s.

Few problems of medieval literature have aroused such general interest as that of the origin and history of the ballad. There have been wide divergences of opinion, the extremes being represented on the one hand by the late Professor Gummere who, carrying on the tradition of early romantic criticism, believed in their 'popular' origin in the widest and fullest sense, and on the other by Mr T. F. Henderson, who insists on the importance of the literary affinities of the ballad and will have nothing to do with the origin of the ballad by 'spontaneous generation.'

To this controversy Professor Pound makes an important contribution. In a series of incisive, pointed and well informed chapters she endeavours to demolish one by one the main positions of the romantic critics, while in another chapter she advances in highly tentative fashion her own views as to the literary history of the ballad.

During the last fifty years or so of ballad study appeal has often been made by the defenders of the 'popular' position to the evidence of folklore and anthropology. Miss Pound takes up the challenge and in her first chapter she shows how slender, indeed how shadowy, is the evidence for any such thing as communal authorship and what entirely different conclusions must be drawn from recent work upon early songs among the various Indian peoples. Here we must largely agree with her. She is a good deal less happy when in Chapter VI she deals with the way in which indigenous Ballads and Songs, especially cowboy songs, have been quoted as furnishing an exact literary parallel in their conditions of origin etc. to the medieval ballad. If we grant the parallelism of conditions, so injudiciously urged by some of the supporters of the 'romantic' position, it is clear that Miss Pound has an excellent opening for showing how bad poetry produced under such conditions can be. But the truth is, that the cowboy parallel ought never to have been drawn. The cowboys' songs may to some extent have been produced under communal conditions, but their whole manner of expression is not that of primitive unspoiled people but of persons whose speech is highly sophisticated, showing both in style and expression a distorted reflexion of literary forms derived from some of the least satisfactory types of modern literature.

Chapter II clears away a good deal of the misunderstandings which have arisen from the fact that modern literary historians after labelling a certain definite type of poetry, in rather arbitrary fashion, as 'ballad

poetry,' proceeded by a fatal etymological reasoning to assume that these 'ballads' must have taken their rise in the choral dance because the word *ballad* ultimately derives from L.L. *ballare* to dance, overlooking the fact that their 'ballad' is an entirely different thing from the *ballade* as first so named in France.

After this one feels that one must begin to join issue with Professor Pound. In Chapters III, IV and V she attempts to demolish the commonly accepted positions that the ballad is the work of the unlettered for the illiterate, that the ballad is 'popular' in its appeal, if not 'popular' in its origin, that the ballad has certain definite and uniform features of style, such as incremental repetition. She endeavours on the other hand to establish certain new positions, notably that there are close and hitherto largely unsuspected affiliations between the ballad and the carol, that the religious ballads are the oldest, and that the clerics had a large hand in moulding our ballad literature.

One cannot discuss these points at length, but one must point out that the author's conclusions seem largely to be based on a faulty interpretation of the evidence. Dr Pound exposes with some measure of justice the way in which the 'romantic' critics have built up their views of ballad history by assuming, without any critical weighing of evidence, that all good ballads must be old and all indifferent ones late. She then proceeds to expound her own views, largely on the basis of the dates of the MS. survival of the ballads. Nothing could be more misleading. The number of ballads that have survived in MS. form earlier than 1600 is so small that no safe conclusions as to priority of composition can be drawn. It is clear that the whole process of ballad survival must have been even more a matter of chance than that of medieval literature generally. It is quite unsafe to argue that survival in a late MS., still less survival in late oral form, means late composition.

How unsafe it is Dr Pound herself shows, for, following her own line of argument, she notes that most of the early MS. survivals are religious ballads, assumes therefore that these must be the earliest ballads, and is lured on to the very hazardous suggestion that the clerics were largely responsible for the creation of the ballad type. Surely, quite apart from the inherent improbability of her conclusions, the evidence has been entirely misread. Religious ballads have survived in early MS. form just because they were the work of clerics. They alone were fully and readily competent to commit them to writing. Their less educated rivals had largely to be content with oral transmission.

Much is made of the fact that ballads show a fondness for stories of high-born lords and ladies, court-trappings and the like, and all this is advanced in favour of a non-popular origin. One might contest the facts, but even admitting them true, do they prove aristocratic or learned origin? Surely unlettered people in all ages, like children, have liked to hear stories of those who are materially or socially better off than themselves, and to sing of courts and nobles does not necessarily mean that the singer or his audience must themselves belong to such circles, though they may well be familiar with them. Here and else-



where in the book a good many of the arguments are merely specious. To argue that because Mrs Brown of Falkland (to whom we owe many traditional ballads) was a daughter of a professor and the wife of a minister, we must not therefore regard her as the spokesman of a humble and homogeneous society, and to go on to suggest that if we claim that ballads are the work of the illiterate we must cut out from the corpus of English balladry those ballads for which she stands as an authority, is more ingenious than convincing. Mrs Brown herself heard the ballads from her mother and an old maidservant, so that their preservation was by no means due to the literate alone, and no inference as to the literary or popular origin of a ballad can be drawn from the fact that at a certain stage in its history it was learned and recited by a lady of birth and education.

The whole book is stimulating and provocative. It suffers, as the author herself admits, from being built up out of a series of separate and somewhat polemical essays. It is mainly and avowedly destructive in its criticism. On the constructive side it fails to produce conviction and the author herself seems not to have much confidence in her own theories on their constructive side.

ALLEN MAWER.

LIVERPOOL.

*Exameron Anglice or The Old English Hexameron.* By S. J. CRAWFORD. (*Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa*, X. Band.) Hamburg: Henri Grand. 1921.

In this volume Mr Crawford has adapted to the form of the *Bibliothek der angelsächsischen Prosa* his dissertation presented at Oxford in 1912 for the degree of Bachelor of Letters.

The Introduction describes the six MSS. of the *Exameron Anglice*, gives handy lists of their less usual forms and spellings, and presents the evidence for Aelfric's authorship in overwhelming completeness. A careful study of the Latin sources leads to the conclusion that, in addition to the Bible, Aelfric draws on the works of 'Beda, Gregory, Isidore, Alcuin, Augustine and probably Basil and Ambrose.' This disposes finally of the old title *Hexameron of St Basil* which, despite Wanley's censure (*vulgo sed perperam* S. Basilio Cæsariensi tributum, Catalogue, p. 90), still appears in the editions by H. W. Norman, London, 1848 and 1849. In this part of the work the editor has not been well served by his printer.

The Bodleian MS. Hatton 115 (*circa* 1075) provides the text. Its few errors are allowed to stand, but they are easily corrected by reference to the footnotes, where the variants of all other MSS. are minutely recorded. The *Exameron* is a good specimen of alliterative prose, a form which was probably adopted to make easier the memorising of sermons. The arrangement of the text in rhythmical long lines is a real help to the reader; though in a few places, e.g. ll. 18f., 79f., 537-9, the editor's division



is not convincing. One passage with the accompanying translation is worth quoting in full, because, above all others, it calls for reconsideration:

- 250 Ða fugelas soðlice ðe on flodum wuniað  
syndon flaxfote (*holuofete*) be Godes foresceawunge,  
ðæt hi swimman magon and secan him fodan.  
Sume beoð langweorede, swa swa swanas  
and ylfettan, ðæt hi aræcan him magon  
255 mete be ðam grunde, and ða ðe be flæsc(*h*)e lybbað  
syndon clyferfete and scearpe gebilode  
ðæt hi bitan magon on sceortum swuran  
and swyfra(*e*)n on flihte ðæt hi gelimplice beon  
259 to heora lifes tilungum.

'The birds, indeed, that dwell in the waters are webfooted by God's providence, so that they may be able to swim and seek food for themselves.

Some are long-necked, like swans and cygnets, that they may reach their food upon the ground. And those that live on flesh are cloven-footed and sharp-billed that they may bite with short necks and (they are) swifter in flight, that they may be suited to the occupations of their life.'

First, in ll. 254-9 there is no alliteration; the middle pause is not marked; and while l. 253<sup>b</sup> is short, containing but one stress, l. 259 lacks a hemistich. If *ylfettan* be taken up to complete l. 253<sup>b</sup>, the whole passage falls into alliterating long lines ending at *ylfettan*, *grunde*, *clyferfete*, *magon*, *flihte*, *tilungum*.

Next the punctuation is faulty: a full point after *fodan* divides two classes of water-birds, while only a comma (after *grunde*) marks the transition to birds of prey; nor is there anything in text or translation to show how the editor takes *on sceortum swuran*. Again, (*holuofete*), which represents a gloss by one of the hands that worked over so many Worcester MSS. about the beginning of the thirteenth century, should be read *holuefete*; (note that another oddity—*andan* recorded as a late English gloss to *modignysse* at l. 309—stands in the MS. over the preceding *dyrstire*, and is Latin *audaci*). In the translation, 'cygnets' for *ylfettan* is hardly possible in the context; *grunde* should be rendered 'bottom'; and if there is some incongruity in speaking of the 'occupations' of birds, 'cloven-footed' is still less happy: *clyferfete* means 'claw-footed,' 'furnished with talons.' This is not a fair specimen of the editorial work which is generally unassuming, businesslike and sane. Anyone who realises the difficulty of completing in India a research that demands constant reference to MSS. and rare books, will not be inclined to stress faults of detail, but will welcome the volume as a sign of enthusiasm for the subject maintained in a land which hitherto has not contributed to Old English studies.

K. SISAM.

LONDON.

*Neue Anglistische Arbeiten.* Herausgegeben von L. L. SCHÜCKING und MAX DEUTSCHBEIN. Cöthen: Otto Schulze. I. *Ophelia, Die Entstehung der Gestalt und ihre Deutung.* Von GERTRUD LANDSBERG. 1918. xii+92 pp. III. *Shakespeares Abhängigkeit von John Marston.* Von FRIEDRICH RADEBRECHT. 1918. xiv+122 pp. IV. *Draytons Anteil an Heinrich VI, 2. und 3. Teil.* Von ELSE VON SCHAUBERT. 1920. xvi+219 pp.

Although belatedly, we welcome with unfeigned pleasure the inauguration of Schücking and Deutschbein's *Arbeiten*. The series brings back to us the authentic voice of German scholarship before the deluge; and in it the old familiar qualities are all finely preserved. Here are the same thoroughness of method, exactitude in detail and tirelessness in accumulation; here also occasionally is something of the dangers of the system just as of old, an absolute trust in what is after all but an empirical method, and a blindness to some of its most amusing consequences. Fortunately, only one of the three treatises is largely affected by these traits.

Thus, Dr von Schaubert's object is to prove that Drayton was Shakespeare's collaborator in the second and third Parts of *Henry VI*. Her criteria are 'Stilkriterien, Parallelstellen, Wortgebung,' etc.; and never for a moment does she suspect that the value of these criteria is perhaps a little less than absolute. Indeed, in a subsidiary argument, she tells us that 'die Tatsache, dass solche Parallelen vorhanden sind, konnte an sich unbedingt für S. als Verfasser sprechen.' In this spirit, she accumulates every particle of available evidence. But in fact, in the decision of what constitutes a stylistic parallel, mere observation must be guided by a power of judgment trained in the artistic usages of the nation and the period. There is no evidence whatever that Dr von Schaubert possesses this power. For instance the following are some of her 'parallels': 'Cease, gentle queen, these execrations' and 'Cease, shepherd, cease: reserve etc.'; 'Their music frightful as the serpent's hiss' and 'Shreekes be the sweetest musicke thou canst heare'; 'If my suspect be false, forgive me, God' and 'Ah God, forgive me if I thinke amisse'; 'Sent from a sort of tinkers to the king' and 'A sort of swine unseasonably defile.' Further, both in Drayton and in *Henry VI* a dead body is called a 'breathless corpse': tears are described as 'liquid': hard hearts are labelled 'flinty': cliffs are said to have 'ragged sides.' And the assumption is that these descriptions are so astoundingly strange and unexpected that they presuppose one and the same author. Even admitting that the method followed must rely more on accumulative evidence than on one or two specific instances, what weight can conceivably be gained by the above instances?

It has seemed to us necessary to set out these obvious objections, because, relying solely on data of this sort, the author categorically concludes that Drayton wrote such and such parts of the play: and then warns us that in the course of the research it has become manifest that Drayton also wrote parts of *Richard III*, of *King John* and of *The*



*Comedy of Errors*, and that the precise delimitation of these parts is to be her next work. We trust that she will talk seriously with her teachers before embarking on her task.

Of much greater interest and value is Dr Landsberg's *Ophelia*. A book in which the tracing of Ophelia's dramatic genealogy and a reconstruction of the *Urhamlet* are followed by a striking and in many ways original characterisation of Ophelia herself is necessarily brimful of interest. Briefly, Dr Landsberg's thesis is as follows. Ophelia belongs to none of the types of womanhood favoured by the Elizabethan dramatists. In certain traits, however, a faint likeness to her is provided by the Lucibella of *The Tragedy of Hoffman*. But this *Hoffman*, as we know it in Chettle's version, is in fact an anachronism, and is argued to be but a *rifacimento* by Chettle of a play which would appropriately have appeared circa 1588-89. And it was this old play which gave to Kyd precisely those hints which enabled him to vary and improve on his Bellimperia in the figure of the Ophelia he introduced in his *Hamlet*. To condense the argument baldly in this fashion is perhaps not fair to Dr Landsberg: it may give the impression that her thesis is based on nothing but the boldest assumptions. But in fact the most obvious assumptions implied in the bare synopsis—e.g. that *Hoffman* is a revision, that in its original form it influenced Kyd, that such and such qualities are to be found in the *Urhamlet*—are propositions to justify which the authoress advances a mass of cogent and frequently impressive evidence and argument. On the other hand, she is somewhat too prone to the assumption that in imaginative creation, imitation, in the neo-classic sense, plays a much larger part than invention. That, for instance, explains why in a book of 90 pages on Ophelia, *Hoffman* occupies 40 pages; and yet at the end of 140, we cannot but ask, 'Is Lucibella really needed as a model of the Ophelia of the *Urhamlet*?' Indeed, with unconscious naivety, the authoress puts the very question herself (pp. 57-58). Nevertheless, we agree that on other grounds it would have been a pity to have omitted the 40 pages. And only rarely does Dr Landsberg succumb to the crasser evils of her assumption: *Wortgebung* and *Parallelstellen* do not haunt her, although the record (p. 27) that Venus is named in each of two plays (in love-scenes, too, let us add) arouses fears which happily do not mature.

The main value of Dr Landsberg's book lies in the interpretation of Ophelia suggested by her origins, and more particularly, in the light thrown by them on the relation of Hamlet and Ophelia, both in Kyd's *Hamlet* and in ours. This is material of which all future interpreters of *Hamlet* will have to take note. We append one or two minor observations. P. 71: is not the spiritual credit of Polonius rated a little too high? P. 20: the comment anent Gascoigne's *Jocasta*, 'das Thema kam über Seneca von Euripides' is not accurate. *Ibid.*: the Tereus mentioned had, like the other three linked with him, already appeared on the stage; he appears of course in the *Progne* tragedies, e.g. the lost Latin *Progne* of Calphill, acted at Cambridge in 1564. (This adds a little weight to Dr Landsberg's suggestion that the unknown author of the



first *Hoffman* was a 'University wit.') Lastly, one would like to hear Dr Greg's opinion on the authoress's attractive suggestion (p. 31) that Henslowe's *Danische Tragedy* may be (a miswriting) for *Dantzicke Tragedy*.

For definitive scholarly value, however, Dr Radebrecht's examination of the relationship between Marston's and Shakespeare's tragedies seems to us the best of the three volumes. The author has perhaps less critical acumen of the æsthetic sort than has Dr Landsberg: but he has more positive material on which to work, and so his results are more firmly founded. The similarities between Marston's *Antonio's Revenge* and Shakespeare's *Hamlet* have of course long been noted. But the exact bearing of these similarities has not before been adequately realised. Dr Radebrecht's enquiry into the problem has thrown considerable light on still more difficult and important questions. His thesis is really a consideration of the inter-relationship of Kyd's *Hamlet*, Marston's *Antonio's Revenge* and Quartos 1 and 2 of Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. The new orientation (together, as in Dr Landsberg's treatise, with the use of *Der bestrafte Brudermord*) provides fresh hints for the reconstruction of the *Urhamlet*. Amid these exciting problems, the author moves deftly and, as a rule, warily. That Shakespeare definitely borrowed from Marston, he has conclusively proved: and his suggestions anent Kyd's *Hamlet* are both reasonable and probable. In the second part of his treatise, Dr Radebrecht is much less stimulating in tracing affinities between *The Malcontent*, *Lear* and *Othello*.

A few comments may be added on details. A fundamental question is the date of *Antonio's Revenge*. Our author places it, we think rightly, about the end of 1599: but twice in the course of his argument, he risks much. First, by ignorance of Professor Wallace's works on the Children's Companies. Secondly, by relying on Collier's edition of Henslowe: it so happens that the Maston (*sic*) entry is, unknown to Dr Radebrecht, a forgery, although luckily it is not of such sort as to invalidate his inference. The point is mentioned because all three authors under review quote from Henslowe, and only Dr Landsberg is acquainted with Dr Greg's, the only reliable, edition. Lastly, on page 10 Nixon appears as Nixton, and on page 29 'vier' appears unaccountably for 'zwei.'

We cannot close our notice of these *Arbeiten* without expressing our envy at the lot of their authors in finding an opening for publication in such an excellent and cheap form. Possibly editors and publishers are finding that they have a little overreached themselves, for whereas Nos. 1 and 3 are priced as low as 4 marks on their covers, an advertisement on the back of No. 4 announces the price of the earlier volumes as Mk. 5.00 and 6.60 respectively, and there is no indication of the charge for No. 4 itself. We sincerely hope, however, that the editors' excellent undertaking will not be seriously curtailed by lack of means.

H. B. CHARLTON.

MANCHESTER.

*Die Dialektliteratur von Lancashire.* Von KARL BRUNNER. Vienna: Verlag der Hochschule für Welthandel. 1920. 57 pp.

This booklet, including notes and index, but lacking a full bibliography, is a sketch of Lancashire dialect literature from the eighteenth century to the present day. It takes John Collier's *View of the Lancashire Dialect* (1746) as the fountain head of that tributary brook of English literature, and in seven short chapters the author gives biographical facts and short accounts of the works of most of the writers who have composed poems and stories in the dialect of Lancashire, ending with the *Hindle Wakes* of Stanley Houghton, acted first in 1912. Samuel Bamford, Edwin Waugh, and Ben Brierley receive, as they well deserve, greater observation than the stars of lesser magnitude.

As a sketch of the outlines of the history of the literature in the modern dialect of Lancashire it is an excellent little book. The author is familiar with most of the poetry, and with many of the novels and plays into which the dialect enters. He revels in biographical and bibliographical facts. That is one excellent result of his training under Professor Brandl. But he is singularly free from delight in the objects of his studies, and curiously devoid of critical appreciation. That again is a defect for which he is not responsible; but it is a defect, and a mortal defect in a scholar who wishes his works to be read. Dr Brunner has made no attempt to write for English readers, who are surely, together with their brothers overseas and their cousins in America, the most likely of all world-dwellers to be interested in this their own corner thereof. He writes as an impartial outsider, without enthusiasm. He rarely illustrates his subject with original specimens of the art which he is discussing, and his book is the duller for it; for what is the use of titles and dates and summaries to one who wants to know something of the stuff of Lancashire dialect literature? The little that he has to say about Lancashire is not his own personal impressions of its life, but commonplace historical and economical data. His account of English dialect literature before 1746 is by no means complete, and this chapter might, with considerable advantage to the book, have been expanded. His criticism of the blending of literary English and dialect by Burns is not new, nor in Dr Brunner's method of exposition is it exact. Words like 'virtue' and 'occasion' appear in the English dialects, as in literary English. They have a different pronunciation, that is all.

The impression left by the book is that the Lancashire dialect writers are odd fellows, radicals all, yet withal lovers of the good old times. Dr Brunner does not claim that Lancashire has produced a single great original literary genius. In his view the Lancashire poets are imitative, and in any beauties which they may have revealed they are surpassed by those from whom they borrowed. This may be true; if so, the more credit is due to Dr Brunner for undertaking a stretch of literary history which most Englishmen would decline to map out; and yet these poets must have meant more to Lancashire than they mean to Dr Brunner, or they would never have been so highly appreciated at home. Is there not



something elementally human in their aversion from the massed labour and sweated poverty of the factory town, and in their love of roses and children and honest work? At least one can truly say that, in leaving a permanent record of the dialect in the nineteenth century, they have made a valuable contribution to the history of the English tongue; but, unless their literary genius is greater than Dr Brunner seems to believe, the familiar quotation 'what Lancashire thinks to-day, England will think to-morrow' should be reversed in order to make it true.

Only a Lancashire man, himself a poet and critic, can ever do full justice to these realists of provincial life and speech, and although Dr Brunner does not appear to have been bred in Manchester, that is not his fault, and we cannot attach blame to him for lacking the qualities which a reader has a right to expect in a work of this kind. Dr Brunner has assembled an interesting collection of valuable facts about Lancashire authors, which the lovers of Lancashire dialect will prize as a contribution, an introduction, to the history of its literature.

G. H. COWLING.

LEEDS.

*Manual of Modern Scots.* By WILLIAM GRANT and JAMES MAIN DIXON. Cambridge: University Press. 1921. 8vo. xxii + 500 pp. 20s.

The idea of this work, more or less a pioneer of its kind, occurred to the second named of these authors who felt the need of such in his lectures on Scottish Literature in the University of Southern California.

The idea is not altogether new, for the ancient Indian writers in their study of Phonetics and phonetic symbols had as one of their motives the desire that no jot or tittle of their holy writings should perish. Not only in California but nearer home much of our Scottish literature is in danger of perishing. The schoolmaster—no blame to him—is in large measure responsible.

The main purpose of the manual is found in the third part, which consists of (1) a series of extracts from modern Scots writers and (2) a selection of ballads and songs, with the original spelling on one page and a strictly phonetic spelling, that of the Association Phonétique, on the opposite. The first part of the *Reader* represents not only Scottish authors of repute, Scott, Ramsay, Burns, Galt, etc., but also the most important Scottish dialects from the Shetland Isles to the Cheviot Hills and the Solway Firth. It cannot be claimed that all the works from which extracts are taken can rank as Scottish Classics, but the ballads and songs of the second part of the *Reader* (Part IV) have all won an abiding place in the Scottish heart. Being no longer merely local, they are reproduced phonetically in the Standard Scots dialect. This is descended from the Old Northumbrian dialect and is now represented over a wide area of Scotland in what the authors call the Lothian type of Scottish speech.

Part I treats of the Phonetics of the Scottish dialects and their sounds in a thoroughly scientific manner. The sound-charts and com-



parative tables of the sounds of Old English, of the Standard Scots dialect, and of Modern English as spoken by the best speakers in Scotland and in England, combined with the use made of them in exposition, afford a sound foundation for the scientific study of Scottish speech, past and present. The phonetic descriptions of the individual sounds are reliable, but it may be doubted whether the vowel described as *high-front-lax-lowered* is of such frequent occurrence as the texts suggest. The present writer is of opinion that the symbol for that sound is employed in many words where some variety of the *high-central* is the real sound used in the living speech. But perhaps this may be merely a matter of phonetic interpretation. The glottal stop receives attention. As stated in the *Manual* it is used along with or instead of *p, t, k*. It is also used occasionally with final *l* and *n*. It is probably the most objectionable, i.e. the most cacophonous, of the dialectal sounds and a word of warning might therefore have been given against its imitation.

In Part II the term Grammar is used in the widest sense and here we have what is probably the fullest and most scientific treatment to be found anywhere of the usages of Scottish speech in word and phrase. We note the omission of an idiom found on the East Coast: 'Here it,' 'There it,' for 'Here it is,' 'There it is.' The omission is a little surprising, for the same or a similar idiom occurs in one of the extracts when Wee Macgregor exclaims 'I like potty. Here a bit.' Further there is no mention of an idiom still sometimes heard in fishing communities, the Scandian use of 'at' with the infinitive. In the list of strong verbs it might have been noted that the verb 'to saw' (wood) has in certain parts of Scotland the same form as the past tense of the verb 'to saw' (to sow seed), namely *sju* (= *syoo*). These omissions are referred to not as shortcomings but merely as indications that in spite of the fulness of phonetic and grammatical treatment something still remains to be done in the field of dialectal research. The authors have shown how it is to be done.

Parts I and II have each an Index, full, and, so far as tested, accurate, and the *Reader* is provided with a glossary as complete and thorough as the rest of the work.

The book has been put through the press with the utmost care. In some 150 pages of phonetic print we have found only three or four misprints. There are one or two inconsistencies of statement or of pronunciation which may however be explained as dialectal varieties.

To teachers and students of Scottish literature the book is fitted to be of great help, especially to those who believe that we get nearer to an author's meaning in proportion as we approximate to his original pronunciation. It cannot perhaps be claimed that these phonetic transcripts enable this approach to be made perfectly (there is no attempt to mark intonation), but they do help us to realise more exactly and satisfactorily than any other spelling we have, how the auld Scots tongue was formerly and, in spite of the schoolmaster and the journalist, is still spoken in many parts of the country.

The writer remembers once hearing Robert Fergusson's poem 'Braid Claith' (pp. 340-1) recited in Fifeshire with the pronunciation 'brēd claith' where the vowel of 'brēd' *low-front-tense-long* (almost rhyming with that of 'bread') represents a stage of evolution intermediate between OE. 'brād' and modern 'braid.' The pronunciation, which was probably that of Fergusson's time, gave to the familiar poem a fulness of meaning it had never had before.

The aim of the book is to further the appreciation of Scots literature through the better understanding of the language in which it is enshrined. In view of the efforts of the Vernacular Circle Committee of the Burns Club of London to encourage by every means possible the use of the vernacular language oral and written, the question naturally arises: What would be the attitude of our authors to this proposal? The answer is found in a chapter all too short on 'The Intrusion of English into Scots' given as a preface to the *Reader*. They urge that Scots writers 'ought to know something of the history of their language and of its grammar in so far as it differs from Standard English.' There ought to be 'a systematic study of our old national speech and literature in our Schools and Colleges.' But they admit that 'the Scottish Language can never be national in the same sense as it was' before the Union of the Crowns.

To readers who are not acquainted with the spoken dialect but who can read phonetic texts the transcriptions in the third and fourth parts of the volume must give a new insight into, and a quickened appreciation of, the stories and ballads and songs of the 'north countree.'

The whole work does credit to its authors alike in conception, in scholarship, and in execution. The reliability of the phonetic texts, the fulness and accuracy of the linguistic and grammatical parts provide much to praise, nothing to censure, and only a few details for the expert to disagree with.

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R. JACKSON.

DUNDEE.

*Three Studies in Shelley, and an Essay on Nature in Wordsworth and Meredith.* By ARCHIBALD T. STRONG. Oxford: University Press. 1921. 8vo. 189 pp. 10s. 6d.

The Professor of English in Adelaide University deserves thanks for these four essays. His method is straightforward, he gives all his documents, he writes easily and with elegance, and he penetrates into the subject. The 'faith of Shelley' is hard to disentangle from its poetic expression and from the poet's shifting and interlacing moods. Dr Strong traces afresh the double strain in his speculation; on one side, negative, necessitarian, anti-Christian, and oppressed with the evil of the world; on the other, aspiring, full of reverence for the man



Christ, dreaming of the return of a golden age of love, and sure of human perfectibility. But this apparent antinomy in Shelley is not absolute; for the first attitude of mind, while never abandoned, changes more and more into the second as he proceeds; and further, this transition is smoothed from the first by many curious blendings and concessions. For instance, Shelley holds that the golden age is latent in the present state of things, and that its achievement requires but the twitching off of a mystic veil, which is something like Wordsworth's 'lethargy of custom':

'He constantly expresses his belief that the principle of benevolence already *exists* in the nature of things, and is only waiting to be brought to light, and freed from the fettering and obscuring mechanism of ordinary life. Its fitful visitations are due to a partial lifting of the veil which at present conceals it from humanity. Were this veil wholly lifted, all beauty, charity, and truth would be at once realized. It is of the first moment, for the understanding of his faith, to realize the intensity of this conviction and its constant recurrence throughout his poetry' (p. 55).

This essay is too complex to summarise; but I think that any risk of overstating, as Stephen and some others have done, the lasting influence of Godwin upon Shelley, will be lessened by Dr Strong's account. Godwin gave a potent impulse; the poet's faith in the end not only outgrew but came to contradict the determinism of *Political Justice* (pp. 44-5).

The second paper, on 'Shelley's Symbolism,' is more than a study of the favourite images—the veil, the stream, the serpent—which haunt his verse. They are images that betray his habits of thought and illuminate his creed. The Veil expresses his sense of 'the illusoriness of the phenomenal world' (p. 77), or again signifies 'the sinister disguise of evil' (p. 71); the Boat and the Stream also have many meanings, the former sometimes prefiguring 'the universal stream of thought which flows through the Universe and all human life'; the Boat being the individual soul that is swept along that current (p. 95). Some of the same images are further examined in the third study, 'The Sinister in Shelley,' a many-sided topic. Dr Strong quotes first some of the well-known tales showing Shelley's liability to delusion and self-deception, and the childish, or rather hysterically-girlish, streak in his texture; and then many of the passages where he harps on corruption, madness, spectres, scorpions, toads, ravens, worms, and corpses. I confess that I seldom find 'grim strength' in any of them. They seem evidence, rather, of poetic weakness. Shelley frightens himself but not the reader. But, as Dr Strong well shows, all these figures are to the poet symbols of the evil which he thinks, or dreams, is to be a vanishing quantity in 'the world's great day.' And he further seeks thus to discover and express the beauty which is found in even alarming or unearthly things, such as the serpent. I fancy that a visit to the *Shelley Concordance* would throw an odd light on his proclivities in the matter of imagery, whether sinister or radiant.

The most striking of the essays is the last, 'On Nature in Wordsworth and Meredith,' where the author does not merely explain and judge the



poets but seems to sketch out a faith of his own. The method of exposition is the same; and in quoting his key-passages Dr Strong takes care to choose those that are good poetry. It would have been possible to go wrong in this respect, both with Wordsworth and with Meredith. But Dr Strong is chiefly concerned with their ideas and creeds. The faith of Meredith is that of a *naturalist*—though Dr Strong does not use the word. Meredith relies strictly on the life that we know, and on what Nature, in his own sense of the term, teaches about that life. She teaches us:

'that it is from Earth that we are sprung, and that though the Race is ever going on from strength to strength, and from height to height, such progress can only be realized by forwarding Nature, and never by thwarting her (p. 162)... No promise of personal immortality must be sought in her—none, indeed, but the psychically self-seeking would endeavour to find such a promise (p. 164)... If we look Earth and Nature full in the face, and try to see in them the Real, we have in that very act made ourselves one with Reason—Reason, man's germinant fruit, the eternal foe of self, the prompter to service and self-sacrifice' (p. 166).

These are but extracts, or headings, taken from a clear and fair exposition. Then come the 'grave difficulties involved in Meredith's philosophy.' One is this, that he ignores the case of the scientific and philosophical pessimist, who regards Nature not as a mother but as an *injusta neverca*, or as an embodiment of blind will. Certainly Meredith never faced this conception on its philosophical side; he could not think of Nature as merely blank or hostile to man, although such ideas were in the air when he wrote. But Dr Strong hardly pursues this difficulty; it is Wordsworth, not Schopenhauer, whom he compares favourably with Meredith, and in a sense puts up against him. He suggests that Meredith rather blinded himself with the notion of 'race-immortality,' which on his premises would be fallacious. It has no strict meaning, apart from the life of individuals, if the question of personal survival be regarded as one beyond our knowledge, and if no pantheistic substitute be accepted. But I am not sure that Meredith, except in poetic figure, thought of the race except as a series of transitory individuals. As I read him, he is content with these, if only by their combat with themselves and with circumstance they contrive to hand on the torch to 'certain nobler races, now dimly imagined.' Whatever the difficulties in this view, there is surely no metaphysical opium in it. Some passages in Meredith's letters, it is true, leave room for ambiguity. But he does not seem to stake his faith on any speculations that outstrip 'naturalism.'

Dr Strong's account of Wordsworth and of his temper towards Nature throws new light on an old theme. He emphasises the truth:

'that Wordsworth regarded Nature not merely as a being in some sense external to man...but as being in essence one with him, and part of the transcendent unity in which he was comprised... Hence, Spirit was not one thing in the transitory individual, and another in that persisting aggregate called the Race; it was immanent in each man and woman, and was the bond which attached them to one another, as to the immortal personalities which had passed beyond time and space' (pp. 187, 188).

The critic concludes that the elder poet sees deeper into the conception

of duty than the younger one; and that 'those who cannot breathe this [transcendental] air will fall back with relief on the sure and noble faith of Meredith.' The present writer is in that position, except that he does not consider it a 'falling-back.' No one will grudge Dr Strong the possession of what he deems to be a surer foundation of faith. He is in high company. In my own belief, those difficult consolations which rest in the long run upon some version of Idealism, and of which Wordsworth is a great interpreter, can never die out, partly because they will always appeal to a certain high and aspiring type of mind, and partly because they are incapable of disproof. This combination is irresistible. To other minds, differently built, the transcendental view is barred; they cannot take it as true in fact. The naturalistic view is good enough for them. Meredith, as Dr Strong freely grants, went far with it. The essay before us states the issue with great clearness, and rises to the height of its argument.

OLIVER ELTON.

LIVERPOOL.

*A History of American Literature, supplementary to the Cambridge History of English Literature.* Edited by W. P. TRENT, J. ERSKINE, S. P. SHERMAN, and C. VAN DOREN. Volumes III and IV. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons; Cambridge, England: University Press. 8vo. x + 424, vi + 451 pp. Each 30s.

It would be difficult to maintain that the last two volumes of this important history sustain the interest of the two first. Perhaps this was inevitable. The period under review is roughly that from the Civil War to to-day, and living writers cannot very well receive the treatment that is proper for the dead; allusion alone is permissible. Such allusions in a history of literature must be graceful ceremonial rather than anything else, courtesy rather than criticism. The greater authors of the period overlap Volume II and are there treated. The rest are legionaries with a few centurions, hardly a captain; and it is hard to individualize legionaries outside the family circle. However if it be understood that many of the chapters are virtually bibliography or even index, with little more colour than ordinary indexes and bibliographies allow, the reader may escape some disappointment, and will recognize a value in the long lists of half-distinguished names.

The headings of some of the chapters will suffice after what is said: Minor Humourists; Later Poets (they might have been Minor too, the whole platoon of them); Later Essayists; Later Theology (a very callow effort with that blended suggestion of the supercilious and the superficial that some Seminaries are so successful in producing; the subject had better have been left alone); Drama; Magazines and Newspapers; Patriotic Songs and Publishers. Obviously they all belong to a survey, but they are a little saddening. 'Hovey's lyrics time will doubtless adjudge his best work'; perhaps time won't, but will put them with those of lyrists mentioned by Quintilian; perhaps time has done so.



The chapter on Publishers deals with the sense of nationality in publishing and competition with England. We are not done with such issues. We are told that 500,000 pirated volumes of Scott issued from the American presses between 1814 and 1823, and there were other authors against whom native talent competed in vain, and an odd list of ladies is given. In 1823 two cantos of *Don Juan* reached Philadelphia and were distributed to thirty-five or forty composers and in thirty-six hours an American edition was for sale. It is significant that in 1858, two years before Lincoln's election, W. G. Simms could say that there was not a single publisher in the Southern States between the Chesapeake and the Mexican frontier.

Of course this book is written for America. If Matthew Arnold found a popular history of our literature 'written to the tune of *Rule Britannia*,' we may forgive complacent references to 'the joyously insolent Western American,' and his 'rollicking voice.' Perhaps it will be easier for a Briton to forgive it, when he reads that 'at present judicious Americans are importing their best current humour from Canada'—the one reference to Canada in the volume; and perhaps some British readers would be as content if the whole Montreal crop were absorbed south of the line. American style is not yet quite emancipated from the polysyllable, as 'rhetoricity' and 'rhetoricity' (neither very clearly distinguishable from rhetoric), and 'artisticality' may prove, while 'disgruntled' is still slang on this side of the ocean, if it has attained so much. But the most curious exhibition is in Miss Mary Austin's chapter on the poetry of those nowadays hideously nicknamed Amerinds—in better and less pseudo-scientific times Indians. She finds 'certain characteristic Americanisms' in their songs, but does not attempt to compare them with other primitive peoples; no, the character is given by 'the power of the American landscape to influence form and the expressiveness of democratic living in native measures.' And at the same time the Rio Grande valley at one period knew 'drama, which, given time to develop, might have resulted in a farce-comedy of the sort which undoubtedly gave rise to, or at least suggested, the comedies of Aristophanes.' Now think of James Russell Lowell, who also knew the American quality (and Aristophanes), and contrast that old-style criticism of his with this stuff.

Scale and proportion in such a history as this will be difficult to measure aright to please all. Four or five pages are given to Mr Santayana, though alive; considerably less to O. Henry. Ida Tarbell's work on Standard Oil, fruitful in fiction and perhaps in legislation, is dismissed as 'muck-raking.' Again to revert to the Indians, less of Miss Austin and more of George Catlin would have made for science. Further Mr Jenks' 266 pages on the Bontoc Igorots of the Philippine Islands get a paragraph, while the splendid four volumes of John Lloyd Stephens on Central America get half a sentence, one line apiece. Yet Stephens is about as good to read as the *Bible in Spain*, as full of revolutions and real people, with less braggadocio, and much more gain for real knowledge, a delightful work.



The Mark Twain chapter is pretty good, one or two whoops excepted when the writer echoes his author a little too loud. The work of Professor Bassett, the distinguished historian and biographer of Andrew Jackson, on American Historians is capital. So is the very interesting chapter on the Explorers, in spite of its neglect of Stephens. But the most suggestive and moving chapter of all is that on Lincoln. Much has been written on Lincoln, but the reader feels that future biographers must consider Professor Stephenson's pages. They may be wrong, but in any case they open a door to a new consideration of America's greatest man.

When all discounts are made, and misprints pilloried, when all dissentient notes are struck and divergent opinions recorded, what is left of a book? In the case of this sort of book a great deal. An enormous amount of matter is gathered, registered, chronicled, and generally made available. Here the reader may note an error, there he may violently disagree, but after all he would a great deal sooner have the book as it is than not have it at all; and in its mass of solid fact, in the very suggestiveness of its mere lists of names and catalogues of books, lies a promise of high usefulness for the student of American life.

T. R. GLOVER.

CAMBRIDGE.

*Écrivains français en Hollande dans la première moitié du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle.*

Par GUSTAVE COHEN. Paris: H. Champion. 1920. 8vo. 756 pp., 52 planches. 50 francs.

L'attrait exercé par l'atmosphère tolérante des Pays-Bas sur l'action et la pensée françaises; l'apport de la pensée française à la pensée hollandaise et la réaction de celle-ci sur la première, dans le dernier quart du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle et la première moitié du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle, constituent le fond de la thèse de M. G. Cohen que l'auteur développe en une exposition aussi animatrice que variée de faits établis avec une érudition et une critique des plus scrupuleuses. C'est le monde militaire où officiers et soldats se sentent soutenus et grandis par la conscience de servir la noble et sainte cause de la liberté des États contre la tyrannie de Philippe II; c'est la part prise à l'organisation et à l'enseignement dans l'Université de Leyde par le Parisien Louis Cappel, par le Rouennais Guillaume Feugueray, qui a sur ses collègues une autorité suffisante pour qu'on le charge de la rédaction du programme des études; c'est, encore à l'Université de Leyde, la parole et l'exemple de théologiens comme Lambert Daneau, Du Jon, Polyander, Saravia, Treucat, Du Moulin, Rivet; de jurisconsultes comme Hugues Doneau; de botanistes comme de l'Escluse; de philologues comme Joseph Juste Scaliger et Claude Saumaise, qui donnent à cette université un lustre incomparable, en font le foyer des méthodes nouvelles et y attirent de nombreux étudiants venus de toutes les provinces de France, parmi lesquels on peut citer le poète Théophile de Viau et le grand artiste en phrase Guez de Balzac, et dont beaucoup portent des noms illustres dans l'histoire politique, militaire et littéraire

de notre pays; c'est enfin toute l'œuvre de Descartes naissant et se propageant tout d'abord dans les universités hollandaises.

L'auteur ne se borne pas à démontrer sa thèse : il nous dépeint avec un art magistral le milieu militaire, les mœurs des soldats, des professeurs et des étudiants et il nous trace des principaux personnages qu'il rencontre sur son chemin des portraits extrêmement vivants. Le plus fouillé de tous est celui de Descartes auquel est d'ailleurs consacrée la plus grande partie de l'ouvrage. C'est le philosophe, c'est le penseur, c'est le travailleur dont nous avons une image très fidèlement reconstituée; mais c'est aussi l'homme avec son tempérament sensible et même *sentimental*, le père tendre et dévoué pour la fille qu'il a eue d'une servante d'Amsterdam; entretenant des rapports de profonde amitié avec la Sérénissime Princesse Elizabeth, fille aînée de l'Électeur Palatin, Frédéric de Bohême, à laquelle il dédie en 1644 la préface de ses *Principia*; plein de prévenance et de délicatesse pour les humbles comme Ferrier, son lunetier, qu'il invite à venir passer quelque temps avec lui dans son 'désert' où il aura tout loisir de s'exercer, où il le défraiera de tout, pendant qu'il se livrera à ses travaux, où il l'hébergera aussi longtemps qu'il le voudra, d'où il le fera rentrer à Paris quand l'envie le prendra d'y retourner; comme Jean Gillot, un de ses domestiques, auquel il a enseigné les mathématiques, et pour qui il cherche, avec une bonhomie vraiment touchante, une place avantageuse où on le traite avec tous les égards qu'il mérite par son caractère et ses connaissances; comme l'arpenteur Wassenaer, son élève, en faveur de qui il intervient contre le mathématicien Stampioen, au risque de retarder l'impression de plusieurs feuilles de ses *Méditations*; et comme Dirck Rembrantsz van Nierop, ce paysan cordonnier auquel il communique sa méthode, auquel il donne ses enseignements en hollandais, auquel il ouvre sa maison et son cœur; généreux de ses conseils; confiant au point de faire part de ses découvertes à ses amis, sans trop se soucier de l'usage auquel il les destineront, quitte à rompre brusquement avec eux, quand il s'aperçoit de leur ingratitude et de leurs plagiais, comme cela lui arriva avec Beeckman, à qui, dans la chaleur du moment, il adresse de vifs reproches, pour renouer d'ailleurs avec lui, en dépit de tout, quand le temps a calmé son indignation; modeste, au point de ne vouloir mettre son nom à cet immortel *Discours de la Méthode*; ayant pour maxime de se tenir 'beaucoup plus redevable à ceux qui le reprennent qu'à ceux qui le louent'; très désintéressé puisque pour tous honoraires il ne demande à son éditeur que deux cents exemplaires de son *Discours*; infatigable dans la défense de ses idées; dur dans ses attaques contre ses adversaires, comme on peut s'en rendre compte par sa polémique avec Voetius; esprit curieux de tout, inventions, théories, doctrines; s'intéressant même aux idées des Rose-Croix; enclin à un certain mysticisme; se laissant impressionner par quelques-uns de ses songes, au point d'en ressentir une certaine terreur, et 'de prendre celle-ci pour un avertissement du ciel sur ses péchés et de promettre à la Sainte Vierge de se rendre en pèlerinage à Notre Dame de Lorette, promesse qu'il ne tint pas.'



L'ouvrage de M. G. Cohen inaugure de façon éclatante la *Bibliothèque de la Revue de Littérature Comparée*, que dirigent ces deux éminents maîtres Monsieur F. Baldensperger et Monsieur P. Hazard. Il met en relief les hautes qualités d'un enseignement qui, tout en étant fondé sur une érudition du meilleur aloi, sait rester artistique, littéraire et par-dessus tout *humain* et qui, d'ailleurs, n'a pas tardé à devenir des plus populaires parmi les étudiants de l'Université de Strasbourg où il a produit l'effet d'une véritable révélation. Ajoutons que ce livre a eu— chose bien rare pour une thèse universitaire—un grand succès de librairie, qu'il est déjà épuisé et que l'Académie Française a tenu à en reconnaître la valeur en lui décernant le grand prix Broquette, une des plus hautes récompenses qu'elle ait à sa disposition.

LOUIS BRANDIN.

LONDON.

*France and England. Their relations in the Middle Ages and now.* By T. F. TOUT. Manchester: University Press; London: Longmans, Green & Co. vi + 168 pp. 7s. 6d. net.

Modern Language scholars will find the requisite historical background for their literary or linguistic studies admirably supplied by this short, clear, authoritative account of the relations between France and England in the middle ages. These relations, more intimate and more continuous than those between any other two nations of Western Europe, show a long tradition of general hostility, which historians have amply discussed, but also a strong, persistent undercurrent of affinities, which Professor Tout finds more interesting. His tone is friendly—part of his material served for his course of four lectures at Rennes—he quotes French historians with approval and sometimes frank admiration, and when his documents point irresistibly to the closest conceivable interrelation between the two countries he is less dismayed than Freeman or Stubbs. For the period on which he is an acknowledged master, he arrives at conclusions more cheering and in completer harmony with the impression which the reader derives from mediaeval literature.

However it be with the historians, it is not easy for the student of literature to keep a clear head in dealing with the middle ages. He is apt to read modern conditions into the past, and requires Professor Tout's constant reminder that the meaning of 'nation,' 'France' and 'French,' 'England' and 'English' was not always what it seems. In mediaeval society, essentially cosmopolitan with its great super-national institutions, the Church, the canon law, the religious orders, the University, men understood personal allegiance to their lord better than devotion to a country with ill-defined and fluctuating frontiers. The difference between Frenchmen and Englishmen—there is none that can be proved in race—was particularly shadowy; their political conditions and social customs were largely identical; in ordinary daily life the difference was less marked than now, when French and British fellow-travellers are



apt to range themselves in national camps on such a question as whether the carriage-windows should be open or shut.

Divergence on national grounds is the product of a later age. From the Norman Conquest (neither exclusively Norman nor yet, in the official view, a 'conquest') until well into the Hundred Years' War, there was plenty of fighting, but not as the result of national sentiment. For centuries, large numbers of the inhabitants of this country and of France mingled freely, unhampered by barriers of language or temperament. The picture is not lacking in piquancy: on the English side, Richard Cœur-de-Lion, the perfect *méridional*; the barons who wrested from Jean Sans Terre the charter of English liberty, and thereafter called in the future Louis VIII of France; in the days of Edward I, the Gascon merchant prince mayor of London and, a few years later, mayor of Bordeaux; the true English patriots, with the 'fine old Saxon names' of, let us say, Simon de Montfort or Aymer de Valence; the said Aymer, earl of Pembroke under Edward II, had, moreover, three French wives, of whom the last founded, in the year after Crécy, Pembroke College, Cambridge, on the distinct understanding that in all appointments to the foundation a preference should be given to Frenchmen over Englishmen. Or, on the French side, the great Norman baron Godefroi de Harcourt, who in 1346 invited the English into Normandy; the founding by the English of the Universities of Caen and Bordeaux; those innumerable members of the French-speaking cosmopolitan ruling class, largely French but partly English in blood, whom the French guide-books identify with *la domination anglaise* but who, could they rise from their carven tombs, might well inquire, What is meant by *domination* and what by *anglaise*?

To all such questions—and the Modern Language student will not fail to ask them—Professor Tout provides a dispassionate and reasoned reply. We could have wished he had extended his scope, to describe more fully the infiltration which took place in the reign of Edward the Confessor, and to show how, as a result of the Conquest, not only England but Scotland, Wales and Ireland came under the French influence. The Confessor's French *protégés* left their mark, and the linguist at least would like to hear more about them. The patriotic de Valence was on the English side of the field at Bannockburn; how came an equally patriotic de Bruce to be on the other? But within the limits chosen Professor Tout's book well serves a high purpose. It shows how France and England spring from a common civilization and share to this day a common heritage. It deals with the distant past, but it has on the present a bearing which the author never forgets, and from his life-long study of mediæval history he brings us in these troubled days a message of hope.

R. L. G. RITCHIE.

BIRMINGHAM.

*Le Opere di Dante: testo critico della Società Dantesca Italiana.* A cura di M. BARBI, E. G. PARODI, F. PELLEGRINI, E. PISTELLI, P. RAJNA, E. ROSTAGNO, G. VANDELLI. Con indice analitico dei nomi e delle cose di MARIO CASELLA e tre tavole fuor di testo. Florence: Bemporad. 1921. xxxi + 980 pp. 36 lire.

*Il Fiore e il Detto d'Amore.* A cura di E. G. PARODI. Con note al testo, glossario e indici. In appendice a le Opere di Dante editate dalla Società Dantesca Italiana. Same publishers. 1922. xx + 174 pp. 16 lire.

The beautiful sexcentenary Dante, the most permanent literary monument of the celebrations of last year, is the first attempt at a critical text of his complete works. It is the summary of the labour and researches, extending over a number of years, of the distinguished scholars whose names appear on the title-page. Michele Barbi, who has acted as a kind of general editor, impresses upon us in the preface that this is not the critical edition of the works of Dante which we are still to expect, the 'National Edition' which will include the critical apparatus that will enable the specialist to follow and appreciate the reasons that have led the editors to their conclusions; it is rather to be regarded as a reproduction in advance of the text that will form the basis of the National Edition. Therefore in the title they speak of 'testo critico,' but do not employ the more comprehensive phrase, 'edizione critica.' The purpose of the Società Dantesca Italiana was simply, on the great occasion of the sixth centenary, to present the student with a complete text of Dante's works as near to what we may believe the divine poet to have written as the ripest Italian scholarship could make it. It will, of course, be remembered that in no case have we an autograph manuscript of Dante's own; nor even any manuscript—save, possibly, for one canzone<sup>1</sup>—which, by the wildest flight of imagination, can be regarded as directly derived from an autograph. The number of MSS. varies according to the work, but—whether many or few—they are for the most part relatively late and incorrect. There are even instances—the sonnets to Dante da Maiano and the *Questio de Aqua et Terra*—in which no MSS. are known to exist. Thus the task of establishing or restoring what Barbi calls 'le vere sembianze' of the works of Dante is a colossal one.

With respect to the language, the Latin works are presented throughout, rigidly and consistently, according to mediaeval orthography. In the case of the works in Italian, the editors have allowed themselves more liberty, and have adopted a compromise between the customary modernisation of the text and a complete reproduction of the mediaeval spelling, while preserving intact the words and grammatical forms and representation of sounds proper to Dante's time. The apparent inconsistencies are, no doubt, intentional, as reflecting the still unsettled condition of the vernacular in the fourteenth century, and the whole

<sup>1</sup> The canzone, *Donne ch' avete intelletto d' amore*, in the Cod. Vat. 3793.



result is unquestionably satisfactory. Parodi (in an article contributed last year to the *Marzocco*) wittily remarked that, in thus contributing to a great manifestation of *italianità*, 'la piccola anima filologica si sarebbe quasi, contro natura, fatta grande.'

We already possessed an almost ideal critical edition of the *Vita Nuova* by Michele Barbi, published in 1907. Here there was very little left to do. Barbi has slightly modified the orthography and punctuation of his text, and introduced one or two unimportant fresh readings, but the work remains essentially the same. The case is far otherwise with the *Rime* (the now happily discarded title of *Canzoniere* does not seem to have been applied to the collected lyrics of Dante or Petrarch until the nineteenth century). No complete or adequate edition of these wonderful poems has hitherto been produced, and Barbi's own preparatory researches have been for many years the student's chief guide. His treatment of them in the present volume is thus an event of the first importance in the field of Dante scholarship. Of the lyrics given in the Oxford Dante, he excludes absolutely four canzoni (including two sestine) which have long been known to students as spurious, twelve sonnets and four ballate, while relegating one canzone, three sonnets, and two ballate to the appendix as doubtful. On the other hand, he adds to the authentic poems one canzone, one ballata, one stanza, seventeen sonnets, and to the doubtful pieces one ballata and nineteen sonnets. We have thus—in addition to the lyrics of the *Vita Nuova* and the three canzoni of the *Convivio*—a canon of thirteen canzoni, thirty-four sonnets, five ballate, and two stanzas, with an appendix of 'rime dubbie' made up of one canzone (the trilingual canzone), three ballate, and twenty-two sonnets. We shall have to await the 'National Edition' to appreciate Barbi's reasons for acceptance or rejection, and he claims no absolute security for all the compositions included among the 'rime genuine.' Our own comparatively limited knowledge of the MSS. would have led us to place some of the latter among the doubtful lyrics, and to have included in the same class the sonnet, *E' non è legno di sì forti nocchi* (here rejected as probably by Cino da Pistoia). The arrangement of the *Rime* is broadly chronological (with subsidiary groupings according to subject matter), the final series of 'rime varie del tempo dell' esilio' being closed by the 'Lisetta' sonnet: *Per quella via che la bellezza corre*. Barbi has already shown weighty reasons why this sonnet—formerly regarded as connected with the 'donna gentile' group of the *Vita Nuova*—should be assigned to this later epoch<sup>1</sup>. We are tempted to think that he unduly restricts the number of 'rime allegoriche e dottrinali.' The splendid canzoni, *Amor che movi tua virtù dal cielo* and *Io sento sì d' amor la gran possanza*, seem to us to belong to this class. In the former the wonderful lines on the imagination (31–38), which invite comparison with *Purg.* xvii, 13–18 and *Par.* x, 40–48, and in the latter the tone of the two tornate, point to the poems being philosophical or allegorical, which is perhaps confirmed by the position assigned to them, immediately after the

<sup>1</sup> *La questione di Lisetta*, in *Studi danteschi*, I, pp. 61–63.



canzoni of the *Convivio*, by Boccaccio in his arrangement of the series. The critical reconstruction of the text of the *Rime* is a problem hardly less complicated than that of the establishment of a canon of authenticity. There are a few instances in which Barbi has surprised us by maintaining the hitherto accepted readings rather than adopting the more tempting variants offered by the MSS., but here too we must await his promised justification. Unquestionably this 'testo critico' of the *Rime* fulfils most satisfactorily one of the most pressing needs of all Dante students.

The previously accepted text of the *Convivio* was likewise most unreliable, though the researches of Dr Moore introduced valuable corrections in the third edition of the Oxford Dante. No fewer than thirty-nine MSS. are known, but the number counts for little, if the new editors—Parodi and Pellegrini—are right in their discovery that they all proceeded ultimately from a single copy (no longer extant) with mistakes and omissions and traces of the Aretine dialect. The task before the editors has again been one of special difficulty, and the general result—even if not a few readings or emendations may be open to considerable question—has certainly placed the study of the *Convivio* upon a firmer basis. We will cite just one instance, as it is among the readings discussed by Dr Moore in his *Textual Criticism of the 'Convivio'*. In *Conv.* III, ii, Dante is discussing the tendency of the soul to unite herself in love with what appears to be a revelation of the Deity. The Oxford Dante reads: 'E perocchè nelle bontadi della natura la ragione si mostra divina.' For this Moore would substitute the reading of the Milanese editors: 'E perocchè nelle bontadi della natura [umana] la ragione si mostra della divina,' and understand 'the important truth that the standards of moral excellence for man must correspond with those which we believe to exist in the Divine Nature.' Parodi and Pellegrini now read: 'E però che ne le bontadi de la natura e de la ragione si mostra la divina.' The divine goodness, which is the ultimate object and cause of love, is revealed in the excellences of nature and of reason alike. It is analogous with the 'quanto per mente e per loco si gira' of *Par.* x, 4, and the gain of spiritual significance to the whole passage is surely unmistakable.

The two chief Latin works stood in less need of revision. Pio Rajna published his admirable critical edition of the *De Vulgari Eloquentia* in 1896. It is unnecessary to remind the reader of the sensation caused in 1917 by the publication at Frankfort by Ludwig Bertalot of an edition based upon a hitherto unknown MS. (only three MSS., one of no importance, had previously been known to exist). The mystery with which Dr Bertalot saw fit to invest this MS. is not yet fully dispelled, but its readings—reflected in its discoverer's edition—have confirmed the emendations already introduced by Rajna and suggested others, so that the text here presented to us—mainly a revision of his former edition—may confidently be accepted as definitive and final. The current text of the *Monarchia*—from Witte to the Oxford Dante—has

been a comparatively sound one. In the new critical text, ably edited by Rostagno, we will mention two minor points. The title is now established as *Monarchia*, instead of *De Monarchia*, the latter being contrary to the tradition of the MSS. and the concordant testimony of Dante's early biographers. It is now generally realised that, in the famous passage upon free will in I, xii ('Hoc viso, iterum manifestum esse potest quod hec libertas sive principium hoc totius libertatis nostre, est maximum donum humane nature a Deo collatum'), all the MSS. contain the incidental sentence: 'sicut in Paradiso Comedie iam dixi'. Rostagno shows that, though the MSS. in this case are comparatively few (about twelve), the position is analogous to that of the *Convivio*; they all ultimately proceed from a single and unauthoritative copy, in which the reference to the *Paradiso* is to be regarded as the interpolation of the scribe. We cannot feel quite satisfied with this summary rejection of the incidental sentence. Is it not perilously like the old habit of regarding a sonnet as spurious because it appeared 'un-Dantesque'?

With respect to the *Epistole*, English scholars can point with legitimate pride to the researches of Dr Toynbee which bore fruit in his admirable edition published in 1920 by the Clarendon Press<sup>2</sup>. Apart from the Letter to Can Grande, the question of the MSS. is a simple one, and the task of the editor is reconstruction and emendation. The present editor, Pistelli, gives us the Letters in a form in external features more nearly approaching the Latin that Dante actually wrote, but in other respects his work for the most part confirms Dr Toynbee's results. This is especially noticeable in the Letter to the Italian Cardinals, where the English scholar's reconstruction was particularly searching. In the most familiar of the letters, *Amico Fiorentino* (which exists, it will be remembered, only in the Boccaccian MS.), there are two notable points where the two editions differ. Where Dante speaks of the source from which he has learned the dishonouring conditions under which he may return to Florence, Toynbee retains the generally accepted reading which is that of the MS.: 'per litteras vestri meique nepotis.' Now the letter is addressed to a religious, and Barbi, after a very exhaustive investigation as to all the poet's relations and connexions, could find no such personage who had a nephew in common with Dante. He therefore proposed an emendation: 'per litteras vestras meique nepotis'; which Pistelli adopts<sup>3</sup>. Strong though Barbi's arguments are, they seem hardly conclusive enough to necessitate the correction of a MS. which has come down to us in Boccaccio's hand. In the famous sentence at the end of the letter, the difference depends upon whether a contraction 'flor.' should be expanded as 'Florentino' or 'Florentineque.' Pistelli retains the previously accepted 'Florentineque': 'Nonne dulcissimas veritates potero speculari ubique sub celo, ni prius inglorium ymo ignominiosum populo Florentineque civitati me reddam?' Toynbee, correcting to 'Florentino,' reads: 'Nonne dulcissimas veritates potero speculari ubique sub coelo,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. C. Foligno, *The Date of the 'De Monarchia,'* in the Dante commemoration volume (University of London Press).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *M.L.R.*, xvi, p. 183.

<sup>3</sup> See *Studi danteschi*, II, pp. 115 et seq.



ni prius inglorium, immo ignominiosum, populo Florentino, civitati me reddam?' Apart from the more plausible expansion, the latter is more in accordance with the personal and familiar tone of the letter, with which the official formula, 'populus Florentinaeque civitas,' seems out of harmony.

The Letter to Can Grande stands on a different footing. All the extant MSS. have been fully and directly utilised for the first time by Pistelli, who has likewise edited the *Egloghe* and the *Questio de Aqua et Terra*. The text of the Eclogues is fundamentally that previously established by Albini; the *Questio* must now be regarded as definitely admitted to the authentic canon of Dante's works.

We know Boccaccio's story—strikingly confirmed by a sonnet of Giovanni Quirino—of Dante sending the *Divina Commedia* by instalments to Can Grande della Scala at Verona. The formal publication appears to be represented by the fact that, in April or May, 1322, some eight months after the death of the poet, his son Jacopo presented a complete copy to Guido da Polenta, who was then captain of the People at Bologna. It was probably from Bologna that the poem, 'el Dante,' came to Florence, which henceforth took the lead in multiplying copies. There is the pleasing legend that a worthy citizen made a hundred such copies, by the sale of which he procured dowries for his daughters. The earliest extant Florentine MS., signed by Francesco di Ser Nardo of Barberino in Val di Pesa and dated 1337, is in the Biblioteca Trivulziana at Milan; another, signed by the same scribe and dated 1347, is in the Laurenziana. A year earlier than the first of these, indeed the earliest known MS. of the *Divina Commedia*, is the Codice Landiano at Piacenza, which is dated 1336, and was written for the then podestà of Genoa, Beccaria de' Beccaria, by one Antonio da Fermo, a native of the Marches who tinged the text with his local dialect. A little later Boccaccio made several copies of the sacred poem, of which the one now in the Chapter Library at Toledo (including the writer's own *Vita di Dante*, the *Vita Nuova*, and the *Canzoni*) has acquired considerable celebrity with students. It has been estimated that, out of between 500 and 600 MSS. that are extant, more than one half are of Florentine or at least Tuscan origin<sup>1</sup>. But all this apparent wealth of MSS. does not represent a secure tradition. There are no MSS. which can be supposed derived directly from exemplars proceeding from Dante's immediate circle; the primitive tradition has been irretrievably lost; the corruption of the text had begun before any of the extant MSS. were written, and even the earliest commentators were acquainted with alternative readings. It is noteworthy that the Codice Landiano and the Trivulziano already differ on some of the points upon which textual criticism is still divided. The present editor, Vandelli, has found it

<sup>1</sup> See S. Morpurgo, *Il 'Dante' a Firenze*, in *Il Marzocco* (May 1, 1921). The Codice Trivulziano and the Codice Landiano have both been published in facsimile: *Il Codice Trivulziano 1080 della D.C.* with an introduction by Luigi Rocca (Milan, Hoepli, 1921); *Il Codice Landiano* with a preface by A. Balsamo and an introduction by G. Bertoni (Florence, Olshki, 1921).



impossible to construct a complete genealogy of the extant MSS. Consequently the selection between rival readings, the retention of those regarded as established or the substitution of others, has been part of a general and complicated task of critical reconstruction. Barbi aptly reminds us that, even if the new text does not differ substantially from the 'testo vulgato,' very many of the passages that appear unaltered have cost not less labour than those in which changes will be found<sup>1</sup>. As this edition will inevitably supersede the Oxford Dante as a standard of reference, it is a pleasant duty to say that a comparison of the two texts of the *Divina Commedia* leaves the reader with an enhanced appreciation of the scholarship of Moore, for in many cases the readings adopted by him may now be regarded as confirmed by Vandelli's researches, and his *Textual Criticism* (though published so many years ago) can still be studied with profit. The new text cannot be regarded as final or definitive, but it is at least a great step forward, and, from the philological aspect, with its retention of forms characteristic of the Trecento, it marks a considerable advance upon all previous editions.

We will only select a few of the passages where the 'testo critico' differs from the Oxford or from that generally accepted. In the words of Beatrice on the permanence of Virgil's fame (*Inf.* II, 60), the Oxford Dante reads: 'e durerà quanto il *moto* lontana'; where *moto* would be synonymous for 'time,' time being the enumeration of movement (cf. *Conv.* IV, ii, *Par.* XXVII, 115-120). Vandelli reverts to the more usual and perhaps easier reading *mondo*; but *moto* has the authority of the Codice Trivulziano and the Landiano alike. In the line about baptism (*Inf.* IV, 36), Moore followed the majority of the MSS. and the first four editions with 'ch'è *parte* de la fede che tu credi'; Vandelli prefers the more theologically accurate *porta* (which, indeed, the sense of the passage seems to require). We feel doubtful about the adoption of *Clugnè* for *Cologna* in *Inf.* XXIII, 63: 'che in *Clugnè* per li monaci fassi.' In *Purg.* VI, 111, the line of bitter sarcasm, 'e vedrai Santafor com'è *sicura*,' becomes almost meaningless by Vandelli's acceptance of the colourless *oscura*. Here the Codice Trivulziano reads *oscura*, the Landiano *secura*. On the other hand, the full philosophical sense of the passage on the impossibility of a creature hating God, in *Purg.* XVII, 111, is brought out by Vandelli's substitution of *effetto* (the reading of the Codice Trivulziano and three of the first four editions) for *affetto* (that of the Codice Landiano, the Oxford, and most modern texts): 'Da quello odiare ogni *effetto* è deciso.'

Probably the most severely criticised of the new readings is one in which again Vandelli has the Codice Trivulziano and three of the first four editions on his side. We refer to the famous passage (*Purg.* XX, 64-69), where Hugh Capet denounces the crimes of the royal house of France, beginning with the annexation of Provence:

Là cominciò con forza e con menzogna  
la sua rapina; e poscia, per ammenda,  
Ponti e Normandia prese e Guascogna.

<sup>1</sup> *Prefazione*, pp. xxi-xxvii.

Carlo venne in Italia e, *per ammenda*,  
vittima fè di Curradino ; e poi  
ripinse al ciel Tommaso, *per ammenda*.

Commentators have naturally emphasised the dramatic force of this thrice repeated ironical *per ammenda*; but, in the second case, the new edition substitutes *per vicenda*:

Carlo venne in Italia e, *per vicenda*,  
vittima fè di Curradino ; e poi  
ripinse al ciel Tommaso, *per ammenda*.

The change seems to us not to lessen, but to modify the import of the poet's sarcasm, as also the articulation of the passage. The crimes laid to the charge of the Capetingi would thus fall into two pairs: a French and an Italian. As the scene changes from France to Italy, the fashion of the crime alters from rapine to murder. Charles came to Italy, and, 'for a change,' murdered Conradin, and then, for amends, St Thomas Aquinas. However, it requires more courage than we possess to defend Vandelli's innovation; we would only suggest that it is capable of more defence than its critics have perhaps recognised.

To take a few examples from the *Paradiso*. The best loved line in the poem is perhaps in Piccarda's speech to Dante (*Par.* III, 85). Here the Oxford text reads: 'E la sua volontate è nostra pace'; which is the reading of the Codice Trivulziano. The alternative, 'in la sua volontate è nostra pace,' is that of the Codice Landiano. Vandelli gives: 'E'n la sua volontade è nostra pace.' The retention of the *in* would perhaps be supported if we supposed the line a reminiscence of the sentence of St Augustine (*Conf.* XIII, 9): 'In bona voluntate pax nobis est.' But the meaning is far from identical; Augustine is thinking of the 'bona voluntas' of which the angels sang to the shepherds in the Vulgate version of St Luke. In the picture of the mystical espousals of St Francis and Lady Poverty, we have the famous image of Poverty united with her first Bridegroom upon the Cross (*Par.* XI, 70-72):

Nè valse esser costante nè feroce,  
sì che, dove Maria rimase giuso,  
ella con Cristo *pianse* in su la croce.

Here Vandelli has returned to the reading more generally accepted (at least before the revival of Franciscan studies). The Oxford Dante followed Benvenuto da Imola in reading *salse*: 'ella con Cristo *salse* in su la croce.' Both the Codice Landiano and the Trivulziano read *pianse*, which is the normal reading of the MSS. and editions. The chief source for Dante's representation of the espousals with Lady Poverty was the *Arbor Vitae Crucifixae* of Ubertino da Casale, and certain words in the prayer to obtain the grace of Poverty, which Ubertino puts into the mouth of St Francis himself (v, i), might be cited to support either reading: 'Immo ipsa matre propter altitudinem crucis, que tamen te sola tunc fideliter coluit et affectu anxio tuis passionibus iuncta fuit, ipsa inquam tali matre te non valente contingere, domina Paupertas cum omnibus suis penuriis tamquam tibi gratissimus domicellus te plus quam unquam fuit strictius amplexata et tuo cruciatu precordialis



iuncta.' If this is doubtful, we think that most students will agree with Vandelli, in spite of Benvenuto and other early commentators, in the line about *il templo*, the Church (*Par.* xviii, 123): 'che si murò di *segni* e di martiri.' Here the testimony of the MSS. is overwhelmingly against the tempting variant accepted by Moore: 'che si murò di *sangue* e di martiri.'

Our last example shall be one in which the generally accepted reading has hitherto been unquestioned. It is the prophetic passage at the end of *Par.* xxvii (144), where Beatrice foretells the coming renovation of the Church or society in general:

*Ruggiran* sì questi cerchi superni,  
che la fortuna che tanto s' aspetta  
le poppe volgerà u' son le prore,  
sì che la classe correrà diretta;  
e vero frutto verrà dopo 'l fiore.

Here we take *fortuna* (as in *Purg.* xxxii, 116 and frequently in early Italian poetry) to mean, not 'fortune,' but 'tempest.' Vandelli emends the universally accepted *ruggiran*, 'shall roar,' to *raggeran*, 'shall ray,' a colourless substitution for Dante's powerful image of the roaring of the spheres to usher in the new age. But here we may confidently appeal to Dante's source to defend the established reading, for the image is surely suggested by Jeremiah (xxv, 30, 32): 'Dominus de excelso *rugiet*, et de habitaculo sancto suo dabit vocem suam...et turbo magnus egredietur a summitatibus terrae.'

It has been a wise decision of the Editors to exclude the *Fiore*—the famous rendering of the *Roman de la Rose* in 232 sonnets which not a few scholars would accept as Dante's—from the sexcentenary volume, and to issue the critical text separately as an 'appendice dantiana.' It has been admirably done by Parodi, who has united with it the less known and inferior *Detto d'Amore*, which he regards as the work of the same hand. The preface contains what seems to us the strongest case yet put forward against the attribution to Dante of the *Fiore*, and the little book—in external form a humble companion to the Dante volume—will be most welcome to every student of early Italian poetry.

EDMUND G. GARDNER.

MANCHESTER.

*Althochdeutsches Lesebuch.* Von WILHELM BRAUNE. Achte Auflage.  
Halle: M. Niemeyer. 1921. viii + 278 pp.

Though it is close upon fifty years since the appearance of its first edition, Braune's *Lesebuch* still belongs to the indispensable outfit of every serious student of Old High German, and as it has been out of print for a considerable time, the new edition is sure to meet with a grateful welcome from all who are interested in the subject.

With the help of the material which has accumulated since the publication of the seventh edition in 1911, the book has been carefully



revised, and the editor acknowledges his special indebtedness to Elias von Steinmeyer's *Kleinere althochdeutsche Sprachdenkmäler* (1916) and Gustav Ehrismann's *Althochdeutsche Literaturgeschichte* (1918), and to the collaboration of Eduard Sievers.

The texts, to which additions had been made in every one of the preceding editions, have not been increased this time either in number or extent. A number of emendations suggested in recent years have been given in the foot-notes, but very few of them have been taken into the texts. In No. XIII b (*Bruchstücke eines rheinfränkischen Psalters*), Braune, following Steppat and Steinmeyer, has altered 'in' (l. 1) to 'ne,' 'uuiridit' (l. 36) to 'neuuiridit,' 'seilelin' (l. 69) to 'seileclin,' and 'aphlon' (l. 73) to 'aphilon.' In the so-called *S. Emmeraner Gebet* (No. XVIII b) the words not found in MS. B have been shown by small print, a helpful improvement. In ll. 3 and 4 of the *Hildebrandslied* Braune has returned to the punctuation of his earlier editions. While in the last two editions he had put the full stop after 'sunufatarungo,' he now puts it again after 'tuēm.' In *HL*. 41 he has altered 'fuortôs' to 'fôrtôs,' accepting the view of Danielowski and others that the small 'u' which in the MS. appears over the first 'o' of the word is a late addition. In l. 57 b of the *Ludwigslied* Ehrismann's convincing emendation 'Kuning unsêr sâlig' has been substituted for 'Kuning uigîgsâlig' of the previous editions. In l. 130 of *Memento Mori* Braune now prints the MS. reading 'dannan,' which in all former editions he had rejected in favour of Steinmeyer's 'dannoh.'

The numerous misprints in the texts of the seventh edition have been corrected with the only exception, I believe, of 'spuodi' (*Is*. iv, 77) which should be 'spuodi,' being gen. sing. of 'spuot, f.' Several new ones, however, have crept in: *Is*. iii, 145 (M) 'qnad' for 'quad,' *Murb. H.* ii, 2, 4 'terra' for 'terram,' and *ibid.* ii, 3, 1 'ima' for 'iam.' The numeral '15' should be inserted on p. 68, l. 2 before the sub-heading 'Psalmus III,' and a full stop at the end of line 81 on page 76.

Braune has changed his views with regard to the dialect of two of the texts. While formerly he described the *Leiden Williram MS. A* as 'umschrift in einen nördlich-rheinfränkischen dialekt,' he now considers it 'eine umschrift in einen nördlich-fränkischen dialekt,' and the language of *Christus und die Samariterin*, which in the earlier editions was called 'alemannisch,' in the seventh edition 'alemannisch mit fränkisch gemischt,' is now described as 'fränkisch mit alemannisch gemischt.' Braune's belief in a High German original of the *Hildebrandslied* has never been shaken, and he still accounts for its 'Mischdialekt' by assuming that the High German original was copied by a Saxon scribe.

The Bibliography has been brought up to 1920, and I have noticed only one mistake in it. The review of F. Lauchert's *Geschichte des Physiologus*, quoted on p. 180, l. 27, appeared in *Englische Studien*, vol. xiv, pp. 123 ff., and not, as stated, in vol. xvi, pp. 296 ff. Lauchert replied to the reviewer, vol. xiv, pp. 296 ff.

The Notes on the *Hildebrandslied*, dealing with emendations and interpretations of the text, have grown by nearly two pages, in spite of

the exclusion of 'gewagte änderungen und deutungen, die oft nur einer theorie zu liebe ersonnen sind.'

The Glossary has been much improved both by corrections and additions. The following words, however, are still omitted:—alsô *adv.* *ebenso, auch* (Pedü héizet er Mars, álsô mors. *N.* 11, 25).—ëban-alt, ébenalt *adj.* *gleichalt* (táz síh nîoman iro negelóubti uuésen ébenált. *N.* 3, 12).—thara-fuoren, tharafuaren *sw. v.* *hinführen* (thia muater tharafuari. *O.* 13, 7).—hôh-setli *n.* *Hochsitz, thronus* (ih chisah druhtîn sitzendan oba dhrâto hôhemu hôhsetle. *Is.* iv, 81).—inleiten *sw. v.* *inducere, hineinführen* (chorungo pisuucichilîneru incaleitit ni lazzês. *Murb.* *H.* ii, 10).—myrra *f.* *Myrrhe* (mýrrun inti uuîrouh. *O.* 11, 65).—skîn-bârî *f.* *nitor, Glanz* (Jupiter tûncheleta fóre sînero skînbari. *N.* 7, 6).—slâf-rag *adj.* *sopitus, eingeschlafen, schläfrig* (tagastern tac slâfragan uuechentêr. *Murb. H.* ii, 4).—ar-sterben [starbjan], erstarben § 27, 2 b *sw. v.* *töten* (Ih ne furhti die menigi des mih umbestandentis liutes samso er mih erstarben mege, ih ne irsterbe gerno. *N.* 15, 22).—un-tât, undât *f.* *Sünde* (thaz ih úndato ni fîndu in imo thrâto. *O.* 38, 4).

Students would, no doubt, appreciate an extension of the plan of entering difficult variants in their alphabetical places with cross-references to their normal forms. It is indeed difficult to see why e.g. 'arbi,' 'ervi' = 'erbi,' 'heitar' = 'eitar' should have been so treated but not 'heribi' (XIII b, 69), or 'funt' = 'phunt' but not 'fending' = 'phending,' why there should be a cross-reference from 'intrâtan' to 'trâtan' but none from 'intrerteda' (*intemperies*, *N.* 19, 5) to 'rerteda,' and why 'guuun' (*N.* 11, 7) = 'gawin' should not have been given at all.

On page 213 'dannoh' should be deleted, as it has been replaced by 'dannan' in the text (42, 130); p. 214, col. 1, l. 35 read '*O.* 4, 85' for '*O.* 4, 58'; p. 214, col. 2, l. 24 'tiehsamo' for 'thiehsamo'; p. 216, col. 2, l. 23 '*N.* 11, 4' for '*N.* 12'; p. 217 insert 'n' after 'einwerch'; p. 230, col. 2, last line insert § before 224; p. 236 read 'chelîg s. queliîg' for 'cheliîg s. queliîg'; p. 245, col. 1, l. 55 '*Is.* iv, 90' for '*Is.* iv, 87'; p. 265, col. 2, l. 13 '*Is.* iii, 51' for '*Is.* iv, 51'; p. 272, col. 1, l. 51 '43, 109' for '43, 53.'

'G.G.A. = *Göttingische Gelehrte Anzeigen*' should be added to the list of abbreviations on p. 169.

H. G. FIEDLER.

OXFORD.

Von Ludwig Tieck zu E. T. A. Hoffmann. *Studien zur Entwicklungsgeschichte des romantischen Subjektivismus.* Von WALTER JOST. (*Deutsche Forschungen*, iv.) Frankfurt am Main: M. Diesterweg. 1921. x + 138 pp. 24 M.

This is the first of a new series of monographs on German literature and language under the editorship of Professor Panzer of Heidelberg and Julius Petersen, lately installed in Erich Schmidt's chair at Berlin. Of the five works promised by the publisher only one other (on Hölderlin's Lyrical Poems) has so far appeared, owing to the extremely unfavourable



condition of things in Germany, while two more may be expected in the course of this year.

Dr Jost's introduction sketches Hoffmann's personality as a romanticist in whose nature romantic 'Sehnsucht' played a decisive rôle and formed the basis of his affinity to Tieck. The expression of this 'Sehnsucht' in the two poets as irony, music, love and art and its fulfilment in the fairy tale are the theme of the book, showing at every stage the younger man's greater objectiveness and grasp of life. Wackenroder's (and Tieck's) Berglinger and Hoffmann's Kreisler are both romantic musicians at variance with the realities of their world; but while Berglinger is totally subjective, passive and weak, Kreisler's sorrows arise from his struggle against the opposing forces of life. Berglinger is a pale sigh, while Kreisler has flesh and blood, a tangible and visible form. Both Tieck and Hoffmann have the same ideas about the effect of matrimony on the artist: both see in the fulfilment of love, i.e., in marriage, the death of artistic inspiration and force. The 'eternal love' of the artist is 'love par distance'; but while Tieck's and Wackenroder's ethereal natures cannot even bear the sight of the earthly beloved, Hoffmann's more robust mind sees danger only in possession. This strongly realistic leaning in Hoffmann's art finds its most decided expression however in the fairy tales, the Märchen. This is the nucleus and the most important chapter in the book. The realm of pure imagination is the only ground where the yearning of the romanticist may find complete fulfilment, without the danger of a bitter awakening to fact. But it is significant that whereas Tieck's fairyland almost never succeeds in completely satisfying his heroes, who always wish to return to mother earth and the life of reality, Hoffmann actually finds in the realm of the spirit that repose and contentment which is denied him in the real world. For Tieck, fairyland is only a temporary resting place from the stress of reality, not a goal. For Hoffmann it is the end of his endeavours, where the spirit finds the perfect harmony it needs. Tieck's fairyland is something apart from reality, a subjective creation of the hero's longing imagination, existing only as a reflection of his soul. Hoffmann's fairyland is, to be sure, not less subjective, but much less dependent on the whims of his personages. It is not somewhere far away, but right here, permeating, and permeated by, the actual world. It *is* the world seen through a different medium and consequently possessing an actuality of its own apart from the existence of the hero or his whims. It is reality seen with the eyes, not of the senses, but of the spirit. It is the world of poetry.

This fundamental difference between Tieck and Hoffmann—the former's continual swinging from real life to imagination and back again as against the latter's constancy in pursuing his spiritual aim—is well founded in the lives of the two men. Tieck, who never was in a position to be more than a spectator of life, must of necessity have had moments of longing for an active participation in the realities of existence; while Hoffmann, who was daily chained to his jurist's desk, never longed for anything but the detachment of imaginative artistry. Tieck tired of the



endless Sundays which Hoffmann enjoyed with the contentment of a week-day worker. Tieck's mind, satiated with self-reflection, began longing for more tangible, for real things; Hoffmann's imagination was rooted in reality, never suffered Tieck's disappointments and grew all the stronger for its earthliness. He is the connecting link between the transcendentalism of romantic poetry and the realism of later generations.

Dr Jost has presented his case with the utmost thoroughness and with a rare literary finish. He never loses himself in a mass of details on one hand, nor in abstract generalities on the other, but has succeeded exceptionally well in delineating Hoffmann at once as a type and an interesting individual, always grounding his literary traits in the poet's own life and character. The book is illuminating on the peculiar mentality of the romantic age to an extent that very few books are, and is not only one of the best contributions to the literature on Hoffmann and the minor German romanticists, but also a help in exploring the depths of such tangent natures as Poe and Dickens.

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### MINOR NOTICES.

Another volume of the 'Cambridge Studies in Medieval Life and Thought' edited by Mr G. G. Coulton has now seen the light. This is *The Pastons and their England* by Mr H. S. Bennett (Cambridge, University Press, 1922, 15s.). In these 'studies on an age of transition' Mr Bennett has very happily systematised in seventeen chapters the information given by the Paston Letters concerning every-day life in fifteenth-century England, and has drawn further illustrations from many other sources. The result is a very readable and useful book, for the general accuracy of which the name of the General Editor is sufficient warrant. A specially useful Appendix gives the present home and designation of each of the Paston Letters, the only ones not examined being those still preserved at Orford Park, Suffolk. The seeming misprints in the book are few and far between—and the style is plain and businesslike. But why is the author so fond of the unpleasant modernism 'Once the ceremony was over,' etc.? Supplementary to the book is a list of corrections to Miss Deanesly's *Lollard Bible*, the first volume of the series, which has already been noticed in this *Review*.

G. C. M. S.

We are indebted to the Clarendon Press and to Mr C. H. Wilkinson, Fellow and Librarian of Worcester College, for a reprint of W. Goddard's epigrams, '*A Neaste of Waspes latelie found out and discovered in the Law-countreys: At Dort. Printed in the Low-countreies. 1615*' (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 18s.), from the copy in the Worcester College Library. Only one other copy of the book is recorded. The author shows a pride

in his profession of soldier, but he is a very coarse-minded fellow with little gift for writing. However every poetical venture of the period has interest. Two wrong numbers and some turned letters have been corrected: otherwise it is claimed that this reprint is an exact reproduction of its original. A few misprints are pointed out in the Notes: the list might perhaps have been extended, e.g. 'Couser' (4, 2) = Courser, 'oue' (14, 14) = our, 'buy' (18, 6) = by, 'The' (25, 6) = They, 'plaie' (28, 2) = praie, 'pry' (37, 2; 38, 3) = pray, 'thriste' (riming with 'curste') (37, 3) = thirste, 'il' (41, 4) = it, 'oxe' (50, 11) = foxe, 'Streakes' (81, 4) = Skreakes, 'wans' (90, 1) = mans, &c. 'Both hath...' (riming with 'wrath') (14, 21) shows that Goddard wrote what Mr Dover Wilson calls 'compositor's grammar'; the rimè 'benefio'—'buy ho' (18, 3, 4) that in spite of his residence in the Low Countries he had a good English pronunciation of Latin.

G. C. M. S.

M. Sainéan's well-known series of historical studies on the *argot* of former times is fittingly completed by his comprehensive volume, *Le Langage parisien au XIXe siècle* (Paris: Boccard, 1921, xvi + 590 pp.). It is a monumental labour of love for the country of his adoption. The words, the turns of phrase, the peculiarities of syntax and pronunciation which distinguish Parisian speech in the second half of the nineteenth century are here laboriously collected and carefully discussed. The index forms a useful and indeed indispensable repertory, for it is the common experience that much of the stock-in-trade of contemporary French novelists or journalists is not to be found in Littré or Bescherelle. M. Sainéan casts his net where the strangely conservative French lexicographers have scorned to fish, and his researches into the jargon of the *poilu* alone bring a large haul. But his work is neither exhaustive nor definitive. It is indeed difficult to say what is 'Parisian' and what is not, while with the present French dictionaries it is only too easy to assume that 'modern vulgarisms' are really modern. Thus '*tout plein*,' which M. Sainéan traces back to the sixteenth century, occurs in Joinville (§ 227: '*il courut sur tout plein de Sarrazins*'), and '*les Angliches*,' whom he thinks to be so designated only in recent years, figure, to our knowledge, in an ancient fragment which we attributed, in *Romania*, and *nem. con.*, to Jehan de Prunay—and no doubt other readers could provide pedigrees for many of his other 'modernisms.' The remedy is the publication of a French Dictionary on the generous scale of Murray, and including non-literary words. Until then M. Sainéan's work will do excellent pioneer service.

R. L. G. R.

## NEW PUBLICATIONS.

March—May, 1922.

### GENERAL.

- BAUGH, A. C., G. L. HAMILTON, and D. B. SHUMWAY, *American Bibliography for 1921* (*Publ. M. L. A. Amer.*, xxxvii, 1, March).
- BROOKS, N. C., *The Sepulchre of Christ in Art and Liturgy*, with special reference to the Liturgic Drama (Univ. of Illinois Studies in Lang. and Lit., vii, 2). Urbana, Univ. of Illinois Press. \$ 1.50.
- Charles Mills Gayley Anniversary Papers (Univ. of California Publ. in Mod. Phil., ix). Berkeley, Cal., Univ. of California Press. \$ 3.
- GOSSE, E., *Aspects and Impressions*. London, Cassell. 7s. 6d.
- GUÉRARD, A. L., *A Short History of the International Language Movement*. London, Fisher Unwin. 21s.
- Hugo Schuchardt-Brevier. *Ein Vademekum der allgemeinen Sprachwissenschaft*. Festgabe zusammengestellt von L. Spitzer. Halle, M. Niemeyer.
- MEYER, R. M., *Die Weltliteratur im 20. Jahrhundert*. Fortgeführt von P. Wiegler. Stuttgart, Deutsche Verlags Anstalt. 85 M.
- MURRY, J. M., *The Problem of Style*. London, H. Milford. 6s. 6d.
- PRITCHARD, F. H., *Training in Literary Appreciation*. An Introduction to Criticism. London, G. Harrap. 2s. 6d.
- SAPIR, E., *Language: An Introduction to the Study of Speech*. London, H. Milford. 8s. 6d.
- SHELLY, P. VAN DYKE, *English and French in England, 1066-1100*. Philadelphia, Univ. of Pennsylvania.
- STRACHEY, L., *Books and Characters*. French and English. London, Chatto and Windus. 12s. 6d.
- TEGETHOFF, E., *Studien zum Märchentypus von Amor und Psyche*. Bonn, K. Schroeder. 36 M.
- VOGT, F., *Französischer und deutscher Nationalgeist im Rolandslied und im Nibelungenlied*. Rede. Marburg, N. G. Elwert. 6 M.
- ZWEIFEL, M., *Untersuchung über die Bedeutungsentwicklung von Langobardus-Lombardus*. Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung französischer Verhältnisse. Halle, M. Niemeyer.

### ROMANCE LANGUAGES.

#### Italian.

- CALDERINI, R., *A. S. Minturno, poeta e trattista del 500*. Aversa, Tip. Noviello. L. 9.
- CECCHINI, G., *Saggio sulla cultura artistica e letteraria in Perugia nel sec. XIX*. Foligno, Campitelli. L. 10.
- CIPOLLA, C., *Studi danteschi raccolti dall' Accad. di agricoltura, scienze e lettere di Verona*. Verona, Cagianca. L. 25.
- COSSIO, A., *Teoria dell' arte e della bellezza in Dante*. Ravenna, Tip. Artigianelli. L. 5.50.
- Dante e l' Italia nel 6° centenario della morte*. Fondazione M. Besso.



- GRAF, A., *Le poesie*, con avvertenza di V. Cian. Turin, Chiantore. L. 50.
- GRAZZIANI, V., *Esegesi del primo canto della Divina Commedia*. Sondrio, Tip. Washington. L. 6.50.
- LATTANZI, G., *La patria nella lirica italiana*. Rome, Maglione e Strini. L. 6.50.
- Miscellanea dantesca*. Supplemento, 19-21 del Giorn. stor. della lett. ital. Turin, Chiantore. L. 70.
- MORANDI, M., *Arturo Graf*. Rome, Mondadori. L. 12.
- SANTANGELO, S., *Dante e i trovatori provenzali*. Catania, Giannotta. L. 10.
- SCALIA, U., *Giovanni Verga*. Ferrara, Taddei. L. 12.
- SOLMI, A., *Il pensiero politico di Dante*. Florence, 'La Voce.'
- SPOERRI, T., *Renaissance und Barock bei Ariost und Tasso*. Bern, P. Haupt. 14 M.
- TROMBETTI, A., *Elementi di glottologia*. Bologna, Zanichelli. L. 60.
- WILKINS, E. H., *Dante: Poet and Apostle*. Chicago, Univ. Press; Cambridge, Univ. Press. \$ 1.25.

### Spanish.

- ALARCÓN CAPILLA, A., *Galdós y su obra*. Conferencia. Madrid, Imp. G. Hernandez. 2 pes.
- BUCHANAN, M., *The Chronology of Lope de Vega's Plays*. Toronto, Univ. Library. 50 c.
- CASTRO, A., *Les romantiques espagnols: Rivas, Espronceda, Zorilla, Arolas*. Paris, Renaissance du livre. 4 fr.
- CASTRO, A., *Unos aranceles de aduanas del siglo XIII* (*Rev. de fil. esp.*, viii, 4).
- COTARELO, E., *Ensayo sobre la vida y obras de don Pedro Calderón de la Barca* (*cont.*) (*Bol. Acad. esp.*, x, April).
- FARINELLI, A., *El último sueño romántico de Cervantes* (*Bol. Acad. esp.*, x, April).
- HENRÍQUEZ UREÑA, P., *Observaciones sobre el español en América* (*Rev. fil. esp.*, viii, 4).
- WATSON, F., *Luis Vives: el gran valenciano (1492-1540)* (*Hisp. Soc. of America: Notes and Monographs*, iv). London, H. Milford. 7s. 6d.

### Provençal.

- SCHELUDKO, D., *Mistrals 'Nerto.'* *Literarhistorische Studie* (*Roman. Arbeiten*, viii). Halle, M. Niemeyer.

### French.

#### (a) *General (incl. Linguistic).*

- BARBIER, P., *Le latin 'quinque cornua' et ses dérivés* (*Rev. phil. franç.*, xxxiv, 1).
- BLOCH, O., *La pénétration du français dans les parlers des Vosges méridionales* (*Bibl. de l'École des Hautes Études*, fasc. 323). Paris, H. Champion. 15 fr.
- CLÉDAT, L., *Verbes défectifs* (*Rev. phil. franç.*, xxxiv, 1).
- ERNAULT, G., *Lois de l'argot (suite)* (*Rev. phil. franç.*, xxxiv, 1).
- LONGNON, A., *Les noms de lieu de la France. II. Noms d'origine saxonne, burgonde, gothique, etc.* Paris, H. Champion. 12 fr.

#### (b) *Old French.*

- Chanson d'Aspremont*, La. Éd. par L. Brandin. II. (*Classiques franç. du moyen âge*.) Paris, H. Champion. 10 fr.
- Chanson de Roland*, La. Éd. par J. Bédier. Paris, H. Piazza. 12 fr.

- PAMPHILET, A., Études sur 'la quête del Saint Graal' attribués à Gautier Map. Paris, H. Champion. 20 fr.
- Roman de Tristan et Iseut, Le. Publié par J. Bédier. Paris, Piazza. 75 fr.
- SHEARS, F., Recherches sur les prépositions dans la prose du moyen français, XIV<sup>e</sup> et XV<sup>e</sup> siècles. Paris, H. Champion. 16 fr.
- TANQUEROY, F. J., Plaintes de la Vierge en anglo-français, XIII<sup>e</sup> et XIV<sup>e</sup> siècles. Paris, H. Champion. 10 fr.
- TILLEY, A., Mediaeval France. A Companion to French Studies. Cambridge, Univ. Press. 25s.

(c) *Modern French.*

- ARBELET, P., Les origines de la 'Chartreuse de Parme' (*Rev. de Paris*, Mar. 15).
- ARBELET, P., Stendhal, Balzac, et la 'Chartreuse' (*Rev. de Paris*, April 4).
- BALZAC, H. DE, La Comédie humaine, éd. par M. Bouteron et H. Longnon. Tome xxiv. Paris, Conard. 18 fr.
- BARTON, F. B., The Sources of the Story of 'Sesostris et Timarete' in 'Le Grand Cyrus' (*Mod. Phil.*, xix, 3, Feb.).
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## THE MIDDLE ENGLISH PROSE PSALTER OF RICHARD ROLLE OF HAMPOLE.

### II.

#### THE CONNEXION BETWEEN ROLLE'S VERSION OF THE PSALTER AND EARLIER ENGLISH VERSIONS.

IN addition to the prose Psalter, the manuscripts of which were discussed in an earlier article, a Middle English metrical version of the Psalter, often called the *Surtees' Psalter*<sup>1</sup>, was at one time attributed to Rolle. It was included by C. Horstman in the second volume of his edition of the works of Richard Rolle<sup>2</sup>, with the remark that 'a tradition ascribes this Psalter to R. Rolle.'

The origin of this remark is a note, written in what Horstman admits to be a modern hand, in the Egerton MS. of the Metrical Psalter<sup>3</sup>. The book to which the writer of the note refers is Wharton's *Appendix* to the first volume of W. Cave's *Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Historia Literaria* (London, 1688-98), but neither Wharton nor Usher, to whom he in turn refers, appears to mention the Metrical Psalter<sup>4</sup>. The Psalter to which they refer can be no other than Rolle's Prose Psalter<sup>5</sup>.

Besides the testimony of this note, now shown to be valueless, the only reason for attributing the *Metrical Psalter* to Rolle is the similarity of phrase and vocabulary between it and his prose Psalter. Since, however, the language of the *Metrical Psalter* points to its having been

<sup>1</sup> It was edited by J. Stevenson for the Surtees Society (1843-1847).

<sup>2</sup> Horstman, C., *Richard Rolle of Hampole*, London, 1896.

<sup>3</sup> The note runs: 'Videtur hoc Psalterium in linguam anglicanam transtulisse et versibus haud elegantibus concinasse Richardus de Hampole, vero nomine Rollus, gente Anglus, Ebor. comit., ord. August. eremita; in coenobio Hampoliense prope Doncastrum vixit; obiit anno 1349. Praeter hoc varia scripsit. Vide Cave hist. lit. vol. 1, p. 35 Append.'

<sup>4</sup> Wharton, H., *Appendix to Script. Eccles. Hist. Lit.*, 1, p. 35: 'Psalterium illud in linguam Anglicanam transtulisse, et in versum illum Davidis (ne auferas de ore meo verbum veritatis usquequaque); judicium suum de necessitate Scripturarum vernacularum proposuisse ex MS. quodam Codice testatur R. R. Usserius in Historiae Dogmaticae Controversiarum Specimine MS.' The reference is to Psalm cxviii, 43. See Usher, J., *Hist. Dogm. Controversiae de Scripturis et Sacris Vernaculis* (London, 1690), pp. 162, 163. Speaking of Rolle, he says: 'Psalterium in linguam Anglicanam transtulit, et in versum illum Davidis (ne auferas de ore meo verbum veritatis usquequaque) judicium suum de necessitate Scripturarum Vernacularum proposuit.'

<sup>5</sup> In the comment on Psalm cxviii, 43, as printed by Bramley, Rolle does not mention the need for translations of the Bible, however. Wharton in his book *Auctarium Historiae Dogmaticae J. Usserii* (London 1689), pp. 427, 428 adds the remark that no such comment is to be found, after again quoting Usher's remarks. Possibly Usher had seen some interpolated copy of Rolle's *Psalter*, which contained this comment, though none of the interpolated copies I have examined contain it.

written before Rolle's birth, or when he was very young, and it is not proveable that it was originally written in the Northern dialect<sup>1</sup>, this similarity must be explained in some other way than by attributing both Psalters to the same writer. An alternative suggestion made by Horstman is that 'the prose translator (Rolle) is largely indebted to the older (Metrical) Psalter<sup>2</sup>,' and investigation has shown that, though the connexion between the two Psalters is not as simple as this, there can be no doubt that some relationship exists between them. The facts seem to indicate that the same source was used in both.

This statement can only be substantiated, and the nature of the source revealed, by means of a detailed comparison of the Psalters<sup>3</sup>.

The following passages show how constant and close the similarity between the two Psalters is. Allowance must, of course, be made for the fact that one version is in prose and the other in verse. In order to make the similarity of the two translations as clear as possible, those words in the Metrical Psalter which do not translate any word in the Vulgate, and which serve no other purpose than to fill out the verse, are in italics.

Rolle's Version.	Metrical Version.
<i>Psalm iv.</i>	<i>Psalm iv.</i>
4 <sup>4</sup> . And wites for lord selkouthid has his haligh! lord sall here me when i haf cried til him.	4. And wites þat lauerd his haligh sel- koupede <i>he</i> ; When i to him crie, lauerd sal here me.
5. Wrethis and will noght synne that 3e say in 3oure hertes, and in 3oure dennes ere stongen.	5. Wrethes, and ne wiles sinne; þat your hertes sayne withinne, And in your kleues <i>you betwene</i> <i>Sar</i> þat ye stangen <sup>5</sup> bene.
6. Offirs the, offrand of rightwisnes: and hopes in lord! many sais wha shewis us goeds.	6. Offres offrand ofe rightwisnesse, And hopes in lauerd <i>mare and lesse</i> , Many <i>with þar mouth</i> sais <i>þus</i> : 'Wha sal goddes schewe til us?'
7. Takynd is on us the lyght of thi face, lord! Thou has gifen faynes in my herte.	7. Takened light ofe þi face, lauerd, ouer us es, þou gafe in to my herte faynes.

<sup>1</sup> See E. Wende's dissertation on the *Metrical Psalter*, entitled *Überlieferung und Sprache der mittenglischen Version des Psalters* (Breslau Diss., 1884). He accepts the date usually given for the Psalter—namely, the second half of the thirteenth century (p. 1). He will not state definitely that the original Psalter was written in the Northern dialect, though he thinks it not improbable (p. 26).

<sup>2</sup> *Richard Rolle of Hampole*, II, Introduction, p. v.

<sup>3</sup> For comparison, Bramley's edition of Rolle's *Psalter*, and Horstman's edition of the *Metrical Psalter* (*Richard Rolle of Hampole*, II, pp. 130 ff.) have been used, all the three MSS. given by Horstman having received attention. Quotations are mainly from MS. Vespas. D. vii, but readings from the Egerton and Harleian MSS. are given when they agree with Rolle's *Psalter* and Vespas. D. vii does not.

<sup>4</sup> The numbering of Psalms and verses is that of Bramley's edition of the Prose Psalter.

<sup>5</sup> 'Stungen' is the reading in Egert. 614 and Harl. 1770.



## Rolle's Version.

*Psalm iv (contd.).*

8. Of the froit of whet of wyne and of  
thaire oile: thai ere multiplide.
9. In pees in it self: i sall slepe and i  
sall rest.
10. For thou lord: syngulerly in hope  
has sett me.

*Psalm xvii.*

8. And he herd of his holy tempile my  
voice: and my cry in his sight injede  
in the eris of him.
9. The erthe is stirid and it quoke:  
the grundis of hilles ere drouyd,  
stirid thai ere for he is wrethid til  
thaim.
10. Reke steghe in the ire of him, and  
ire brent of his face: coles ere  
kyndild of him.
11. He heldid heuens and he lightid  
down: and myrknes undire his fete.
12. And he steghe abouen cherubyn and  
he flow: he flow abouen the fethirs  
of wyndes.
22. And he out led me in breed: he  
made saf me, for he wild me.
23. And lord sall zeld til me eftere my  
rightwisnes: and eftere the purte of  
my hend he sall zeld til me.
24. For i kepide the wayes of lord: i  
bare me noght wickidly fra my god.
25. For whi all the domes of him ere ay  
in my sight: and his rightwisnesis  
i put noght fra me.
47. Thou sall out take me fra the gayn-  
saiynges of folke: thou sall sett me  
in heued of genge.
48. Folke that i knew noght serued til  
me: in herynge of ere he boghed  
til me.
49. Othere sonnes leghid til me: other  
sonnes eldid ere, and thai haltid fra  
thaire stretis (MS. Sid. Suss. stighes).
50. Lord lifes and blissid my god: and  
heghed be god of my hele.

## Metrical Version.

*Psalm iv (contd.).*

8. Ofe fruite ofe whete, of his oli and  
wyne  
Are pai manifolded *ine*;
9. In pees in himselfe *is beste*,  
Sal i slepe and sal i reste;
10. For pou, lauerd, sengely  
In hope set me *witerly*.

*Psalm xvii.*

8. And he herd fra his hali kirke mi  
steuen,  
And mi erie in his sighte in eres  
*yhode euen*.
9. Stired and quoke þe erthe *þare*,  
Groundes ofe hilles todreued are,  
And þai ere stired, *ofe þaim be lath*,  
For þat he es with þaim wrath.
10. Upstegh reke in his ire,  
And ofe face ofe him brent þe fire;  
Koles *þat ware downfalland*  
Kindled ere ofe him *glouand*.
11. He helded heuens, and doune come  
he;  
And dimnes under his fete *to be*.
12. And he stegh ouer cherubin, and  
flegþ *þare*;  
He flegþ ouer fetheres ofe windes  
*ware*.
22. And he led me in brede *to be*:  
Saufe made he me, for he wald me.
23. And foryhelde to me lauerd sal  
After mi rightwisenes *al*,  
And after clensing ofe mi hende  
Sal he yhelde to me *at ende*.
24. For waies of lauerd yemed I,  
Ne fra mi god did I wickedly.
25. For al his domes in mi sighte ere þa,  
And his rightwisenes noght put I  
me fra.
47. Outtake fra ogainsaghes (E. again-  
sainges) of folk pou sal,  
In heued of genge me set *with-al*.
48. Folke, whilke I ~~me~~ knewe, serued  
to me;  
In heringe of ere me boghed he.
49. Outen sones to me lighed þai.  
Outen sones elded er þai;  
And þai halted *þare þai yhode*,  
Fra pine sties *þat ere gode*.
50. Lauerd liues! and mi god blissed be!  
And god ofe mi hele uphouen be he!

## Rolle's Version.

*Psalm xxxvii.*

4. For my wickidnessis ouergane ere  
my heued : as heuy birthyn heuyd  
thai ere on me.
5. Thai rotid and thai ere brokyn, myn  
erres<sup>1</sup>: fra the face of myn unwit.
6. Wrechid i am made and krokid i am  
in til the end : all the day sary i zede.
7. For my lendis ful ere fild of hethyn-  
gis : and hele is not in my fleyse.
8. I am tourmentid and i am mekid  
ful mykill : i romyd<sup>2</sup> fra the sorow  
of my hert.
9. Lord bifor the all my desire : and  
my sorowynge fra the is not hid.
10. My hert is druuyd, my vertu has  
forsaken me : and light of myn  
eghen, and it is not with me.
11. My frendis and my neghbur : agayns  
me neghid and stode.
12. And thai that ware biside me stode  
olenght : and fors thai made that  
soght my saule.

*Psalm lxxxvii.*

1. Lorde god of my hele : in daye I  
cryid and in night before the.
2. In ga in thy sight my prayer : heilde  
thin ere till my bede.
3. For fulfilled is of illes my sawle :  
and my life neghid till hell.
4. I am wenyd with lightand in the  
lake : maide I am as man withouten  
helpe I mange dede free.
10. I till the lorde cryid : all day i sprad  
my hands till the.
11. Whether to deade thou sall doe  
wounders : or leches sall raise and  
thai sall shrive till the.
12. Whether any in grave sall tell thy  
mercy : and thi softastnes in tin-  
sill<sup>3</sup>.

## Metrical Version.

*Psalm xxxvii.*

4. For mi wicnesses mi heued ere  
ouergon,  
Als heui birpin heuied me on.
5. Stanke and roten mine erres<sup>1</sup> ere ma,  
Fra face of mine unwise *swa*.
6. Wrecched and coked til ende am I ;  
Alle dai dreried I inwent *for-bi*.
7. For mi lendes filled with bismers  
(E. H. *hepinges*) are,  
And hele in mi flesche es na mare.
8. I am twinged and meked *for un-*  
*querte*,  
I romied<sup>2</sup> fra sighinge (E. *sorgh*) of  
mi herte.
9. Lauerd, bifor þe alle mi yorninge,  
And fra þe noght hid es mi sighinge.
10. Mi hert is droued *withinne me*,  
And forsoke mi might *with me to be* ;  
And light of mine eghen *twa*,  
And it es noght with me *swa*.
11. Mine frendes and mine neghbur  
*gode*  
Ogaines me neghed and stode ;
12. And þat bi me ware, þai stode o-  
lenght,  
And [þat] soght mi saule, þai maked  
strenght.

*Psalm lxxxvii.*

1. Lauerd, god of mi hele, in dai cried i  
And bi nighte bfore þe, *sothli*.
2. Inga in þi sight bede mine,  
Unto mi praier helde ere pine.
3. For fulfilled es mi saule of wa,  
Mi life neghed to helle *als-swa*.
4. I am wened *in ilka land*  
To þas þat ere in flosche falland,  
Made am i als man *to se*  
Withouten help, bitwix dede fre ;
10. Lauerd, to þe al dai i cried,  
Mine hend to þe i outspred.
11. Wher wondres to dede saltou do ?  
Ore leches sal rere (E. H. *rise*) and  
schriue þe to ?
12. Wher ani in thrughes sal telle þi  
milthnes,  
Ore in tinsel<sup>3</sup> þi sothnes ?

<sup>1</sup> Vulgate 'cicatrices.'<sup>2</sup> V. 'rugiebam.'<sup>3</sup> V. 'perdicione.'

## Rolle's Version.

*Psalm lxxxvii (contd.).*

13. Whether sal be knawen in mirkenes  
thi woundirs; and thi rightwisnes  
in land of forgettyng.

*Psalm ci.*

3. In what day that i hafe inkald the :  
swiftly thou here me.
4. For my dayes failyd as reke : and  
my banys as kraghan<sup>1</sup> dryid.
5. Smytyn i am as hay and my hert  
dried : for i forgot to ete my brede.
9. All day upbraydid til me my fas :  
and tha that louyd me agayns me  
thai sware.
10. For aske i ete as brede : and my  
drynke i mengid with gretynge.
11. Fra the face of the wreth of thi  
dedeyn : for upliftand thou down-  
smate me.
12. Mine dayes as shadow heldid : and  
i dried as hay.

## Metrical Version.

*Psalm lxxxvii (contd.).*

13. Wher knawen sal be pi wondres in  
mirkenes,  
Or pi rightwisenes in land ofe for-  
getelnes ?  
(E. Or in land ofe forgetting pi right-  
wisnes.)

*Psalm ci.*

3. In whatkin dai i kalle þe,  
(E. In what dai kald haue I þe)  
Swithlike (E. H. Swiftli) þan here  
þou me.
4. For waned als reke mi daies *swa*,  
And mi banes als krawkan<sup>1</sup> dried *þa*.
5. I am smiten als hai, dried mi herte,  
For i forgate to ete mi brede *in*  
*querte*.
9. Alle dai upbraided me mi faa,  
And þate me lououed ogain me swore  
*þa* :
10. For askes (E. H. aske) als ite ware  
brede i ete,  
And i mengid mi drinke with grete :
11. Fra face ofe wreth, ofe dedeinyhe  
of þe ;  
For upheueand tognodded þou me.
12. Mine daies als schadwe helded þai,  
And i dried als it ware hai.

In these and many other passages, verse after verse corresponds in the two versions in vocabulary and sentence structure. It must be admitted, however, that in many passages which show similarities, no unusual words occur, and the constructions merely follow those of the Vulgate. In ii, 13, for instance, Rolle's *Psalter* has 'When his ire has brent in short,' and the *Metrical Psalter* has a similar phrase, 'When in schorte his wreth tobrent has he,' but both are clearly only literal translations of the Vulgate words, 'Cum exarsit in breui ira eius.'

It may be contended, therefore, that many of the passages showing resemblances furnish little evidence that the two versions were connected, since both are translations from the Vulgate, and they were written within a century of one another.

While acknowledging the force of this contention, it is still possible to show that the facts point unmistakably to the existence of some connexion. In addition to the many continuous passages which correspond in the two Psalters, but which are simple in construction and

<sup>1</sup> V. 'cremium.'



vocabulary, there are numbers of more or less isolated verses which show striking and significant similarities. In some, the Vulgate is translated so curiously that it is hardly credible that two writers could have chosen the same words and phrases independently of one another. A verse in which both show the same unusual translation is xxvii, 3. The Vulgate is 'Ne simul tradas me cum peccatoribus.' Rolle's version is 'Gif me noght samen with synful,'—the Metrical version 'Ne samen gif me with sinnand.' The expression 'gif...samen' is unusual. The Wycliffite versions have 'Ne take thou me togidere with synneres,' or 'Bitake thou not me togidere with synneris.' Unusual words occur in both Psalters in Psalm ii, 1 (V. 'Quare fremuerunt gentes: et populi meditati sunt inania'). The *Metrical Psalter* has,

Wharefore gnaisted gomes (H. genge) swo,  
And folke unnait thought þai þo?

Rolle translates, 'Whi gnaistid the genge: and the folke thought unnayte thyngs.' In cxxviii, 3, the Vulgate words 'Supra dorsum meum fabricauerunt peccatores: prolongauerunt iniquitatem suam,' are translated in the *Metrical Psalter*,

Ouer mi bake smithed sinful ai;  
þair wickednesse forlengþ þai.

Rolle has both the verbs used in the *Metrical Psalter*. 'Abouen my bak synful smythed: thei lengthid thair wickidnes.' The verb 'to smith' does not occur elsewhere in his *Psalter*. In vii, 2 (V. 'Ne quando rapiat ut leo animam meam: dum non est qui redimat neque qui saluum faciat'), both English versions translate 'rapiat' by the word 'reue'<sup>1</sup> and 'redimat' by 'byes.' The word mostly used in Middle English to mean 'redeem' is 'aʒenbie,' which is found in both the Wycliffite versions. Instead of the more common words 'searching' or 'seeking,' 'ransakand' is used in the *Metrical Psalter* and by Rolle to translate the Latin 'scrutans' in vii, 10. In xlv, 1 the rare word 'riftid'<sup>2</sup> occurs in both to translate 'eructauit.' Other rare words and phrases that are common to both versions are 'umgifen with sernes' (= circumdata varietate)<sup>3</sup>, 'lopird' (= coagulatus)<sup>4</sup>, 'shamel' (= scabellum)<sup>5</sup>, 'be littid' (= intinguatur)<sup>6</sup>, and 'offrandis merghid' (= holocausta medullata)<sup>7</sup>.

The closeness of the two versions compared with any other English

<sup>1</sup> Rolle might have translated 'rapiat' by 'rauysche' as the Wycliffite versions do. The word was known to him, for he uses it in the comment on Psalm cvi, 5.

<sup>2</sup> The *N.E.D.* only records its use once (in a passage from the *Cursor Mundi*) before the sixteenth century.

<sup>3</sup> See xlv, 11.

<sup>4</sup> lxvii, 16.

<sup>5</sup> cix, 2.

<sup>6</sup> lxvii, 25.

<sup>7</sup> lxx, 14. The word *merȝ*, *meaȝ* (= marrow) is common enough, but the verb 'to be full of marrow' only seems to occur in these two Psalters.

version of the Psalter again points to some connexion between them. When the most simple passages in Rolle's *Psalter*—passages containing nothing remarkable in vocabulary or syntax—are compared with the Wycliffite versions, the differences between them will be found far greater than those between Rolle's *Psalter* and the *Metrical Psalter*. Yet little more than fifty years separates the two later versions, and both are in prose.

The chief fact, however, which points to a connexion between Rolle's *Psalter* and the *Metrical Psalter* is one that has already been mentioned, but which needs emphasizing, since it is probably the most significant of all. It is the continuous appearance of similarities throughout the whole Psalter. There seems to be no Psalm in which there are not many verses similar in vocabulary and syntax in the two versions, and in the large majority of Psalms there are verses that are identical. Unimportant as many of the similarities undoubtedly are in themselves, their cumulative significance must be admitted. It can hardly be mere coincidence that in one Psalm after another the same words and turns of phrase have been chosen in both versions to translate the Vulgate. This fact, together with the other evidence, may be taken to prove some connexion between the two. The nature of the connexion has yet to be decided. An examination of the ways in which the two versions differ is likely to throw some light on the problem.

Differences in vocabulary occur most frequently. Often neither version uses an uncommon word, and, consequently, there is nothing significant in the differences between them. Different words of native origin, all in common use, are found in the following verses:

Rolle's Version, Psalm cxii, 1: Barnys louys oure lord louys the name of lord.

Metrical Version: Herihes lauerd, þat childer be;  
Name ofe lauerd herihe ye.

Rolle's Version, Psalm xxi, 1: God my god loke in me whi has thou me forsakyn: fere fra my hele the wordis of my synnys.

Metrical Version: God, mi god, in me bise,  
Wharfor foreletedest þou me?  
Ful fer fra mi hele ere þa  
Wordes of mi giltes *ma*.

More often Rolle uses a word of French origin, where the older *Metrical Psalter* has a native word. The Latin word 'virtue' is always translated 'vertu' by Rolle, but 'might' by the author of the *Metrical Psalter*<sup>1</sup>; the

<sup>1</sup> See Psalms xvii, 43; xx, 1; xxi, 15; xxviii, 10; xxxvii, 10; etc.

word 'vox' is always 'voice' in the former, and 'steuen' in the latter<sup>1</sup>. Rolle uses 'ioy'<sup>2</sup>, 'enmy'<sup>3</sup>, 'bataile'<sup>4</sup> regularly where the Metrical version has 'blisse', 'fa', 'fight.' There are many verses in which all the differences are of this kind<sup>5</sup>.

Occasionally the differences in vocabulary are more striking. The *Metrical Psalter* sometimes has an unusual word which is not found in Rolle's translation. The former sometimes translates 'malediccio' by 'mallok', whereas Rolle has the more usual 'weriynge'<sup>6</sup>; the former has 'yhoten'<sup>7</sup>, 'pild'<sup>8</sup>, 'ferinkli', where Rolle has 'geaunt', 'paciens', 'sodanly.' Some of these words must have been archaic in Rolle's time, and unintelligible to him. Some of them may even have been archaic at the time when the *Metrical Psalter* itself was written<sup>10</sup>.

Different interpretations of the Vulgate are sometimes found in the two versions. Rolle translates 'pestilencie' by 'pestilens' (Psalm i, 1), but the Metrical version has 'storme.' In xli, 9 'catharactum' is translated 'gutters' by Rolle, 'takenes' in the *Metrical Psalter*. These readings from the *Metrical Psalter* perhaps hardly deserve the name of different interpretations. They are better classed with the many instances of faulty translation. Some of the mistakes in translation occur frequently, and are easily explained. The writer of the *Metrical Psalter* often chooses the wrong meaning for a Latin word which is capable of being translated in more than one way. In Psalm cxxxi, 5 the word 'temporibus' occurs in the Vulgate<sup>11</sup>, meaning 'temples.' Rolle so translates it, but the earlier Psalter uses the meaning 'time,' and translates 'And rest to mine times.' The Latin word 'os' is wrongly rendered 'mouth' in the *Metrical Psalter* more than once<sup>12</sup>, while Rolle has the correct translation 'bane.' A similar mistake is the apparent confusion between 'insipiente' which appears in the Vulgate, Ps. lxxiii, 23 (V. 'eorum que ab insipiente sunt,' Rolle, 'of tha that ere of the unwise'), and 'incipiente' (the *Metrical Psalter* translates: 'of þa whilke ai Are fra þe beginnand'). In Psalm lvii, 5 'venefici' is translated 'venym makere' by Rolle, and 'hunter' in two MSS. (E.H.) of the *Metrical Psalter*, evidently because it has been confused with the verb 'venari' (to hunt). The writer of the *Metrical Psalter* frequently mistakes the

<sup>1</sup> See Psalms v, 2; vi, 8; xvii, 8; xxvii, 2, 8; xxviii, 7; etc.

<sup>2</sup> Psalm vii, 5; viii, 6; xvi, 17; xxiii, 7, 8; xxv, 8; xxviii, 8; xxix, 14; etc.

<sup>3</sup> Psalm v, 9; vi, 7; xii, 3; xvi, 14; xvii, 4, 41, 44; etc.

<sup>4</sup> Psalm xvii, 37, 43; xxvi, 6; lxxv, 3; lxxxviii, 42.

<sup>5</sup> See xvi, 17; xvii, 8; xviii, 5; xx, 9; xxix, 11; etc.

<sup>6</sup> See xviii, 6.

<sup>7</sup> See lxi, 5.

<sup>8</sup> See ix, 29; xiii, 6.

<sup>9</sup> See lxii, 4.

<sup>10</sup> See p. 348 for a possible explanation of the appearance of these archaic words in the *Metrical Psalter*.

<sup>11</sup> V. 'et requiem temporibus meis.'

<sup>12</sup> See ci, 6; cxxviii, 14.



significance of verb forms. He translates a perfect tense as a present when confronted by a verb in which the ending of 3rd person sg. is the same in both and even in some cases where the forms are distinct. For example 'conuertit' (xxii, 2) is translated 'tornes' (contrast Rolle's 'turnyd'), though the other verb in the same verse is in the perfect<sup>1</sup>. Less frequently he has the reverse mistake<sup>2</sup>. Sometimes he uses the active present infinitive to translate the Latin passive imperative (2nd person sg.)<sup>3</sup>. Deponent verbs confuse him too. In Psalm ix, 34 'oblitus est deus' is translated 'god forgeten is' (Rolle, 'god has forgetyn'); in cxliii, 9 'locutum est' is translated 'spekes' (Rolle, 'spak'); 'letatus sum' is translated 'I am faine' (Ps. cxxi, 1, Rolle, 'I was glad'). In lvii, 9 the wrong person is used, 'absorbet' being rendered 'salt þou... Swelyhe' (Rolle, 'it sall...swelugh'). In xxvi, 18 'sibi' is wrongly translated (V. 'mentita est iniquitas sibi'; *Met. Ps.* 'And leghed to þam þair wickenes'; Rolle, 'and wickidnes has leghid til it self'). In xxxiii, 3 'in idipsum' is rendered 'in him-selfe' (Rolle, 'in itselfe')<sup>4</sup>.

All these instances of faulty translation are found in the *Metrical Psalter* only; Rolle steers clear of them. On the other hand there are a certain number of mistakes to be found in Rolle's version and not in the earlier version. Among these are the use of the 2nd person plural of the present indicative passive, 'þe ere heghid' to translate the imperative passive (*Met. Ps.* 'uphouen be yhe'). 'Hec' is wrongly rendered by 'there' in xli, 4 (*Met. Ps.* 'þis'), and 'surde' by 'doumbe' (*Met. Ps.* 'def') in lvii, 4. Middendorff in his study of Rolle's *Psalter*<sup>5</sup> mentions a good many more faulty translations, mostly due to misunderstanding of verb forms.

When these facts are brought to bear upon the problem of the connexion between Rolle's *Psalter* and the *Metrical Psalter*, it is clear merely from the number of differences that exist between them that the connexion cannot have been an extremely close one<sup>6</sup>. There are

<sup>1</sup> See also x, 8; xxi, 25; lxvii, 9; lxviii, 18.

<sup>2</sup> See xi, 5; lvii, 7; cxii, 5.

<sup>3</sup> Psalm cix, 3; V. 'dominare in medio inimicorum tuorum'; Rolle 'be lord in middes of thin enmye'; *Metrical Psalter* 'To be lauerd thrugh þe land. In middes of þine illeuilland.'

<sup>4</sup> A mistake due simply to a misreading of the Latin is to be found in Ps. xxvi, 7 and is pointed out by Horstman, p. 157. The Vulgate has 'Unam pecii a domino,' which Rolle correctly translates 'Ane i askid of lord,' but the author of the *Metrical* version has read 'Vitam' instead of 'Unam,' and translates 'Life ofe lauerd asked i.'

<sup>5</sup> *Studien über R. Rolle von Hampole*, by H. Middendorff, Magdeburg, 1888.

<sup>6</sup> The instances of mistranslations of the Vulgate on the part of both versions are too few in number and too unimportant to be of any use in proving a close connexion. They might easily all be due to coincidence. In Psalm ii, 10 'erudimini' is translated in both by the 2nd person plural of the present indicative passive, whereas it is the 2nd pers. pl. of the imperative passive. (See both Wycliffite Versions.) In cxxvi, 4 the Vulgate has

three ways in which the two might have been connected. Rolle might have had a copy of the *Metrical Psalter* beside him as he worked and have constantly referred to it, or he might have read the *Metrical Psalter* (or heard it read or repeated) before he made his own translation. If he had read it or heard it several times, he would perhaps have known parts of it by heart, and the similarities between it and his work would occur when he remembered the words of the *Metrical Psalter*. Either of these suppositions implies a direct connexion between the two. Thirdly, there might have been an indirect connexion through some earlier Psalter version which the authors of both the later versions used. Whether the connexion was a direct one or not cannot be positively decided by considering differences in vocabulary. There was nothing to prevent Rolle from using the French words, which were becoming daily more common, instead of native words, even though he had the *Metrical Psalter* in front of him. Yet the number of these French words would be a little surprising if Rolle were actually referring to the earlier Psalter verse by verse. The fact that Rolle translates correctly where the *Metrical Psalter* has mistakes proves nothing, for we know that Rolle was a fair Latin scholar and he might easily have recognised and avoided the mistakes of the earlier version as he went along. Yet again the number of instances of this kind is surprising, since if Rolle were using as a source a complete Psalter written so near his own time, he would be less on his guard against such mistakes than if he were labouring unaided, or even with some far older or less complete version to help him. That Rolle makes mistakes where the earlier Psalter does not is more significant. This would hardly occur if there were direct connexion. Such mistakes are, however, not very numerous, and it is hardly safe to base any conclusion upon them.

These are indications only that the connexion between the two was not a direct one. There is one consideration that seems to prove this. Supposing that Rolle were reading the *Metrical Psalter* verse by verse, or were repeating what he remembered of it to himself, it would have seemed inevitable that he should introduce some of the tags which that version contains. Yet there is no instance of this in the whole of his

'*ecce hereditas domini filii merces fructus ventris.*' The later Wycliffite version translates 'lo! the eritage of the lord is sones (filii = nom. pl.), the mede is the fruyt of woombe,' but both Rolle and the earlier writer take 'filii' as gen. sg. (Rolle: 'lo the heritage of lord mede of sun, froyt of wambe'; *Met. Ps.* 'Loke eritage ofe lauerd ofe blisse Sones hires, fruite ofe wambe isse'). Both translate 'gratis' by a similar phrase 'of selfe will' (Rolle), 'selwilli' (*Met. Ps.*), thus differing from Wycliffe's translation 'without cause' (*Ps. cviii. 2*). Rolle's comment, however, runs, 'this thai did of selfe will, that is, withouten rightwis chesun,' showing that he knows the true meaning of the word.

Psalter; he does not even incorporate the little word 'swa,' which occurs so often in the Metrical version for the sake of the rhyme<sup>1</sup>.

There remains only the possibility of an indirect connexion. The hypothesis of an early Middle English (Northern<sup>2</sup>) interlinear gloss on the Vulgate<sup>3</sup> would, I think, solve the problem of the connexion between the two versions. Its restraining influence would account for the numerous verses in which the Latin constructions, and sometimes even the Latin order of words are preserved in both<sup>4</sup>, and would explain, to some extent, the pooriness of Rolle's translation of the Vulgate, as compared with his other translations. The constant similarity in unimportant words and phrases between Rolle's *Psalter* and the *Metrical Psalter*, and the more striking similarities that occur less frequently would be accounted for if both used the same earlier Psalter. At the same time, if it were but a gloss, it would not be intended to be intelligible apart from the Latin, and consequently the authors who used it would continually be forced to rely upon their own wits in expanding it if they were making versions which purported to be real translations. Differences in construction between the two Psalters can be explained in this way. The gloss would be used, especially by a writer like Rolle, who had a considerable knowledge of Latin, rather as a dictionary than as a source. He would turn to it for suggestions, not use it as a model to be slavishly copied. Hence he would not scruple to introduce new words in place of those which were becoming archaic, and he would correct mistranslations he might find there. The writer of the *Metrical Psalter*, on the other hand, translating many years earlier, would be able to use many of the words which Rolle found archaic. He even seems to have preserved some which were out of date in his own day, probably because his knowledge of Latin, clearly inferior to Rolle's, was too slight to enable him to substitute others. This slight knowledge of Latin explains his numerous

<sup>1</sup> See *Met. Ps.* vii, 5; ix, 7, 16; xiii, 5, 7; xvi, 14, 15; xvii, 36; etc.

<sup>2</sup> I suppose it to have been Northern because of the numbers of words of Scandinavian origin that are found in both Psalters.

<sup>3</sup> The gloss may well have been of the same kind as the O.E. Vespasian Psalter. Like it, it may have had translations of the Canticles which Rolle could have used.

<sup>4</sup> Ps. ix, 42 is an instance. Neither author appears to grasp the meaning of the Latin. Each Latin word is translated into English, but the result is nonsense. The Vulgate version is 'ut non apponat ultra magnificare se homo super terram'; Rolle has—'that man sett noght ouer to wirschip himself abouen erth,'—the Metrical version 'and noght set he Our mikel him man ouer erþe.' If there were an early gloss something like this (the words in brackets are doubtful):

ut	non	apponat	ultra	magnificare	se	homo	super	terram.
that	noght	sett	ouer	(to wirschip)	him(self)	man	(abouen)	erth,

the clumsy versions of Rolle and the *Metrical Psalter* are explained as attempts to make something intelligible out of this gloss.



mistranslations, which he either inherited unknowingly from the earlier gloss, or perpetrated himself in elaborating that gloss.

A further indication of the nature of the gloss used by the writers of the two Psalters is possibly to be obtained by following up a suggestion of Horstman's with regard to the archaic character of the vocabulary of the *Metrical Psalter*. He suggested (see *Richard Rolle of Hampole*, II, p. 130, Note) that it might be due to the translator's having 'utilized ags. glosses or versions...retaining many of the words found there... even such as he no longer understood and therefore misread or misapplied.' M. Konrath<sup>1</sup> pours scorn on this suggestion, and declares it impossible that a translator of the thirteenth century should have been influenced by O.E. Glosses. Yet the instances of words and phrases which are similar, and often identical, in the *Metrical Psalter* and one or other of the O.E. Glosses are striking and numerous enough to prove some connexion. The commoner instances of similarity have been omitted from the list below and only those which are remarkable are quoted<sup>2</sup>:

<i>Metrical Psalter.</i>	<i>O.E. Glosses.</i>
Psalm	
i, 4. Whate swa he does sal sounde- fulle. (cf. xlv, 5.)	swahwæt swa deð beoð zesundfullude quecu[m]que fecerit prosperabuntur. (Cambridge Psalter, cf. Cant. Ps.)
ii, 8. And pine aghte, meres of lande.	ƿ onæhte pine gemæru eorðan et possessionem tuam terminos terre. (Camb. Ps., cf. Vesp. Ps.)
iv, 1. Þou tobreddest to me. (cf. xvii, 40.)	þu tobræddyst me dilitasti me. (Camb. Ps., cf. Vesp.)
vi, 6. With my teres witerli Mi straile sal i wete for-þi (H.).	mid tearum strelum minum ic wete lacrimis stratum meum rigabo. (Cant. Ps.)
ix, 15. Genge feste are in forward <sup>3</sup> .	onƷefæstnode synt þeode on forwyrd infixe sunt gentes in interitu. (Camb. Ps., cf. Cant., Vesp.)
xvii, 46. And I sal gnide als duste.	ic forenide (forƷnide) hie swa swa dust. et comminuum illos ut puluerem. (Camb. Ps., see variant MS. readings.)

<sup>1</sup> See *Archiv für das Stud. der neu. Sprachen*, Vol. 99, pp. 158 ff.

<sup>2</sup> The O.E. Psalter Versions used for the comparison are the 'Vespasian Psalter' (MS. Cotton Vesp. A1), edited by H. Sweet (*Oldest English Texts*, London 1885); 'Eadwine's Psalter' (Trinity Coll., Camb.), edited by F. Harsley (E. E. T. S., London 1889); 'Cambridge Psalter' (Ff. 1. 23 Univ. Lib., Camb.), edited by K. Wildhagen, Hamburg 1910; J. Spelman's printed text (1640), from MS. Stowe 2 (British Museum).

<sup>3</sup> This reading appears to be due to a confusion on the part of the writer of the Metrical version between the O.E. word 'forwyrd' meaning 'destruction' and the word 'forward' (= agreement), which is found more commonly than the former in his day.

*Metrical Psalter.**O.E. Glosses.*

Psalm xxix, 7. I sothlik saide in mi might- somnes <sup>1</sup> .	3enihtsumnysse abundantia (Camb. Ps., cf. Cant., Vesp.)
xxxvii, 7. For mi lendis filled with bis- mers are.	3efyllȝd ȝs bysmrynnyssum co[n]pleta est inlusionibus. (Camb. Ps., cf. Cant., Vesp.)
lix, 9. In Ydume sal I pinne <sup>1</sup> mi scho.	ic aðennu extendam. (Vesp. Ps., cf. Camb., Cant.)
lxi, 5. For fra him al þe þild of me.	forðan from him ȝs 3eþȝld min quoniam ab ipso est patientia mea. (Camb. Ps., cf. Vesp., Cant.)
lxiii, 4. Ferinkli (E.H. feringli <sup>1</sup> ) schote him sal þai swa.	færinȝa scotydon hine subito sajitabunt eum. (Camb. Ps., cf. Vesp.)
lxvii, 4. setelgange.	settlȝonȝ occasum. (Camb. Ps., see variant MS. readings.)
civ, 38. ...and come þe edissehenne...	...com heom erschenn (edischen, Spelman) uenit eis coturnix. (Camb. Ps., and note, cf. Vesp.)
cix, 2. Schamel of þi fete.	...scæmel fot þinre scabellum pedum tuorum. (Cant. Ps., cf. Camb., Vesp.)
exvii, 18. 3raihand lauerd me 3rahed me <sup>1</sup> .	...þreazȝnde he þreade me castigans castijauit me. (Camb. Ps., cf. Vesp.)
cxlvii, 17. He sendes as snodes his cristal.	...snæda... bucellas. (Spelman.)

In every one of the instances given above the *Metrical Psalter* uses curious words or phrases, many of which are not found elsewhere in Middle English. In every instance, something similar occurs in the *O.E. Glosses*<sup>2</sup>. This can hardly be mere coincidence, and must point to a connexion between them and the *Metrical Psalter*. The author of the *Metrical Psalter* did not use as source any copy of the *O.E. Glosses*

<sup>1</sup> This word is mentioned by Horstman as one which was taken over from the *O.E. Glosses* and misread, because it was obsolete. It may, on the other hand, have been a new formation, as Konrath suggests, though the evidence of all the other similarities is against this. 'pinne' and 'ferinkli' may also be misreadings of the *O.E.* forms, and '3raihand,' '3rahed.'

<sup>2</sup> There are other curious words which are possibly to be explained as misreadings of the *O.E. Glosses*. Psalm lxxiii, 21 has the word 'sestrede' (*E. cestered*) meaning 'obscurati' (cf. also cxxxviii, 11), which may be derived by misreading or sound substitution from *O.E.* *peostrian*. This is the suggestion of the *N.E.D.* The *O.E. Glosses* have 'apȝstrude' (Camb.), 'apeostrade' (Vesp.). There may be some remote connexion between the curious word 'storspeches' in the Harleian MS. of the *Metrical Psalter* (*E. forspeches*, Vesp. *storest speches*) meaning 'increpationes' and the word 'ongeþræorspreca' in the Cant. Ps. (Ps. xxxvii, 15).

known to us, however. There are several archaic or curious words used in the *Metrical Psalter* which do not correspond to anything in these O.E. Psalter Glosses. Such is the word 'lickam,' always wrongly used to mean 'face'.<sup>1</sup> Others are 'liperand' (malignancium, xxi, 16), 'rorde' (sonus, xvii, 4), 'beryhinges' (saluacionum, xxvii, 11). Moreover, those words which do correspond to forms in the Glosses, show, as a rule, signs of change<sup>2</sup>, as though there were some intermediate stage between the O.E. Glosses and the Middle English words. May not this stage be a partially modernised form of the O.E. Glosses, written at some period between their compilation and the writing of the *Metrical Psalter*? If this hypothesis is accepted, there seems no serious objection against identifying the modernised gloss with that which Rolle and the writer of the *Metrical Psalter* both used. Naturally they did not treat it alike, and Rolle, being the greater scholar, and further removed from it, followed it less closely than the earlier writer.

DOROTHY EVERETT.

OXFORD.

<sup>1</sup> See x, 8; xv, 11; xvi, 3; xvii, 46, etc.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 347, note 4, and p. 349, note 2, above.



## ANDREW MARVELL: SOME BIOGRAPHICAL POINTS.

### I. HIS HOME AT HULL.

FOR a century and a half all lives of Marvell and all histories of Hull have consistently stated that his father, the Rev. Andrew Marvell, was Master of the Grammar School at Hull. This is an error. The facts are made quite clear by the Hull Bench Books, i.e. minute-books of the Corporation.

From these books we learn that in 1613 Robert Fowbery was succeeded as schoolmaster by James Burnett (also called Burnet and Burney). In 1632 Burnett, having obtained a benefice, resigned and was succeeded by the usher, Mr Stevenson. Stevenson resigned for a like reason in 1646. The master (sometimes called the headmaster) and the usher were both appointed by the Corporation and there would be no difficulty in compiling a complete list of those who held both positions, at any rate from 1586 onward—the most interesting name among the ushers being that of Robert Witty (1636–1642) for whose translation of Primrose's *Vulgar Errors* Marvell junior later wrote two commendatory poems.

Marvell senior was at Winestead from 1614 to 1624 and at Hull from 1624 till his death in 1641, so that there is no room whatever for him as master of the school. Further the Bench Books record that on the death in 1624 of Thomas Whincopp, who combined the offices of Town's Preacher (or Lecturer of Holy Trinity Church) and Master of God's House (an almshouse commonly known as the Charterhouse), the Rev. Andrew Marvell was chosen to succeed him in both offices. But there is no mention of any change whatever at the school at this time. Again in 1641 on Marvell's death he was succeeded in the same two offices by William Stiles, but no change is recorded at the school. •

How did the mistake arise? The earliest published account of Marvell senior is that in Fuller's *Worthies*, where nothing is said about his having been a schoolmaster. Then Thomas Cooke in his edition (1726) of the son's poems has a short account of the father and calls him 'Minister and Schoolmaster of *Kingston on Hull*.' It is the son's next

editor, Captain Edward Thompson in 1776, who first calls the father 'master of the publick grammar school' at Hull.

Thompson had himself been educated at the Hull Grammar School, and, taking Cooke's description of Marvell as a schoolmaster as correct, he would be safe in inferring that he must have been master of his own old school. The origination of the error lies with Cooke and it only adds one more to the long list of those for which he is responsible. He was a young Whig writer of twenty-three with no qualifications for editorship, but he had talked with the poet's nieces. I suggest (grotesque as it may sound) that he had been told that Marvell senior was 'Master of the Charterhouse' at Hull, that he was acquainted with Charterhouse School in London, and that he therefore jumped to the conclusion that Marvell had been a schoolmaster<sup>1</sup>.

These facts necessitate two corrections in current biographies of the poet. In the first place he had not the advantage (or disadvantage) of being at school under his own father. He was certainly a pupil at the school. Probability is turned into certainty by a passage from *Mr Smirke*, p. 6—'Scanning was a liberal Art that we learn'd at Grammar-School'—which Mr Birrell quotes in his book on Marvell in the *English Men of Letters* series. But his teachers were Burnett and Stevenson, not his father. Secondly the poet did not live from the age of three to that of twelve in the schoolmaster's house by Holy Trinity Church in the centre of the town, but at the separate house<sup>2</sup> of the Master of the Charterhouse in which the Master was obliged to live by the terms of his appointment, and from which he was not allowed to be absent without first obtaining leave from the Corporation. These almshouse buildings were outside the town, about a quarter of a mile north of the walls and some fifty yards from the River Hull. There were gardens belonging to the Charterhouse. It is worth noting then that Marvell, the 'garden poet,' Marvell, who in the inspired parts of *Appleton House* displays such an astonishing intensity of feeling for the country, did actually live in the country during the whole of his boyhood until he went to Cambridge in 1633, and not, as has been supposed, in the tightly-packed little town of Hull. Into Hull he merely made daily journeys to school.

<sup>1</sup> Tickell in his *History of Hull* (1796) says that Marvell was master of the Grammar School in 1620. Cooke said that Andrew junior was born at Hull in 1620. Tickell must have deduced from this that Andrew senior was living in Hull in 1620. But he knew that he was not Lecturer or Master of the Charterhouse till 1624. Therefore he must have been Master of the Grammar School then. Much of Marvell's early biography consists of error piled on error in this way.

<sup>2</sup> See *The History of God's House of Hull, commonly called The Charterhouse* by J. Cook (Hull, 1882).

## II. HIS CAPTURE BY THE 'JESUITS.'

This well-known story was first told by Cooke in the *Life* prefixed to his edition and Cooke, followed by everyone since, puts the incident in Marvell's undergraduate days. He expressly states that Marvell 'afterwards pursued his Studys with indefatigable Application; and in the year 1638 proceeded Bachelor of Arts.'

Cooke's other details are picturesque but not necessarily accurate. The main fact however is corroborated by a letter preserved among the Hull Corporation papers, which was first discovered by Grosart and printed in his edition of Marvell (1872). It was again printed, with a few minor corrections, by Mr T. T. Wildridge in the *Hull Letters* (1886), and by Mr Birrell, who took it from Grosart. The letter, which has no date and of which the signature is lost, is now printed exactly as it is to-day.

Worthy Sr Mr. Breerecliffe being w<sup>th</sup> me to day I related unto him a fearfull passage lately at Cambridg touching a sonne of mine Bachelor of Arts in Katharine Hall w<sup>ch</sup> was this :

He was lately invited to a supper in towne by a gentlewoman, where was one Mr. Nichols a fellow of Peterhouse and another or two masters of arts I know not directly whether felowes or not : my sonne having noe p<sup>r</sup>ferment but living meerely of my penny they pressed him much to come to live at their house and for chamber and extraordinary bookes they promised farre : and then earnestly moved him to goe to Somerset house where they could doe much for p<sup>r</sup>ferring him to some eminent place and in conclusion<sup>1</sup> to popish arguments to seduce him soe rotten and unsavory as being overheard it was brought in question before the heads of the University : Dr. Cosens being Vice Chancelor noe punishment is inioined him : but one Ashwednesday next a recantation in regent house of some popish tenets Nicols let fall : I p<sup>e</sup>ceive by Mr. Breerecliffe some such prank used towards y<sup>r</sup> sonne ; I desire to know what y<sup>u</sup> did therin : thinking I cannot doe god better service then bring it upon the stage ei[ther] in Parliament if it hold : or informing some Lords [of] the counsaile to whom I stand much obliged, if a bill in Star chamber be meete to terrify others by making these some publike spectacle : for if such fearfull practises may goe unpunished I take care whether I may send a child [*about six words missing*] Yours in the lord

Grosart conjectured from the contents that this letter was addressed to the Rev. Andrew Marvell. He was certainly right. The fact that it is among the Hull papers shows that it was sent to someone there, the conclusion 'Yours in the lord' that it came from one clergyman to another, and the contents that the clergyman to whom it was sent had a son at Cambridge. All this fits in with Marvell senior and the reference to the son fits in with Cooke's story. Further Mr Wildridge in the *Hull Letters* notes : 'This letter is one of a number apparently at one time

<sup>1</sup> It looks as if the writer had inadvertently left out a verb here, such as 'resorted' or 'turned.'



bound in a book, and a fragment of an index indicates it to be a letter written by the Rev. Andrew Marvell. But his son, the greater Marvell, graduated at Trinity College, not Catherine's, so it is fairly clear the letter was to, not from, the elder Marvell.'

Several hundred papers were bound together in a book and numbered, perhaps by Abraham de la Pryme about 1700. Subsequently the book was dismembered and the numbered papers are now to be found among the various classified sets of documents preserved at Hull. This letter was numbered 498. The index (I have not seen the fragment referred to) must have been an index to the miscellaneous papers in the book, and the fragment must have connected 498 with the name of Marvell.

Grosart, followed by Mr Wildridge, conjectured 1638 as the date of this letter to fit in with the traditional place of this incident in Marvell's Cambridge career. In this he was wrong. Mr Birrell notes that 'the reference to Dr Cosens, or Cosin, gives a clue to the date, for Cosin was chosen Vice-Chancellor on the fourth of November 1639.' The authority for this is Worthington's *Diary* (Chetham Society), vol. I, p. 7. It is possible however to date it still more accurately than that. Cosens was Vice-Chancellor for one year only: therefore the Ash Wednesday referred to as still in the future must be Ash Wednesday 1640 which fell on February 18. Further, Worthington states in his diary that on January 16, 1640 Nicols was 'imprisoned for speaking against the King's supremacy and seducing to Popery.' This imprisonment may have been a punishment, in which case the letter was written before January 16. But I think that more probably it means the arrest by the University authorities, as a result of which Nicols was sentenced to 'a recantation in regent house.' This would date the letter about the end of January, and the mention of a possible Parliament supports the later date. The Short Parliament, the first for eleven years, met on April 13, 1640 and the elections for it were held in March.

The date of the letter therefore is January 1640. I have also succeeded in discovering that the writer was the Rev. John Norton, vicar of Welton, a village about ten miles west of Hull, but this fact has little bearing on Marvell's biography, and I have therefore relegated the steps by which it is established to an appendix, which will be found at the conclusion of this article.

Norton clearly wrote to the elder Marvell because he had just heard through a common acquaintance 'Mr Breerecliffe' that their sons had had similar experiences at Cambridge. It is impossible, especially considering the nearness of Hull and Welton, that the trouble with young

Marvell can have been two years or more old. We must certainly date his capture by the 'Jesuits' some time in the latter half of 1639, i.e. after he had taken his degree<sup>1</sup>.

On April 13, 1638 Marvell had become a scholar of his college, and this fact combined with Cooke's misplacing of the 'Popish' escapade has enabled successive biographers to build up a story how 'it appears from his own handwriting' that 'the fugitive was once more received' at Trinity, the scholarship presumably taking the place of a fatted calf. As a matter of fact among the signatures of Scholars admitted April 13, 1638 (in the Admission Book for Fellows, Officers and Scholars) the sixth entry among 39 is 'Andreas Marvell discipulus juratus et admissus,' without doubt in his own handwriting. There is nothing to distinguish him from any of the other Scholars admitted, and certainly no indication of any scrape<sup>2</sup>.

It may be that, when in 1639 young Marvell came for a short time under 'Popish' influences, he was persuaded to go to London as Cooke states. Somerset House, mentioned in Norton's letter, contained Queen Henrietta Maria's Roman Catholic chapel, and was therefore the natural centre of Roman Catholic influence and intrigue in England. But, if he did so, he did not stay long enough to interfere seriously with his Cambridge career, for in the Bursar's accounts for the year ending Michaelmas 1640 he appears as having received three shillings and fourpence *stipendium* for each quarter of the past year<sup>2</sup>. The Bursar's accounts for the two previous years 1637-8 and 1638-9 have not survived, nor have those for the following year 1640-1. We are therefore still left in doubt about the exact time at which Marvell abandoned his natural intention of proceeding to the master's degree, which he would normally have taken in 1642. This abandonment took place at some time later than Michaelmas 1640, and it was certainly some considerable time before the well-known Conclusion Book entry of September 24, 1641. The probable date therefore fits in very closely with that of his father's death, which Fuller gives as January 23, 1641 and which was certainly not long before March 15, 1641, when Stiles was appointed to succeed him. It is at any rate possible that his father's death somehow resulted in Marvell's leaving Cambridge. It is also possible that on leaving Cambridge he was employed at a business house in Hull. A tradition that he was so employed at a particular house in Hull, on the site of which

<sup>1</sup> He took his degree in 1638, i.e. on some day not earlier than January 1, nor later than March 24, 1639.

<sup>2</sup> I owe this information to the kindness of the present Senior Bursar of Trinity College.



stands what is now 80 High Street, certainly existed a century ago. The evidence that the *tradition* then existed is as follows:

(1) In the Wilberforce Museum, Hull, there is at present exhibited a small circular box inside which, both top and bottom, is printed the following—‘In memory of Andrew Marvell, the celebrated patriot, of Kingston-upon-Hull, this box is formed from oak, out of the building wherein he served his clerkship, in the house formerly occupied by Sir John Rottenherring in High St supposed to have been erected previous to the Holy Trinity Church, and built of brick and of the same extraordinary dimensions, viz., 10 inches long, 5 broad, and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  thick. The building—in which his ancestors had long resided—was taken down at Easter, 1829, when the wood was carefully selected, and manufactured by John Stone, sail-maker and ship-chandler, Blackfriar-gate, the donor.’

I presume that ‘his ancestors’ means John Stone’s.

(2) Sheehan, *History of Hull* (1864) p. 605, says that in a room in the White Hart was an armchair, in which was inserted a metal plate bearing this inscription—‘This chair is made of oak taken from the building in High Street, where it is said the celebrated and patriotic Andrew Marvel served his clerkship.’

(3) *The History of the Streets of Hull* (reprinted from the *Hull Times* 1915) consists of extracts from the MSS. of a local antiquary named Richardson who died in 1841. On p. 20 we read that Marvell was said to have served his apprenticeship in a house at the N.W. corner of Rottenherring Street.

(4) Symons, *High Street, Hull* (1862) p. 6, says that Marvell ‘lived at the South end of High-street, in a house upon the supposed site of which Harker’s warehouse is erected.’ This is the same spot as that mentioned in (3).

If Marvell did serve such a ‘clerkship,’ I should conjecture that it was under his brother-in-law Edmund Popple, sailor, ship-builder and merchant of Hull. Popple was of great service to Marvell later, from 1658 onwards.

### III. MRS SKINNER.

The Rev. Andrew Marvell was drowned in the Humber early in 1641. There are three accounts of this which matter. The others are based on one of these three, or, more often, on an uncritical mixture of them all. The three accounts are as follows:



(1) Fuller, *Worthies* (1662), under Cambridgeshire has an account of Marvell senior in which he says 'It happened that Anno Dom. 1640<sup>1</sup>, Jan. 23, crossing *Humber* in a *Barrow-boat*<sup>2</sup>, the same was *sand-warpt*, and he\* drowned therein, by the *carelessness* (not to say Gentleness of the boat-men.'

\* With Mrs Skinner (daughter to Sir *Ed. Coke*) a very religious Gentlewoman.

(2) Abraham de la Pryme in his MS. *History of Hull* (about 1700) writes: 'The same year<sup>3</sup> Mr Andrew Marvel Lecturer of this Town a very Learned Ingenious and Florid man goeing over the Humber in a small Boat or Skiff with Madam Skinner of Thornton Colledge and a Young Coupple that were going to be married, a Storm rose of a Suddain which in a little while over sett them, so that they were all drowned and never found nor heard on after.'

Gent in his *History of Hull* (1735) copied this, as he did other passages, almost verbatim from de la Pryme's MS. He makes the young couple 'a young beautiful couple.'

(3) *Biographia Britannica*, vol. v (1760) gives a different version which, 'as transmitted from persons intimate with both the families unhappily concerned in the sad catastrophe, is now first given to the public as a curious truth.' This version is too long to be given here in full, but it may be summarised as follows:

On the Lincolnshire side of the Humber lived a lady with an only daughter. These two were great friends of Marvell senior, who asked the daughter to be godmother to a child of his own. She crossed to Hull for the purpose. Afterwards she insisted, in spite of the roughness of the weather, on returning at once in case her mother should be anxious. Marvell, being unable to dissuade her, insisted on accompanying her. Both were drowned. The mother, going into her garden from which she could see the water, received a supernatural message about her daughter. After this she 'sent for our author [*i.e.* Marvell junior], charged herself with the expense of his future education, and at his death left him her fortune.'

It should be noted that in this account (1) no name is given to the lady, and (2) she lives on the shore of the Humber and can see the water from an arbour in her garden. But Thornton College is six miles south of the Humber and the country is flat.

<sup>1</sup> O.S.

<sup>2</sup> *i.e.* a boat belonging to Barrow Haven on the Lincolnshire shore of the Humber nearly opposite Hull.

<sup>3</sup> This must be 1640 (O.S.) though de la Pryme's chronology is not very clear here. Marvell senior was alive and signing his name on May 29, 1640 and his successor was appointed on March 15, 1641. Fuller's date cannot be far wrong.

One well-known detail, not to be found in this account, first appeared in Thompson's edition (1776). This is Marvell senior's last recorded utterance 'Ho for heaven.' Thompson must have got it from oral tradition and it rings authentic. The boatmen's cry would be 'Ho for Barrow,' and it accords with the character of the 'facetious' clergyman that he should have looked at the rough water and said 'Ho for heaven.'

The three versions given above agree only in stating that the Rev. Andrew Marvell was drowned and that he was in the company of a lady. But it can be proved that this lady was neither Mrs Skinner of Thornton College nor any daughter of hers. It is surprising that Fuller, who wrote so soon after the event, should be wrong, but it is noteworthy that the statement about Marvell's companion is given in a marginal note and was presumably the result of information received at the last minute. Bridget, the second daughter of Sir Edward Coke, was born in 1596 and married William Skinner (son of Sir Vincent Skinner) of Thornton College, Lincolnshire, who died in 1627. Mrs Skinner did not die, by drowning or otherwise, in 1641, but lived to make a will<sup>1</sup> on September 26, 1648, which was proved on June 18, 1653, by her youngest son Cyriack<sup>2</sup>.

Further there is no mention in this will of Andrew Marvell. There are small bequests to her eldest son Edward, to her second son William ('though he was and is most undutifull to mee his mother') and to two daughters Elizabeth and Theophila.

After the death of her husband Bridget Skinner had a monumental inscription to his memory engraved in Thornton Curtis church, in which she stated that he was the father of three sons and four daughters, all of whom were living except one daughter Anne<sup>3</sup>. The daughter so far unaccounted for is the eldest, Bridget, who remains the only possible candidate for the honour of having been drowned with Mr Marvell. This honour is actually accorded to her by the author of a Skinner pedigree in *Miscellanea Genealogica et Heraldica*, new series, vol. I (1874), where however the date is given as 1639 and the above-quoted passage from de la Pryme brought in to support it. This writer, following Grosart (1872), explains Madam as 'the appellation of a young lady of good family'<sup>4</sup>. But Canon A. R. Maddison in his pedigree of the same family in *Lincolnshire Pedigrees*, vol. III, gives the name of Bridget's husband, Alexander Emerson. The will of Alexander Emerson of Laceby was

<sup>1</sup> Somerset House, 90 Brent.

<sup>2</sup> Cyriack was a posthumous child and was presumably given his name (Κυριακός) as being a gift from the Lord.

<sup>3</sup> Born 1621, buried 1623.

<sup>4</sup> In point of fact I doubt whether this is correct with the surname. It was so used with the Christian name, e.g. Madam Silvia in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*.

proved on April 18, 1678, by his widow Bridget. She herself must have lived to a hundred, for her will, made in a state of feebleness and waiting for death in 1711, was not proved till April 21, 1720<sup>1</sup>!

No lady of the Skinner family then was drowned with Marvell senior. Mrs Skinner did not leave her property to Marvell junior. It may have been she who enabled him to travel on the Continent, but there is no evidence at all that it was.

Nevertheless some connexion between Marvell and the Skinners did exist. He certainly knew Cyriack in later days. Apart from the reference in Marvell's letter to Milton of June 2, 1654, Cyriack is the 'Mr Skyner' mentioned in Marvell's letters to the Corporation of Hull of March 16 and April 15, 1669, which deal with 'the businesse of Mr South and Sir R: Cary.' This is proved by the existence among the Hull Corporation papers of a letter from Cyriack to the Mayor of Hull. In this letter, which is dated 'Strand Mar. 23, 1668<sup>8</sup>,' he says that nothing is yet ripe in the business of South and Cary, but he expects that definite proposals will soon be put before 'Mr Recorder and Mr Marvell.'

It is also just possible that there may be another connexion of a less worldly kind. *The Picture of little T. C. in a Prospect of Flowers* is one of Marvell's most charming poems, but no plausible suggestion has ever been made about the identity of T. C. Girls' names beginning with T are rare, and I would suggest that Theophila Cornwall may have been the child about whose picture Marvell wrote. Theophila Skinner, mentioned above, was the youngest daughter<sup>2</sup> of William and Bridget Skinner. She married Humphry Cornwall of Berrington, Herefordshire, but seems to have spent some part of her married life at Thornton—perhaps because of the Civil War. For on August 23, 1643, their daughter Theophila was baptised<sup>3</sup> and was buried two days later. A second Theophila was baptised<sup>3</sup> on September 26, 1644, and it is she who may, I think, be Marvell's 'little T. C.' The premature death of the first Theophila would give point and poignancy to the last stanza, which otherwise seems almost gratuitously ill-omened:

But O young beauty of the Woods,  
Whom Nature courts with fruit and flow'rs,  
Gather the Flow'rs, but spare the Buds ;  
Lest *Flora* angry at thy crime,  
To kill her Infants in their prime,  
Do quickly make th' Example Yours ;  
And, ere we see,  
Nip in the blossome all our hopes and Thee.

<sup>1</sup> *The English Emersons* by P. H. Emerson, and Appendix pp. xxx, xxxi.

<sup>2</sup> Baptised January 3, 1623. Extracts from the register of Thornton Curtis preserved in the Herald's College.

<sup>3</sup> Herald's College as above.



Perhaps 'little T. C.' did die in childhood. The Commonwealth proved a bad time for parish registers, but on September 24, 1673, we find Theophila Cornewall being married at Ludlow. This is certainly the daughter of Humphry and Theophila, whose deaths—in 1688 and 1678 respectively—are also entered in the Ludlow register. But, if it is the Theophila baptised in 1644, she must have been just twenty-nine, a most unusually advanced age for a woman to marry at in those days. It looks very much—if my identification is correct—as if the poet's fears were realised, so that it was not the second but a third Theophila who lived to be married in 1673.

#### APPENDIX.

The writer of the letter given above

(1) was a clergyman,

(2) was in January 1640 the father of a B.A. of St Catharine's, Cambridge, whose seduction to 'Popery' had been attempted by a Fellow of Peterhouse,

(3) announced his intention of bringing the matter of his son up before Parliament.

Further (4) this son had no scholarship or other 'preferment.'

The Short Parliament did not last long enough for anything to be done, but when the Long Parliament met in November 1640 Cousins was brought before it on a variety of charges and on Tuesday November 24 'one Norton a Minister being examined about Dr. Cousins, Deposed that certain Fellows of Peter-House indeavoured to seduce his Son to Popery, pretending that Dr. Cousins would make him Fellow; that there-upon he was forced to send for his Son' (Nalson, *Impartial Collection of the Great Affairs of State*, 1682, p. 568).

On turning to the Cambridge *Book of Matriculations and Degrees* we find that John Norton, pensioner<sup>1</sup>, matriculated at St Catharine's 1635, proceeded B.A. 1638 and M.A. 1642. Clearly, therefore, this 'Norton a Minister' wrote the letter.

The Cousins affair lasted for some months, but in March 1641 he was able to prove that, far from being an accomplice of Nichols, 'finding Nichols guilty of holding Popish Tenents, he had severely punished him by Recantation and Expulsion from the University' (Nalson, p. 792<sup>2</sup>). This reference to a recantation further confirms the authorship of the

<sup>1</sup> i.e. one who pays all his own expenses, see (4) above.

<sup>2</sup> The biographers of Cousins have generally confused young Norton with Nichols.

The Peterhouse published register states that Nichols resigned his fellowship on April 1, 1640. The above extract explains this.

letter. Further confirmation is perhaps afforded by the fact that in *Persecutio undecima* (1648—reprinted 1682), p. 23, Lord Fairfax (*i.e.* Ferdinando, father of the great Fairfax) is said to have made a motion in the House of Commons that Cousins 'had inticed a young Schollar to Popery.' Perhaps Fairfax was one of the 'Lords of the counsaill' to whom Norton thought of complaining.

At any rate the mention of Fairfax, combined with the fact that Norton wrote to Marvell at Hull, makes it probable that we shall be able to identify Norton in Yorkshire. This probability is turned into a certainty when we find that John Norton of St Catharine's is described in the register of that College as *Eboracensis*, of Yorkshire. Another Norton, Samuel, entered the same College three years later, also as a pensioner, and he also is described as *Eboracensis*<sup>1</sup>. Obviously this was a younger brother.

Turning to the Yorkshire Archaeological Society's Record Series, vol. LXI, p. 164, we find the following under date July 1643. 'To the right worshipfull the Committee for the Eastriding of the Countie of Yorke, the humble Peticon of Robert Clapham M.A....Sheweth that Mr. Norton, Parson of Welton, in the East Riding of thee Countie of Yorke, hath absented himselfe from his said cure and ioyned himselfe with his Majesties enemyes and is now at Hull remaineing with the Rebels...' (Mr Clapham goes on to ask for the living of Welton.) This is what we should have expected our Mr Norton to do. Later he returned to Welton and died as Minister there under the Commonwealth. His will<sup>2</sup>, dated June 23, 1656, was proved in 1657. From it we learn that his Christian name was John, and in it he mentions two sons named John and Samuel. This clinches the identification.

H. M. MARGOLIOUTH.

SOUTHAMPTON.

<sup>1</sup> I owe this information to the kindness of the present bursar of St Catharine's.

<sup>2</sup> Somerset House.

## TRAGEDY AT THE COMÉDIE-FRANÇAISE (1680—1778)<sup>1</sup>.

READERS of Molière will remember how in his delightful *Impromptu de Versailles* he imitates the actors of the rival Hôtel de Bourgogne, contrasting their exaggerated declamation with the natural style of his own company. It was a bold attack, for the reputation of the Hôtel de Bourgogne chiefly rested on its interpretation of tragedy, in which it was regarded as decidedly superior to the Palais-Royal. Molière's illustrations are all taken from Corneille's plays, and he gives in turn imitations of Montfleury as Prusias in *Nicomède*, of Mlle Beauchâteau as Camille in *Horace*, of Beauchâteau as Don Rodrigue in *Le Cid*, of Hauteroche as Pompée in *Sertorius*, and of De Villiers as Iphicrate in *Œdipe*. Floridor, the best actor of the Hôtel, alone is spared<sup>2</sup>, possibly not merely because he was a favourite with Louis XIV, but because he was not open to the same reproaches as his comrades. Of noble birth and fine appearance, he spoke with a natural diction, and all that was said against him was that his acting was cold. The allusion to Montfleury as 'gros et gras comme quatre,' 'entripaillé (a word apparently invented by Molière for the occasion) comme il faut,' and 'd'une vaste circonférence' was deeply resented by that actor, and he retaliated by presenting a petition to the king, in which he accused Molière of having married the daughter of his former mistress.

Such being Molière's relations with the Hôtel de Bourgogne and its leading actor one may imagine the 'surprise'—to use La Grange's temperate expression—of his company, when they learnt that Racine's play of *Alexandre*, which had been running at the Palais-Royal for a fort-

<sup>1</sup> The most recent work on the subject is H. Lyonnet, *Dictionnaire des Comédiens français*, 2 vols., 1912-13. In it full use has been made of the older work, *Galerie des Acteurs du Théâtre-Français*, 2 vols., 1810, by P.-D. Lemazurier, Secretary of the Comédie-Française. The majority of the articles in the *Nouv. Biog. Gén.* on the actors of the eighteenth century are by E. D. de Manne, author of *Galerie historique des Comédiens français de la troupe de Voltaire*, 1865. Much information will be found in Grimm, *Correspondance* (1753-90), ed. M. Tournoux, 16 vols., 1877-83; in Collé, *Journal et Mémoires* (1748-72), ed. H. Bonhomme, 3 vols., 1868; and in Bachaumont, *Mémoires secrets*, 36 vols., 1777-85, of which Vols. I-V contain his own journal (1762-71), VI-XV the continuation by Mairobert (1771-9), and the rest that by Mouffe d'Angerville. There is a useful abridgement of this in Barrière's *Bibliothèque des Mémoires*, vol. III. Vol. VI of the same collection contains the memoirs of Mlle Clairon, Lekain, and other actors.

<sup>2</sup> Molière, however, says, 'Mon Dieu, il n'y en a point qu'on ne put attraper par quelque endroit, si je les avois bien étudiés.'



night, was being simultaneously performed at the rival theatre. The reason no doubt was that Racine was dissatisfied with the acting of his friend's troupe and preferred to have the thoroughly Cornelian parts of Alexandre, Porus, and Axiane interpreted by Floridor, Montfleury, and Mlle des Œillets. There was still greater 'surprise' when Racine persuaded Mlle Du Parc, with whom he was passionately in love, to desert the Palais-Royal for the Hôtel de Bourgogne and to appear in the title-rôle of his new play *Andromaque* (November 1667). She died, however, in December 1668, and two years later her place at the theatre and in Racine's affections was taken by a much greater actress, Mlle de Champmeslé<sup>1</sup>, who with her husband had migrated from the Théâtre du Marais. As Hermione, in which part she took Mlle des Œillet's place after Easter 1670, as Berenice, as Roxane, as Monime, as Iphigénie, and finally as Phèdre, she went on from triumph to triumph.

In 1673, the year of Molière's death, the Théâtre du Marais was closed, and by the king's order Colbert chose its best actors and actresses for the Palais-Royal, while the rest went to the Hôtel de Bourgogne. About the same time Molière's troupe bought from the Marquis de Sourdéac the lease of a theatre which he had constructed in a tennis-court in the Rue Mazarine<sup>2</sup>. It became known as the Hôtel Guénégaud from the street which runs into the Rue Mazarine just opposite to it. To this new theatre Mlle de Champmeslé and her husband migrated in 1679, two years after the production of *Phèdre*, and it was largely owing to this migration, which left the Hôtel de Bourgogne without a tragic actress, that in 1680 the king ordered that the two troupes should be united to form a single company. So the Champmeslés, La Grange, Du Croisy, Hubert, Mlle de Brie and Mlle Molière (now Mlle Guérin) of the Hôtel Guénégaud were reinforced by Baron, Hauteroche, Mlle Dennebaut, and Mlle Beauval from the Hôtel de Bourgogne<sup>3</sup>. Of the older members of the latter troupe Montfleury had died in December 1677 from the rupture of a blood-vessel while playing the part of Oreste, and Floridor had retired in July 1671 and died less than a fortnight later.

The chief tragedian of the united company, which in 1689 moved to the Rue des Fossés-Saint-Germain-des-Prés (now the Rue de l'Ancienne Comédie), was Baron, and the chief tragic actress Mlle Champmeslé. 'Il avoit formé la Champmeslé comme il avoit formé Baron' says Louis

<sup>1</sup> Marie Desmares (1644-98), wife of Charles Chevillet, Sieur de Champmeslé.

<sup>2</sup> The site is now occupied by the Passage du Pont-Neuf, which runs from the Rue Mazarine to the Rue de Seine.

<sup>3</sup> Baron and Mlle Beauval had migrated to the Hôtel de Bourgogne immediately after Molière's death.

Racine of his father, and probably there is not much more truth in the former statement than in the latter. No doubt the great dramatist took pains to make clear to his favourite actress the effects that he wished her to produce, and rehearsed with her in detail each subtle and delicate indication of character or emotion; but by the general testimony of her contemporaries she was an actress of genius, and it was her genius that enabled her to give embodiment, by expression, voice and gesture, to the creatures of Racine's imagination.

According too to Louis Racine, his father had a 'talent for declamation, which was not exaggerated or sing-song.' But Mlle de Champmeslé's declamation, if not exaggerated, was at any rate sing-song. Baron, on the other hand, was an admirable representative of the natural style; thanks to his noble figure and fine voice he needed no effort to sustain his part with dignity. Charles Collé, the dramatist and journalist, was only a young man of twenty when Baron died, and therefore only saw him in his old age, but he has given an admirable account of his youthful impressions:

Baron, la Le Couvreur, et les Quinault, que j'ai vus, quoique je ne sois pas bien vieux<sup>1</sup>, m'avoient donné une idée de la perfection, surtout Baron, auquel il ne manquoit quelquefois que de la chaleur pour être le plus accompli comédien qui ait jamais pu exister. Il faut supposer même qu'il avoit eu cette partie essentielle du comédien lorsqu'il étoit jeune. Quand je l'ai vu il avoit déjà soixante-douze ou soixante-quinze ans, et à cet âge on pouvoit bien lui pardonner de ne pas entrer aussi vivement dans la passion que l'eût pu faire un acteur de trente ans. Il suppléoit de reste à ce défaut par une intelligence, une noblesse et une dignité que je n'ai vues qu'à lui. Il excelloit surtout dans les détails d'un rôle; il avoit un naturel qui alloit jusqu'au familier, même dans le tragique, sans par là en dégrader la majesté. Il n'étoit pas moins supérieur dans le comique; je lui ai vu jouer divinement les rôles du Misanthrope, d'Arnolphe et de Simon dans l'*Andrienne*<sup>2</sup>; il y avoit une si grande vérité dans son jeu et tant de naturel, qu'il vous faisoit oublier toujours le comédien, et il portoit l'illusion jusqu'à faire imaginer que l'action que se passoit devant vous étoit réelle. Il ne déclamoit jamais, pas même dans le plus grand tragique, et il rompoit la mesure des vers de telle sorte que l'on ne sentoit point l'insupportable monotonie du vers alexandrin. Aussi le beau vers ne gagnoit rien avec lui, et l'on avoit à peine à démêler dans son débit s'il récitait des vers de Racine ou de La Chaussée; il ne rendoit jamais le vers, mais la situation, mais le sentiment; il faisoit de si longues pauses, et jouoit si lentement que le spectacle duroit une demi-heure de plus, quand il y avoit un rôle.... Il étoit fanatique de son métier, et c'est un grand point pour y réussir<sup>3</sup>.

In this intelligent appreciation Collé indicates a defect, though he evidently does not regard it as such, in Baron's otherwise admirable acting. There is a middle course between the excess of a sing-song declamation and the defect of speaking verse as if it were prose. Baron's public should have been able to detect without any difficulty the differ-

<sup>1</sup> Collé was born in 1709. Baron died in 1729, having been born in 1653.

<sup>2</sup> An imitation of Terence by Baron himself.

<sup>3</sup> *Journal et Mémoires*, 3 vols., 1868, i.



ence between the harmonious music of Racine and the rough jog-trot of Nivelles de La Chaussée.

It was almost entirely in the classical rôles of Corneille and Racine that Baron and Mlle de Champmeslé obtained their successes. Since Racine's renunciation of the stage after *Phèdre* (1677) French tragedy had suffered from a rapid decline. Campistron and La Grange-Chancel, who claimed with little real justification to be Racine's disciples, added practically nothing to the *répertoire*. Campistron's best work, *Andronic* (1685), is a poor play, in which he has failed to take advantage of the dramatic possibilities of the subject, while La Grange-Chancel after the success of his first piece, *Adherbal* (1694), which he wrote at seventeen, produced nothing better during the remaining sixty-five years of his life.

In 1691 Baron, in the full maturity of his powers, retired from the stage. He was succeeded in many of his parts by Beaubourg<sup>1</sup>, who declaimed in an exaggerated fashion. But in some he could not be replaced; for instance, *Nicomède* and *Sertorius*, the title-rôles of which could only be filled by an actor of Baron's majestic figure and quiet dignity, for a time dropped out of the *répertoire*<sup>2</sup>.

In 1698 Mlle de Champmeslé died, having acted, though latterly with increasing intervals, to the very end. Her last creation was that of Iphigénie in La Grange-Chancel's *Oreste et Pylade* (1697). Her successor was Mlle Duclos<sup>3</sup>, who since 1696 had been her understudy. Of a majestic appearance and gifted with a superb voice, she carried to excess the methods of Mlle de Champmeslé. It was said that, if the door of the box facing the stage was open, you could hear her at the Café Procope on the other side of the street. Another and more serious criticism was that from ignorance and lack of intelligence she was just the same in every part. For all this, she had the power of profoundly affecting her audience, and for the next twenty years, thanks to her and Beaubourg, the declamatory style reigned at the Comédie-Française almost unchallenged.

The natural style, however, was to some extent represented by Mlle Desmares, the niece of Mlle de Champmeslé, who succeeded to some of her aunt's parts and who added to them the rôle of Athalie, when Racine's masterpiece was first produced at Paris (1716), and those of Sémiramis—a repulsive part—in Crébillon's play of that name (1717), and of Jocaste in Voltaire's highly successful *Œdipe* (1718). Lesage

<sup>1</sup> Pierre Trochon, called Beaubourg.

<sup>2</sup> Collé, *op. cit.*, I, pp. 442 f.

<sup>3</sup> Marie-Anne de Chasteauneuf, called Duclos (c. 1668-1748).



praises her *beau naturel*, but he is apparently thinking chiefly of her as an actress of comedy, in which she was excellent.

Crébillon and Voltaire, the only tragic writers of the eighteenth century who achieved a solid reputation, were far from great dramatists, but they could provide effective situations for the actors and actresses who filled out their shadowy rôles. Crébillon's first play, *Idoménée* (1705), in spite of severe criticisms of its fifth act, was a decided success, which was doubly welcome because it promised a much-needed revival in French tragedy. One of his aims was to make tragedy more tragic. Accordingly for his next play (1707) he chose the repulsive story of Atreus and Thyestes, which had already been dramatised by Seneca, and he made the horror culminate with Atrée offering to Thyeste, as a pledge of pretended reconciliation, a cup filled with his son's blood. The same aim, as well as the love of complication which had led him to spoil the simple but impressive story of Electra and Orestes in his tragedy of *Électre* (1708), inspired him in *Rhadamisthe et Zénobie* (1711), which is generally regarded as his masterpiece. The central situation, that of a father and two sons who are in love with the same woman, is borrowed from *Mithridate*, but Corneille is Crébillon's real model and especially Corneille in *Rodogune*. For *Rhadamisthe et Zénobie* with its highly complicated plot, its dependence upon strong situations and extraordinary incidents, and its complete lack of psychology, is, like *Rodogune*, in spite of its classical form, a romantic melodrama. But it has an air of grandeur and heroism not unworthy of Corneille, and one scene at least, that in which Rhadamisthe and Zénobie meet (III, v), is of real pathos. With Mlle Duclos as Zénobie and Beaubourg as Rhadamisthe it had a great success and ran for thirty-two days. On the other hand *Xerxès* (1714) with its complicated and badly constructed plot had to be withdrawn after the first performance, and *Sémiramis* (1717) in which, as we have seen, Mlle Desmares created the title-rôle, was also a failure. After that Crébillon kept silence for nine years, and though *Pyrrhus* (1726), which ends happily, re-established in some measure his favour with the public, he again retired—for personal reasons—for another sixteen years.

Meanwhile the Comédie-Française had been strengthened by a new actor, Quinault-Dufresne, and a new actress, Adrienne Lecouvreur. Quinault-Dufresne<sup>1</sup>, whose family was closely connected with the stage and who added the name of Dufresne to his own to distinguish himself from his elder brother, made his *début* in 1712 as Oreste in Crébillon's *Électre*.

<sup>1</sup> Abraham-Alexis Quinault-Dufresne (1693-1767) was the son of an actor.

He had an imposing figure, expressive eyes, and a highly musical voice, which he used in the sing-song manner then in vogue. He was remarkable for his good opinion of himself and his insolence to others. Destouches not only wrote *Le Glorieux* (1732) for him, but drew a portrait of him in the hero; in return he had to alter the *dénouement* at Dufresne's dictation.

In 1717 Adrienne Lecouvreur, or as she wrote her name, Le Couvreur<sup>1</sup>, made a brilliant *début* in the title-rôle of Crébillon's *Électre*. It was not a bad choice, for *Électre*, in her lonely austerity, her indomitable resolution to avenge her father, which is shaken neither by love nor by fear, is a fine character, the only character of Crébillon's, with the exception perhaps of Palamède in the same play, that is really alive<sup>2</sup>. It is true that in places the part lends itself to declamation, but Adrienne Lecouvreur was a worthy pupil of Baron and from the first she strove to introduce a more natural style of acting into the Comédie-Française. Beaubourg, the worst declaimer of them all, retired in 1718, but she still had against her Mlle Duclos and the whole coterie of the Quinaults—Quinault *l'aîné*, Quinault-Dufresne and Mlle Quinault. The public, however, was with her, and in her first year (1717) she filled with success the great tragic rôles of Corneille and Racine—particularly Pulchérie (*Héraclius*), Monime, and Iphigénie—and that of Zénobie in Crébillon's play. In the following year (1718) she appeared as Aristie in Corneille's *Sertorius* and as Atalide in *Bajazet*, a part which she always preferred to that of Roxane. Lady Mary Wortley Montagu was greatly impressed by a performance of *Bajazet*.

The play-house is not so neat as that of Lincoln's Inn-fields; but then, it must be owned, to their praise, their tragedians are much beyond any of ours. I should hardly allow Mrs O[ldfield] a better place than to be confidante to La ——. I have seen the tragedy of *Bajazet* so well represented that I think our best actors can be only said to speak, but these to feel<sup>3</sup>.

In 1719–20 Mlle Lecouvreur's chief parts were Monime, Hermione, and the heroine of Voltaire's unsuccessful tragedy *Artémire*. In 1720–21 she played in *Bérénice* with Quinault *l'aîné* and Quinault-Dufresne, and the part of Jocaste in Voltaire's *Œdipe*. But the chief event of the theatrical year was the return of Baron to the scene of his former triumphs. On March 20 it was announced that he would re-appear in

<sup>1</sup> Her real name was Couvreur; she was born in 1692. See *Lettres de Adrienne Le Couvreur*, ed. Georges Monval (*Bib. Elzévirienne*), 1892; Sainte-Beuve, *Causeries du Lundi*, I.

<sup>2</sup> The short scene between *Électre* and Clytemnestre (I vi) and the recognition scene between *Électre* and Oreste (IV ii)—'C'est Oreste, c'est lui, c'est mon frère et mon roi'—are really pathetic and effective.

<sup>3</sup> To Lady Rich, October 10 (O. S.), 1718.



*Cinna* on April 10, and the announcement was received with rapturous applause. Though he was now in his sixty-seventh year, he resumed all his old parts—Sévère, Horace, Don Rodrigue, Nicomède, Antiochus (in *Rodogune*) and Néron—and he added to these the new ones of Joad<sup>1</sup>, Acomat, and Pyrrhus.

After Easter 1721 Mlle Desmares retired and left free some new parts for Adrienne Lecouvreur. An addition to her repertory in this year was the rôle of Zarès in *Esther*, which was now for the first time produced on a public stage. It was cut down to three acts and the choruses were omitted, but it was only a moderate success. In 1722-23, playing with Baron, she made a great hit as Queen Elizabeth in Thomas Corneille's *Le Comte d'Essex*, and in the following year she appeared as Constance in Houdar de La Motte's new tragedy of *Inès de Castro*, the title-rôle being taken by Mlle Duclos and the part of Alphonse by Baron. It is far from a great play, but the pathos of the story appealed to the sensibility of the public, and it ran for forty-three days. Towards the end of the same theatrical year Mlle Lecouvreur and Baron took the leading parts in Voltaire's *Mariamne*, into which he had transformed the unfortunate *Artémire*. But it had even less success in its new form, for it did not even get to the end of the first performance. Voltaire, however, was undaunted, and after Easter 1725 he presented his play for a third time under the title of *Hérode et Mariamne*, and this time with considerable success. Mlle Deseine<sup>2</sup>, the wife of Quinault-Dufresne, who had recently made her *début* as Hermione, played Salome. Her acting was not to Voltaire's satisfaction, and she apparently showed her vexation at his criticisms by insulting her more successful comrade, for the Archives of the Comédie-Française record that she was fined 100 *livres* 'pour inconvenance envers Mlle Le Couvreur.' She played subsequently with success in the parts of Émilie and Hermione and she created the rôle of Didon in Lefranc de Pompignan's play of that name (1734). She had a weak voice, but she acted more or less naturally. Mlle Clairon, who is generally merciless in her criticisms of her rivals, praises her highly,—but then she had retired in 1736, and this, as M. Lyonnet suggests, was doubtless her greatest merit in Mlle Clairon's eyes.

In 1726-27 Mlle Lecouvreur created the part of Éricie in Crébillon's *Pyrrhus*. In 1727 Mlle Balicourt made her *début* as Cléopâtre in *Rodogune*. She afterwards appeared in other rôles of queens, *e.g.* Agrippine

<sup>1</sup> He had played Joad at Versailles.

<sup>2</sup> Catharine Dupré, called Deseine (1705-67).



and Clytemnestre, but her career was a short one, for she retired in 1738 and she is chiefly interesting because Baron, we are told, saved her from falling into the declamatory style. Baron was now seventy-four, but in many of his parts he still retained his pre-eminence. Unfortunately his incurable coxcombry made him cling to parts for which he was no longer fitted, and more than once he moved the *parterre* to derision, especially on one occasion, when playing Rodrigue and having knelt at Chimène's feet he had to be assisted on to his legs by two attendants. In the very last year of his life he appeared in the part of Britannicus. The end came on December 22, 1729. Three months later (March 20, 1730) Adrienne Lecouvreur, who during the last three years had played chiefly in comedy, but who had also appeared several times in *Athalie* and in Voltaire's *Œdipe*, followed her old master to the grave. Nine days before her death she wrote in a letter to the Marquis de La Chalotais: 'Vous dites que vous voudriez que je vous apprissse l'art de la déclamation, dont vous avez besoin; avez-vous donc oublié que je ne déclame point? La simplicité de mon jeu en fait l'unique et foible mérite.' 'On lui donne la gloire,' said the *Mercur*e in the notice which appeared after her death, 'd'avoir introduit la déclamation simple, noble et naturelle, et d'en avoir banni le chant.'

A more extended tribute to her genius was paid by the Abbé d'Allainval, the author of *L'École des Bourgeois* (1728) and other comedies in *Lettre à Mylord \*\*\* sur Baron et la demoiselle Le Couvreur...* par George Wink, which appeared in 1730<sup>1</sup>. It reproduced besides several other pieces two epistles in rhyme to Adrienne Le Couvreur, one by Voltaire and the other by Godai de Beauchamps, from which the following lines are worth quoting:

*A propos de la dispute qui s'est élevée depuis quelque temps au sujet  
de la déclamation des Dlls Du Clos et Le Couvreur.*

Enfin le vrai triomphe et la fureur tragique  
Fait place sur la scène au tendre, au pathétique.  
C'est vous qui des douceurs de la simplicité  
Nous avez fait connaître et sentir la beauté.

.....  
La Nature et le cœur toujours d'intelligence  
Veulent que tout soit simple, et l'excès les offense.  
Je suis par des fureurs moins ému que surpris,  
Je veux du pathétique et n'entends que des cris.  
Je ris quand je te vois, insensée Hermione,  
Rappeler en criant l'ingrat qui t'abandonne.  
Non, ce n'est point ainsi qu'on ramène un amant,  
Il faut plus de tendresse et moins d'emportement<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Reprinted in 1870 with a notice by J. Bonassies.

<sup>2</sup> *Lettres*, pp. 276-8.

The epistle, it should be noted, first appeared in print in 1722 and therefore dates from the earlier years of the rivalry between the two actresses who represented the two schools of acting.

Another obituary notice, entitled *Seconde lettre du souffleur de la comédie de Rouen au garçon de café, ou Entretien sur les défauts de la déclamation*<sup>1</sup> and attributed to Du Mas d'Aiguebierre, the author of a musical comedy, *Les trois Spectacles*, which provided Adrienne with her last part but one, is highly instructive. He insists on the singular expressiveness of her acting, on the rapidity with which she passed without any apparent effort from violence to perfect calm, from tenderness to fury, and how every emotion was reflected on her countenance... 'Sa voix semblait moins s'exprimer que son cœur... Elle était noble au milieu de ses transports.' Then he proceeds to distinguish between the simple and the natural, and in particular between the simplicity of Baron and the natural acting of his pupil :

Mlle Le Couvreur, qui s'est formée sur Baron, se contentait d'être naturelle sans trop affecter cette simplicité. Elle évitait l'enflure, mais elle ne descendait jamais au-dessous de la grandeur héroïque. Elle était simple, si vous voulez, parce que la nature a quelque chose d'aisé qui approche de la simplicité, mais non pas simple comme le sieur Baron<sup>2</sup>.

In justice to Baron it must be remembered that this was written when old age must have diminished something of his former ardour, and when any little peculiarity must have become accentuated<sup>3</sup>.

Among those who felt deeply the premature death of Adrienne Le Couvreur was Voltaire. In February 1729 he had returned from London full of ideas for the improvement of the French stage and with the nearly completed tragedy of *Brutus* in his pocket, which was to wipe out his two last failures. But it was not produced till December 1730, with Quinault-Dufresne in the important part of Titus (the son of Brutus). Its success was only moderate—it ran for fifteen performances—and he made another bid for favour with *Zaïre* in 1732, selecting Quinault-Dufresne for Orosmane, the chief male part, and a young actress of twenty-one, Mlle Gaussin<sup>4</sup>, who had made her *début* in the previous year as Junie in *Britannicus*, for the part of *Zaïre*. The play, which shares with *Mérope* the honour of being Voltaire's masterpiece, and which with *Mérope* is the only play of his that is ever read or acted now, was a great success and made the reputation of Mlle Gaussin.

<sup>1</sup> Reprinted by Bonassies.

<sup>2</sup> *Lettres*, pp. 71-3.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. Collé's remarks (see above, p. 364).

<sup>4</sup> Jeanne-Catherine Gaussem, called Gaussin (1711-67).

Jeune Gaussin, reçois mon tendre hommage ;  
 Reçois mes vers au théâtre applaudis ;  
 Protège-les ; Zayre est ton ouvrage,  
 Il est à toi, puisque tu l'embellis.

In such neatly-turned verse was Voltaire wont to offer his thanks to the fair interpreters of his plays. Mlle Gaussin, the object of this particular tribute, was the most beautiful French actress of the eighteenth century, and she was graceful as well as beautiful. But in spite of her success in *Zaïre*, which she repeated in *Alzire* (1736), she was not a great tragic actress. Collé says that her voice was not strong enough for tragedy and that in her efforts to force it she became monotonous and declamatory. Mlle Clairon is invariably unfair to her rivals, but there is probably truth in her criticism that Mlle Gaussin played the parts of *Zaïre* and *Rodogune* with the same air of innocent tenderness<sup>1</sup>. According to Collé she was at her best in comedy, especially for instance as *Célimène*, or as *La Baronne* in *Turcaret*. She was also excellent as *Agnès*. Collé liked her less in *comédie larmoyante*, but this, he adds, is perhaps due to his prejudice against this class of play, and he believes that the success of *Nivelle de La Chaussée* and his 'accomplices' was largely due to her beauty and to her rendering of their tender heroines.

Two other recruits at this time were *Sarrazin* and *Grandval*, both of whom made their *début* in 1729, *Sarrazin* in *Œdipe* and *Grandval*<sup>2</sup> in *Andronic*. *Sarrazin* (1689–1762)<sup>3</sup> had a fine voice and possessed feeling and intelligence. But he lacked vigour and was best in pathetic scenes. His acting was perfectly natural—so much so that Voltaire complained that he spoke verse as if he were reading the *Gazette*. However he entrusted to him the parts of *Lusignan* in *Zaïre* and *Alvare* in *Alzire*. When he retired in 1759, he had been for thirty years the leading actor at the *Comédie-Française*. *Grandval*, who was only nineteen when he made his *début*, rose more slowly. It was not till twelve years later, on the retirement of *Quinault-Dufresne*, that he was entrusted with leading rôles. Like Mlle Gaussin he was better in high comedy than in tragedy, but his intelligence, his graceful bearing, and the warmth of his acting enabled him to retain the favour of the public till his retirement, nearly forty years later, in 1768. Long before this he had resigned the chief parts in tragedy to *Lekain*, whose superiority he recognised. He had

<sup>1</sup> 'Zaïre n'est qu'une touchante pensionnaire de couvent ; et Rodogune, demandant à ses amants la tête de leur mère, est assurément une femme très altière, très décidée' (*Mémoires*).

<sup>2</sup> François-Charles Racot (1710–84) was the son of a musician and man of letters who took the name of *Grandval*.

<sup>3</sup> See Grimm, *Corr.* v, p. 214.



one grave defect; he pronounced the letter *r* with his throat, or, as the French say, *il grasseyait*<sup>1</sup>.

In 1733, the year after Mlle Gaussin's successful appearance in *Zaïre*, Mlle Duclos, who was now between sixty and seventy, retired—none too soon. Four years later her place was taken by a far more powerful actress in tragedy than Mlle Gaussin, namely Mlle Dumesnil<sup>2</sup>. She chose for her *début* the part of Clytemnestre in *Iphigénie*. Queen Elizabeth in *Le Comte d'Essex* and Phèdre followed, and her success in all these parts was so great that she was admitted as a *sociétaire*, contrary to general usage, only two months after her *début*. She was an unequal actress, trusting chiefly to the inspiration of the moment, and owing little to study and meditation. But in her best parts, Agrippine, Athalie, Cléopâtre, Médée in Longepierre's play of that name, which, a failure when it was first produced in 1694, had been revived with astonishing success in 1728, she carried all before her, and in the two latter parts she terrified the *parterre* by the energy and fury of her imprecations. Mlle Clairon, in a studiously unfair 'portrait,' admits that her voice was powerful and resonant and her pronunciation pure, that she was remarkable for warmth and pathos, and that nothing could be more touching than her presentment of the grief and despair of a mother<sup>3</sup>.

It was, no doubt, this last characteristic which led Voltaire to select her for the title-rôle of his new play of *Mérope* (1743). He was very anxious that it should succeed, for he had had to withdraw his last play, *Mahomet*, on religious grounds after two performances. The success was complete; the audience went wild with enthusiasm and for the first time in the history of the French stage called for the author<sup>4</sup>. Mlle Dumesnil surpassed herself, and Voltaire's enemies hinted that the success was due to her acting. It was, says M. Lion, Voltaire's last fine tragedy and the last fine classical tragedy.

Nearly six months later, on September 19, 1743, Mlle Clairon<sup>5</sup>, whose career was to be closely associated with Voltaire's, made her *début*, by order of the king, at the Comédie-Française. Hitherto she had only played parts of soubrettes and a few secondary tragic rôles in the provinces. The committee suggested a part with singing and dancing,

<sup>1</sup> 'Ce défaut,' says judiciously Mlle Clairon, 'dont la jeunesse et la beauté font dans le monde une grâce de plus, est un défaut intolérable au théâtre.' Will young English people please note?

<sup>2</sup> Marie-Françoise Dumesnil (1711–1803).

<sup>3</sup> Collé, writing in 1750, and Bachaumont, writing in 1762, are both unjust to Mlle Dumesnil.

<sup>4</sup> Desnoireterres, *Voltaire à Cirey*, p. 362.

<sup>5</sup> Claire-Joseph-Hippolyte Legris de Latude, called Clairon (1723–1803).

but she wanted tragedy. When they suggested Constance in *Inès de Castro* or Aricie in *Phèdre*, she said that she preferred *Phèdre*. The committee laughed, but Mlle Clairon insisted. 'I have the right to choose, and I will play *Phèdre* or nothing<sup>1</sup>.' Her audacity was completely justified, and she followed up her success with Crébillon's *Zénobie* and *Électre*, and with Thomas Corneille's *Ariane*.

Mlle Clairon belonged at first to the declamatory school. Even in 1750 Collé complains of her 'déclamation ampoulée, chantée et remplie de gémissements, comme celle de la vieille Duclos<sup>2</sup>,' but five years later, after seeing her in *L'Orphelin de la Chine* (1755), he notes that 'elle se défait peu à peu de sa déclamation et marche à grands pas au jeu naturel.' For the history of her change in methods we must turn to the *Mémoires* of Marmontel, whose relations with her dated from his first and only really successful tragedy, *Denys le Tyran* (1748)<sup>3</sup>, in which, after a difficult interview with her rival, Mlle Gaussin, he entrusted to her the rôle of his heroine, Arétie. This was a bitter disappointment to Mlle Gaussin, who had already been forced to give up to her the parts of Camille, Hermione, and Roxane, of *Ariane*, *Didon*, and *Alzire*, and who hated her with the intensity that a jealous actress feels for a younger rival<sup>4</sup>. In spite of Marmontel's affection for Mlle Clairon and his choice of her as his interpreter, he found, like Collé, a good deal to criticise in her acting. 'Je trouvais dans son jeu trop d'éclat, trop de fougue, pas assez de souplesse et de variété, et surtout une force, qui, n'étant pas modérée, tenait plus d'emportement que de la sensibilité.' They often argued over the matter, and Mlle Clairon met her lover's criticisms, which were softened by judicious flattery, by pointing to her triumphant successes, and by appealing to the authority of Voltaire, who, says Marmontel, 'lui-même récite ses vers avec emphase, et qui prétend que les vers tragiques veulent, dans la déclamation, la même pompe que dans le style.' There they left it, but an event happened which brought the actress round to the author's opinion. She was to play Roxane at the little theatre of Versailles, and when Marmontel went to her dressing-room before the performance, he found her to his surprise dressed like a sultana, without a *panier*, and in oriental costume. She explained to him that she had just been playing at Bordeaux, and that, finding the theatre a very small one, she had determined to try the simple style which Marmontel had so often begged her to adopt. 'I am now going to try it

<sup>1</sup> Clairon, *Mémoires* (*Bib. des Mémoires*, ed. F. Barrière, vi).

<sup>2</sup> *Mémoires*, II, p. 33.

<sup>3</sup> See Collé, *Journal*, I, p. 23; Grimm, *Corr.* I, pp. 134-8.

<sup>4</sup> Marmontel, *Mémoires* (*Bib. des Mémoires*, ed. F. Barrière, v), pp. 101-3.



again here. If it succeeds, good-bye to the old style of declamation.' The experiment was more successful than either she, or even Marmontel, had anticipated. Mlle Clairon kept her promise. 'I must reform my whole wardrobe; I shall lose 10,000 crowns worth of dresses; but I will make the sacrifice.' So with the ridiculous *panier* she gave up the exaggerated and monotonous declamation which Voltaire had taught her, and she played the *Électre* of Crébillon and the *Électre* of Voltaire naturally and with complete success<sup>1</sup>.

She continued the same methods in Voltaire's new play of *L'Orphelin de la Chine* (1755) and was warmly seconded by Lekain. The traditional costume was again discarded, and she and Lekain appeared in wonderful habiliments which they and the public fondly believed to be Chinese<sup>2</sup>. Apparently the change in diction, at any rate as far as Mlle Clairon was concerned, was no less relative than the change in costume. The Margravine of Anspach (Lady Craven) relates in her memoirs that in 1763, when she was a girl of thirteen, she saw Mlle Clairon (without knowing her name) act in Voltaire's *Sémiramis*, and that she was so much impressed by her declamatory style that she imitated it twenty years later in a performance at Anspach. Grimm, too, writing after *Tancrède*, says of Mlle Clairon that 'elle chante beaucoup dans la tragédie<sup>3</sup>.'

Mlle Clairon's most formidable rival during her whole career was Mlle Dumesnil, but the contrast between them was not so much between the natural and the declamatory style as between the actress who trusted to the inspiration of the moment and the actress who studied her parts with infinite pains. As everyone knows, this is the whole topic of Diderot's *Paradoxe sur le Comédien*, the object of his treatise being to establish the superiority of those who 'jouent de réflexion' over those who 'jouent d'âme.'

Garrick, who was at Paris for a fortnight in the autumn of 1763, and then, after his return from Italy, for six months from October 1764 to April 1765, and who became on intimate terms with several members of the Comédie-Française, especially with Lekain and Mlle Clairon, was evidently not of Diderot's opinion, for he is reported to have made the following comparison between the two actresses. 'I have never seen a more perfect actress than Mlle Clairon; but when I see Mlle Dumesnil, I do not think of the actress, but only of Agrippine, Athalie, or Sémi-

<sup>1</sup> *Op. cit.* pp. 196-8.

<sup>2</sup> See Grimm, *Corr.* III, p. 89, and for a portrait of Lekain as Genghis-Khan, F. A. Hedgcock, *David Garrick*, p. 259.

<sup>3</sup> *Corr.* IV, p. 298.



ramis<sup>1</sup>. And in a letter written to a Danish friend he pronounces that Mlle Clairon was an excellent actress, but not an actress of genius<sup>2</sup>.

Grimm's view was much the same. Writing after the first representation of Saurin's *Blanche et Guiscard*, at which Garrick was present, he says:

'Belle Clairon, vous avez beaucoup d'esprit; votre jeu est profondément raisonné; mais la passion a-t-elle temps de raisonner? Vous avez ni naturel, ni entrailles.... Belle Clairon, jouissez de votre gloire; vous la méritez à beaucoup d'égards; mais vous perdrez le Théâtre-Français<sup>3</sup>. Similarly after her appearance in *Tancrède* he says, 'Elle a beaucoup d'esprit, une finesse, un art infini; mais j'aperçois toujours l'art et jamais la nature<sup>4</sup>.'

Mlle Clairon frequently played with Lekain, who made his *début* at the Comédie-Française in 1750 as Titus in Voltaire's *Brutus*<sup>5</sup>. Nature had not been over kind to him: he was very ugly, with a thin face and hollow cheeks; he was only 5 ft. 3 ins. in height; and his voice, though strong, was harsh and lacking in resonance. But he had certain gifts—grace of gesture, a grave and majestic walk, perfect aplomb<sup>6</sup>—and study, perseverance, and genius did the rest. Hostile critics said that he only excelled in Voltaire's tragedies because Voltaire had written parts to suit him; but the great comic actor Prévile declares that he was not less admirable in the rôles of Cinna, Antiochus (*Rodogune*), Oreste (*Andromaque*), and Rhadamisthe. Perhaps his greatest part was Néron in *Britannicus*. He was a well-educated man and his taste was formed on a profound knowledge of the dramatic masterpieces of his country<sup>7</sup>. In private life he was as much beloved and esteemed as he was admired and applauded in the theatre, for he was a sure friend, charitable and generous—he supported ten unfortunate families—and, unlike so many of his comrades, unassuming and modest. He became warm friends with Garrick and kept up a correspondence with him<sup>8</sup>, but we do not know what Garrick thought of his acting. A correspondent, indeed, of Garrick's, writing in 1774—a Mrs Pye—says that she could never discover Lekain's merits, and that what the French call the

<sup>1</sup> *Mémoires*, 2 vols., 1826, I, pp. 218-9.

<sup>2</sup> Hedgcock, pp. 243-5 (*The private correspondence of David Garrick*, 2 vols., 1831-2 [ed. Boaden], I, p. 358).

<sup>3</sup> Grimm, *Corr.* v, p. 398.

<sup>4</sup> *Op. cit.* iv, p. 298.

<sup>5</sup> Henri-Louis Cain called Lekain (1728-78).

<sup>6</sup> Molé in *Bibl. des Mémoires*, vi, pp. 245-58.

<sup>7</sup> Prévile, *ib.*, pp. 184-90. Both Prévile's and Molé's appreciation of Lekain are admirable. So is Grimm's (*Corr.* x, 50-3). Collé in 1750 is very hard on him. In 1780 he added a note in which he says that he was probably mistaken, but that he did not care for his acting (*op. cit.* I, p. 233).

<sup>8</sup> See Hedgcock, *op. cit.*, pp. 246-56. Lekain's *Mémoires* were published by his son in 1801, and were reprinted in 1825, preceded by reflexions by Talma. The recent account of his life and career by J.-J. Olivier (1907) is a sumptuous work with numerous illustrations.

amazing beauty of his declamation, revolts her nature and does not please her judgment<sup>1</sup>; but it does not follow that Garrick agreed with her.

In their task of reforming the French stage in the direction of truth and nature Lekain and Mlle Clairon had a willing and able ally in Brizard<sup>2</sup>, who, after acting for several years in the provinces, made his *début* at the Comédie-Française in 1757, and won the suffrages of every one. Tall and handsome, with a pure and simple diction, he acted naturally, but with warmth and feeling. His white hair, the result of an accident on the Rhône, fitted him for imposing parts, such as kings and nobles. He played chiefly in tragedy but he created the rôles of Henri IV in Collé's *La Partie de Chasse* and of Vanderk in Sedaine's *Le philosophe sans le savoir*. He was noted for the regularity of his private life, and when he retired in 1766 he carried with him the esteem of everyone.

The next recruit of the Comédie-Française, Molé<sup>3</sup>, who joined the society in 1760, after an unsuccessful *début* seven years earlier, was a complete contrast to Brizard. He had an agreeable countenance, a graceful figure, and a fine voice. But he was as conceited and arrogant as Quinault-Dufresné and he ranted prodigiously. According to Collé he 'bellowed' the part of Hamlet in Ducis's arrangement of Shakespeare and he made Diderot's *Père de famille* (1761) a quasi-success by the violence of his acting<sup>4</sup>. It was owing to his insistence that *Le Fils naturel* was produced ten years later, and damned at the first performance<sup>5</sup>. Another part into which he introduced an exaggerated energy was that of Alceste. In spite of his declamatory style—perhaps, by reason of it—he was a great favourite with the public.

The year before Molé's *début* a very important change had been made at the Comédie-Française. The Comte de Lauraguais had given the company 60,000 francs to abolish the seats on the stage, and this was done during the Easter holidays. Voltaire was enchanted, and on the very day, April 22, on which the work was completed, he began writing a new tragedy, 'd'un goût nouveau, pleine de fracas, d'action, de spectacle<sup>6</sup>,' inspired by the vision of an unencumbered stage. The first draft was completed on May 18, but *Tancrède*, as the new tragedy was

<sup>1</sup> Hedgecock, *op. cit.*, pp. 257 f.; Boaden i, pp. 617-18. Mr Hedgecock prints a similar but evidently prejudiced opinion by Mrs Montagu, the 'blue stocking.'

<sup>2</sup> Jean-Baptiste Britard, called Brizeux (1721-91). See Bachaumont, *op. cit.*, p. 220.

<sup>3</sup> François-René Molé (1734-1802).

<sup>4</sup> *Mémoires*, III, p. 238. M. Lyonnet is too favourable to him.

<sup>5</sup> *Op. cit.* III, p. 325.

<sup>6</sup> Voltaire to Mme Denis, May 5, 1759.

called, was not produced till September 3, 1760. It was a brilliant success; Mlle Clairon as Aménaïde and Lekain as Tancrède surpassed themselves; all Paris applauded and wept<sup>1</sup>. Yet, though the two chief characters excite our sympathy, they are little better than puppets; they have little or no character. Nor did Voltaire take full advantage of the clearance of the stage. The play is neither one thing nor the other; it lacks the psychology of a classical tragedy and the visible action of a romantic drama. Mlle Clairon, true to her newly-found realism, wanted to have a scaffold on the stage; but Voltaire, with his usual timid conservatism, would not consent to this violation of classical convention<sup>2</sup>.

Twenty years later (1780) the representation of the burning funeral-pile on the stage made Lemierre's *La Veuve du Malabar*, which had failed in 1770, a brilliant success, and in 1786 equal applause greeted the scene of the apple in the same writer's *Guillaume Tell*.

*Tancrède* was Voltaire's last triumph in the field of tragedy. Younger rivals were threatening his preeminence. In 1757 the *Iphigénie en Tauride* of Guimond de La Touche, with Lekain as Oreste and Mlle Clairon as Électre, had obtained an extraordinary success in spite of its feeble and declamatory style<sup>3</sup>. In 1760, *Spartacus*, with a hero who is a philosopher and a philanthropist, was equally successful, at least at its second representation, and opened to its author, Saurin, the doors of the Académie Française<sup>4</sup>. In 1763 the same dramatist produced in *Blanche et Guiscard*, a free translation from Thomson's *Tancred and Sigismunda*, an experiment in the direction of domestic tragedy<sup>5</sup>; the principal parts were played by Mlle Clairon, Lekain, and Brizard. In the same year a new writer, La Harpe, made his *début* with *Warwick*, which ran for fifteen performances, but the success of which he only once repeated<sup>6</sup>. Then on February 15, 1765 Du Belloy's national play of *Le Siège du Calais* was received with transports of admiration, and ran till the Easter holidays with hardly an interruption. Collé writes in his journal that with the exception of *Inès de Castro* he had never seen anything like so successful a play<sup>7</sup>. It was announced for the first day (April 15)

<sup>1</sup> For an analysis and criticism see Grimm, *Corr.* iv, pp. 281-8, 292-9. Grimm was less satisfied with Mlle Clairon's acting than with Lekain's.

<sup>2</sup> 'Cela n'est bon qu'à la Grève, ou sur le théâtre anglais' (Voltaire to Lekain).

<sup>3</sup> See Collé, *op. cit.*, ii, pp. 96-105.

<sup>4</sup> For a detailed analysis and criticism of the play see Grimm, *Corr.* iv, pp. 188-96.

<sup>5</sup> Grimm calls it 'une pièce froide et ennuyeuse' and adds that Saurin 'has neither force, nor truth, nor feeling, nor logic, nor pathos.' He also tells us that Garrick, on his way to Italy, was present at the first representation (*Corr.* v, pp. 396-9).

<sup>6</sup> See Grimm, *Corr.* v, pp. 403 ff.; Collé, *op. cit.*, ii, pp. 320 ff.

<sup>7</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 15. Grimm's judgment is unfavourable, *Corr.* vi, pp. 201-3; 241-7. Bachaumont writing just after Du Belloy's death in 1775 prophetically says that the play's reputation will not be ratified by posterity (*Mémoires*, p. 392).



after the reopening of the theatre, but, as a protest against the refusal of a certain actor named Dubois to pay his doctor, Lekain, Molé, Brizard, and Mlle Clairon all declined to act with him, and were in consequence imprisoned in the Fort l'Évêque for twenty-four days. Mlle Clairon, however, was released at the end of five days on the plea of illness<sup>1</sup>. At the end of the year she retired from the stage. Mlle Gaussin had preceded her in 1763<sup>2</sup>, but for the last four years of her career she had ceased to act in tragedy.

The view that the reforms of Mlle Clairon and Lekain were only relative finds confirmation in the history of Jean Rival called Aufresne, a Swiss by birth, who made his *début* just after the closing of the Dubois incident, and was admitted as a *sociétaire* a month later. An enthusiastic partisan of natural and simple diction, he tried to introduce it into the Comédie-Française, but he met with so much opposition that he retired five months after his admission, and later made a reputation in various European capitals and finally in St Petersburg, where he died in 1804.

It was not till 1772 that a possible successor to Mlle Clairon was found. This was Mlle Raucourt, who at the age of sixteen made her *début* on December 23 in the title-rôle of Le Franc de Pompignan's *Didon*<sup>3</sup>. She produced an immense sensation. 'Nothing like it,' says Bachaumont, 'has been seen in the memory of living man....She is very beautiful, with a noble figure, the most enchanting voice, and a prodigious intelligence; she did not make a single false intonation, or a single false gesture.' After *Didon* she played *Émile* and *Idamé* (*L'Orphelin de la Chine*) and a month after her first appearance Bachaumont refers to the great difficulty in obtaining a place in the theatre when she was acting<sup>4</sup>. She was a pupil of Brizard, a fact which the public acknowledged by always including him in their plaudits. Unfortunately her later career did not bear out the promise of her *début*. Her chief asset was her majestic appearance, which made her look older than she was. Her diction was good, but her voice (in spite of Bachaumont) was hard and she lacked feeling. Thus it was only in rôles like *Rodogune* and *Athalie* and *Sémiramis* that she really excelled. In 1776, owing to the scandals of her private life, she suddenly disappeared, and was struck off the rôle of *sociétaires*, but three years later she was re-admitted.

<sup>1</sup> Collé, *op. cit.*, III, pp. 24-32; Clairon, *Mémoires*, pp. 34-7. See also letters from Mlle Clairon, Mme Riccoboni, Molé and Préville to Garrick (Boaden I, pp. 432-5; 440f.).

<sup>2</sup> She died in 1767, partly from the effects of ill-treatment by a worthless husband, a dancer at the opera, whom she had married in 1759.

<sup>3</sup> Françoise Saucerotte, called Raucourt, was born at Paris on March 3, 1756 and died in 1815 (Lyonnet).

<sup>4</sup> *Mémoires*, pp. 272-3. See also Grimm, *Corr.* x, pp. 138-43.

Her later career does not concern us, for I do not propose to carry this sketch beyond the year 1778. On January 24 of that year, Lekain, after appearing in the part of Vendôme in Voltaire's *Adélaïde Du Guesclin*, was taken suddenly ill. At each ensuing performance the *parterre* called for news of their idol, and on February 8 the 'orator' uttered the three words, 'Il est mort.' Two days later Voltaire arrived at Paris after an absence of twenty-eight years, and almost the first news that his old friend D'Argental gave him was the death of his 'cher Roscius.' It affected him deeply, for he loved Lekain and regarded him as, in a sense, his pupil. Less than three months later, on May 30, the master followed the pupil.

French tragedy had been steadily declining for many years—ever since *Mérope* (1743). Now and again there had appeared on the horizon a new writer, as for instance Marmontel and La Harpe, who seemed to promise future excellence, but the promise had been belied. There had also been some phenomenal successes, such as La Touche's *Iphigénie en Tauride*, Saurin's *Spartacus*, and Du Belloy's *Le Siège de Calais*, but the success was not repeated. Writing in February 1778, Grimm is very despondent; 'Tous les ressorts de notre système dramatique semblent usés; après deux ou trois mille pièces jetées pour ainsi dire dans le même moule, comment ne le seraient-ils pas<sup>1</sup>?'

On the whole, during the hundred years that the Comédie-Française had existed the declamatory style had greatly prevailed. When Baron retired in 1691 there was no one of note left to represent the natural style. Mlle Champmeslé, herself more or less declamatory in her methods, was succeeded by Mlle Duclos who carried these methods to excess, and Baron's place was taken by Beaubourg and Quinault-Dufresne. For twenty-six years (1691–1717) declamation reigned unchecked. Then came Adrienne Lecouvreur, and she with her master Baron, who returned to the stage three years later, restored the balance in favour of nature. When Mlle Lecouvreur died in 1730—Baron had died a few months previously—it was left to Sarrazin, Grandval, and Mlle Gaussin to carry on the contest, but none of the three could rival Quinault-Dufresne in rôles which demanded vigour and passion. Quinault-Dufresne retired in 1741, and two years later began the rivalry of Mlle Dumesnil, who had made her *début* in 1737, and Mlle Clairon. Mlle Dumesnil may be fairly regarded as a representative of the natural style, but from instinct rather than from reflection. Mlle Clairon for the first twelve years of her career was frankly declamatory, and even when she deliberately

<sup>1</sup> *Corr.* XII, p. 49.

changed her style she does not appear to have done so with anything like thoroughness. The evidence as to Lekain is somewhat contradictory, but probably we may believe Grimm when he says that Lekain was not so natural as Baron, and that he could 'faire sentir tout le charme des beaux vers,' without being untrue to nature<sup>1</sup>. The story of Aufresne, however, seems to show that even Lekain's diction was not entirely natural and simple.

No doubt the tragedies of the eighteenth century, and even to some extent Corneille's, tended to encourage a declamatory style, and we have seen that this was the style which Voltaire encouraged in the interpreters of his parts. He was only converted after Mlle Clairon's rendering of *Électre* at Ferney, and Mlle Clairon was only herself half converted. It was left to Talma, who made his *début* in 1787, to introduce a real revolution in the methods of the Comédie-Française.

ARTHUR TILLEY.

CAMBRIDGE.

<sup>1</sup> *Corr.* x, p. 50.



## GEOFFREY OF MONMOUTH AND SPANISH LITERATURE

### I

ELINOR OF AQUITAINE, daughter of Henry II, when she married Alfonso VIII of Castile in the year 1170, brought Spain within the inner circle of European diplomacy. Henry managed to maintain the peace on his southernmost frontier, and so did Richard, but the matrimonial connection itself became a cause of strife when Alfonso championed the Aquitanian rights of his wife against the usurping John. He reduced all the country except Bordeaux and Bayonne, and had the enterprise succeeded the Hundred Years' War would have been fought, not between England and France, but between France and Spain, and the question of the Latin hegemony debated not in the sixteenth century but in the fourteenth. But Alfonso was summoned away to face and conquer the Moorish peril at the great battle of Las Navas de Tolosa (1212), and was never again at liberty to raise the Aquitanian question, which was at last amicably concluded by Edward I's Spanish marriage in 1254. Queen Elinor was, however, also a great literary accession to Spain. From her mother, and along with her brother Cœur de Lion, she had inherited the traditional patronage of Provençal letters, and she presided with her husband, who continued the cultural efforts of Alfonsos VI and VII, at literary meetings.

E cant la cort complida fo  
Venc la reyn' Elionors  
Et anc negús no vi son cors.  
Estrecha venc en un mantel  
D'un drap de seda bon e bel  
Que hom apela sisclató,  
Vermelhs ab lista d'argen fo  
E y hac un levon d'aur devis.  
Al rey soplega, pueis s'assis  
Ad una part, lonhet de lui<sup>1</sup>,

sings Ramón Vidal de Bezaudú. From her father, on the other hand, Elinor inherited the Arthurian legend—fashioned 'per amor del Rey Anrich'—and we find that an allusion to King Arthur is welcome and understood at the Castilian Court in 1211. Of D. Fernando it is said,

Qu'en lui era tot lo pretz restauratz  
Del rey Artús qu'om sol dir e retraire,  
On trobavan cosselh tug besonhós<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Milá y Fontanals, *De los trovadores*, Obras, II, p. 133 n.

<sup>2</sup> *Op. cit.* p. 123.

It is uncertain how much of the Arthurian legend Elinor had packed in her trousseau, though the contemporary allusions by Catalan poets would suggest a large range of romances: but the *Anales Toledanos* make it clear that Geoffrey of Monmouth's History afforded means of commenting on the allusions of the Troubadours. The citations of these latter could hardly have been sufficient in themselves to spread knowledge of the Arthurian Cycle in Spain, though doubtless influencing certain social circles: for allusive poetry requires that the matter of the allusion can be checked by reference to other sources, and these would doubtless be the romances of the *langue d'oïl*. At that time, however, the court absorbed the stock of Arthurian knowledge, without its reaching the monks of the 'mester de clerecía,' and still less the epic poets of Burgos.

Other political events which may have influenced or effected the introduction of the 'matière de Bretagne' were the elevation of Affonso de Bolonha to the Portuguese throne in 1248—a date which is supported by the authority of D. Carolina Michaelis de Vasconcellos (*Rev. Lus.*, vi, p. 27); the visit of Prince Edward to Burgos (and Compostella ?<sup>1</sup>) in 1254, where he received from Alfonso the Wise a knighthood and a wife; the return visit of courtesy paid by D. Sancho to the Prince in London during the following year; and the imperial connection with the Hohenstaufens which Alfonso X owed to his mother, Beatrix of Swabia. In this last connection one may remark that with him Geoffrey is found united with, and somewhat subordinate to, the imperialist Godfrey of Viterbo, and that the manuscripts of Abbot Joachim's *Prophecies of Merlin* and Gervase of Tilbury's *Otia Imperialia* (both in the Bibl. Nac.) indicate the same provenience. But whatever influences may be adduced for the Arthurian legend, it seems desirable—at least in the present stage of our knowledge of Mediaeval Spain and Portugal—to lay no stress on the supposed racial predilection of the Portuguese people for this type of literature. The bulk of surviving Arthurian work is Castilian, and the analysis of the texts is neither complete nor clearly favourable to the assumption; neither *saudade* nor the Celtic strain nor the Sebastianism nor the superior gullibility of the Portuguese should be urged, without surer proofs, in favour of this type of theory; nor were the Castilians rendered immune from Arthurian morals by the *prisca virtus* of their Burgalese epics. Spain, at least outside Bardulia, was as ready as Portugal to receive the Breton cycle as soon as the rich Andalusian conquests had created a sufficiently numerous class of gentry with interests no longer

<sup>1</sup> Conjecture of Lopes Ferreira, *Hist. de la santa Iglesia de Santiago*, t. v, pp. 76 and 105.

heroic but cultural, and as soon as a prose style had been evolved that was sufficiently pliable to cope with imaginative narration. These are the developments which fill the silent half century between the battle of Las Navas and the historical works of Alfonso the Wise.

## II

The first Spanish citation of Geoffrey's History occurs in *Anales Toledanos Primeros* (*Esp. Sag.*, XXIII), which attain the year 1219 and are the work of a contemporary of Alfonso VIII and Elinor. This reference is the well-known: 'Lidio el rey Citus con Mordret en Camlenc. Era MLXXX.' Era M.lxxx = M.xxxxij p. Chr. n., in which the M is a misreading of majuscule D (O)—such a D is given in Muñoz Rivero's *Paleografía, siglos XII al XVII*, p. 47—and the result is D.xxxxij<sup>1</sup>, the 'anno ab incarnatione dominica quingentesimo quadragesimo secundo' of G.M. XI, ii. D. Pedro (quoted *infra*) calculates the era correctly: 'Esta batalha foy na era de quinhentos e oytenta annos'; though it would be too much to infer that both he and the *Anales Toledanos* were referring to a text in which the date was written according to the Julian era. 'Citus' for 'Artus' is also an obvious palaeographical equivocation (CITUS for ARTUS).

## III

Amador de los Ríos noted that Alfonso the Wise was acquainted with certain fictions that originated in Geoffrey of Monmouth; but the ambiguity of his 'se extractan'<sup>2</sup> seems to have induced the impression that Alfonso was actually making extracts, and might, as so often, be retailing his information at second hand. For Alfonso does not mention the author's name (G.M. I, i, VII, ii, XI, i), nor those of his friends (XI, xx and *loc. cit.*), but only Gildas (II, xvii); on the other hand, the name 'maestre godofre' refers to Godfrey of Viterbo. The fact is, however, that Alfonso's translators produced a continuous version or clinging paraphrase of G.M. I, iii—III, viii. Omitting the dedication to Robert of Gloucester (I, i) and the *Laus Britanniae* (I, ii), and starting with the separation of Brutus from the other Aeneadæ (I, iii), they follow Geoffrey's narrative until it re-enters the History of Rome with the Gallic Invasion of 390 B.C. But

<sup>1</sup> D.xxxxvij for D.xxxxij is the error of *Annales Cambriae*: '537. Gueith Camlann in qua Arthur et Medraut corruerunt.' Wace: 'Sis cens et quarante deus ans.'

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. Crit. de la Lit. Esp.* v, p. 29: 'En la Grande et General Estoria se extractan de la referida crónica de Monmouth, a que da el rey el título de Estoria de las Bretañas, todas las proezas atribuidas al hijo de Silvio, no olvidadas tampoco las historias de Corineo y Locrino, de doña Guendolonea y Mandan, Porex y Flerex, Belmo y Brenio, etc. (IIª Parte, fól. 323, IIIª, fól. 98, IVª, fól. 112 de los códices Y. j. 7, 9 y 11 de la Bibl. del Escor.)'



when Brennus and the Allobroges are about to invade Italy (G.M. III, viii), Alfonso prefers to follow the imperial historian, Godfrey of Viterbo (*Pantheon*, xv, xxvi): 'Senones Galli et Suevi intrant Ytaliā,' and, though still once referring to Geoffrey's narrative, he ignores his testimony and relates the vulgate legends of the Capitoline goose and the defeat of the Gauls.

The edition of the History which Alfonso used, and to which he always refers as the *Estoria de las Bretannas*, was that to which we are accustomed. It was, however, numbered somewhat differently: Alfonso cites G.M. III, x as the fifty-fifth chapter of the first book—in Geoffrey it is the forty-fifth from the beginning ( $18 + 17 + 10 = 45$ ). At G.M. I, xi blanks occur, left probably for the rubricator, for 'los viessos de latī,' but paraphrases are given 'en el lenguaje de castiella': the omission of the Dedication and the *Laus Angliæ* has already been noted. This translation is by no means without interest for the history of Spanish prose style. Conscious of the youth and inexperience of their language, the Alfonsine translators do not attempt to follow the Welshman into Vergilian tropes and abstract expressions. 'Cleaving the level fields of the sea with a fair wind' becomes 'e ell yendo por la mar e auiendo muy bien tiempo,' and 'having thus drawn the affection of every man unto himself, he deliberated inwardly in what manner he might take his revenge upon his brother Belinus, and when he announced his plans unto the people that were his lieges...' gives concretely 'despues desto llamo Brennio de sos amigos a aquellos que el mas amaua e en que mas fiaua. E ouo so conseio con ellos en qual manera podrie fazer por que pudiesse vengar de so hermano Belinno.' The need for recapitulation, caused by the wide spacing of the excerpts, is sufficient to make a momentary confusion in the style. This is generally direct, adequate and surprisingly uniform, though not stamped with personality. In the architecture of the *General Estoria* that of Britain complements the central narrative of profane history, which in turn runs parallel to the translation of the Bible. From the first to the third transitions are made easy by Geoffrey's own biblical allusions (Eli, I, xviii, David, II, vii, Solomon, II, ix, Isaiah and Hosea, II, xv): at each of these places the royal Editor-in-Chief functioned like a pair of scissors. He did not embarrass himself by critically examining conflicting accounts, but followed literally the author which in any given case he has preferred. As the *Quinta Parte* contains only the biblical section, it is impossible to say how Alfonso would have treated King Arthur, or whether he would have been influenced by the chronology of the *Anales Toledanos*: in the *Primera Crónica General* he happens to be translating

a different set of authorities, and so ignores Arthur, does not consult Geoffrey for Gratian Municeps or Constantine or Helena, and reversed the tradition which connects Iberians and Ivernians. Geoffrey's Barclenses settle in Ireland (III, xii): Alfonso's Almujuces come from Ireland to Spain<sup>1</sup>.

## IV

Titulo II of the *Nobiliario* of the Conde D. Pedro de Barcellos is headed: 'Dos Reys de Troya e como vem do linhagem de Dardano que povoou primeyro a Troya Dos Reys de Roma e de Iulio Cesar Augusto e de Bruto que povoou a Bretanha e de Constantin de Roma e del Rey Artur etc.'; to which the editor of 1640, Estevam Paolino, adds: 'Dexouse tambem este Titulo pella mesma razão que o precedente,' i.e., 'por não necessario ao intento com que se ordenou este Livro.' Herculano has edited the chapter from the MS. of the Torre do Tombo (late fifteenth or sixteenth century), and it contains a very brief summary of the History of Geoffrey of Monmouth. As the purpose of the author is genealogy, he omits Book VII (the Prophecies) together with all the personal history of Merlin, all the dedications, the name of the original author and the title of his work, the *Laus Angliæ* (I, ii) and *Mirabilia Britannicæ* (IX, vii). Merlin is named, however, when dealing with G.M. VIII, xix: 'E elrrey foy çercar com toda sa oste e emuiou por Merlim e veo a elle por seu comsselho.' The narrative closes, as in Wace, with the return of Ivor and Ini (G.M. XII, xix), where D. Pedro concludes: 'Atáaqui vem directamente o linhagem dos rreys da Troya e de Dardanus. Dardanus que pobrou primeiro e rrey Priamo e seus filhos. E Brutus pobrou Bretanha, e Vterpamdragom e rrey Artur de Bretanha. Costantim que foy primeiro que rrey Artur de grandes tempos, e de Cadualech atáa Cauadres. Aqui

<sup>1</sup> G.M. I, iii-III, viii=General Estoria MS. (For facilities in making this collation I am indebted to Sr. Solalinde, of the Centro de Estudios, the genial editor of the *General Estoria*, who placed his collection of photographs of the MSS. at my disposal for the purpose. For the paragraph on Ferrex and Porrex I rely on Ríos, v, 29, quoted above.)

*Primera Parte* (Genesis to Deuteronomy, MS. Bibl. Nac. 816, 1280).

*Segunda Parte* (Joshua to Jephtha (fol. 205), Jupiter to Dido (fol. 205), MS. Esc. Y, i, 1, 1405). Fols. 129 v.-137 v.=G.M. I, iii-xvii. Commences: 'Cuenta la estoria de las bretañas a que dizen agora ynglaterra como el rrey ascanio poblo la cibdat de alba...' The Segunda Parte should continue to the Siege of Troy and King David.

*Tercera Parte* (Solomon to Zedekiah, Odyssey to Early Rome, MS. Bibl. Nac. 7563, fourteenth century, paper, 306 fols.). Fols. 123 r.-125 v.=G.M. I, xvii-II, viii, fol. 184 v.=G.M. II, ix (Brut Verdescut and Leil), fol. 195 r.=G.M. II, ix (Hudibras), fols. 233 r.-256 v.=G.M. II, x-xv. MS. Esc. Y, i, 9, fol. 98=G.M. II, xvi (Ferrex and Porrex).

*Cuarta Parte* (Daniel to Sirac, Nebuchadnezzar to Ptolemy Philopator: MS. Vatican, vellum, 1280 A.D.). Fols. 162-165=G.M. II, xvii-III, viii. Fol. 165: 'Cuenta maestre godofre en el xxvi capitulo de la quinquena parte del libro Panteon...' Fol. 171: 'Cuenta la estoria de las bretañas en el IV capitulo del primer libro que brennio...' (G.M. III, x).

*Quinta Parte* (New Testament history only, MS. Escorial).



fim este linhagem dos rreys de Bretanha, daqui adeante foy a terra em poder doutros rreys que forom senhores de Bretanha a que nós chamamos Imgraterra<sup>1</sup>. As an indication of the light but secure literary touch of the author, one might cite his account of King Lear, the only episode of the History on which he allows himself space :

(p. 238) De rrey Leir filho de rrey Baldue o voador, e de suas filhas e do que lhes aqueço.

Quando foi morto rrey Baldue o voador reynou seu filho que ouue nome Leyr. E este rrey Leyr nom ouue filho, mas ouue tres filhas muy fermosas e amauaas muito. E hum dia ouue sas rrazões com ellas e disselhes que lhe dissessem verdad quall della o amaua mais. Disse a mayor que nom auia cousa no mundo que tanto amasse como elle, e disse a outra que o amaua tanto como ssy meesma, e disse a terceira, que era a meor, que o amaua tanto como deue d'amar filha a padre. E elle quislhe mall porem, e por esto nom lhe quis dar parte no rreyno. E casou a filha mayor com o duque de Cornoalha, e casou a outra com rrey de Tostia, e nom curou da meor. Mas ella por sa ventuira casousse melhor que nenhuma das outras, ca se pagou della elrrey de Framça e filhoua por molher. E depois seu padre della em sa velhiçe filharomlhe seus gemrros a terra e foy mallamdamte, e ouue a tornar aa mercee delrrey de Framça e de sa filha a meor a que nom quis dar parte do rreyno. E elles receberomno muy bem e deromlhe todas as cousas que lhe forom mester e homrraromno mentre foy uiuo, e morreo em seu poder. E depois se combateo elrrey de Framça com ambos os cunhados de sua molher, e tolheolhes a terra. Morreo elrrey de Framça e nom leixou filho uiuo. E os outros dous a que tolhera a terra ouuerom senhos filhos e apoderaromnsse da terra toda, e premderam aa tya, molher que fora delrrei de Framça e meteromna em hum carçer, e alli a fizeram morrer.

The *Nobiliario* was written by various hands at various dates extending from the death of Philippe III in 1285 to that of Pedro el Cruel. But as the Titulo belongs to the plan of the work, and as this was substantially completed within the reign of D. Diniz, we can confidently regard 1325 as the latest date for this epitome. D. Pedro was not dependent here on the *Grande et General Éstoria*, though he uses it elsewhere, and consequently does not pervert the account of Brennus and Belinus' Italian campaign. Compared with his great-grandfather, he shows a marked tendency to omit Latin endings and to give romance spellings<sup>2</sup>. Romance influence is suggested especially by such forms as

<sup>1</sup> Ed. A. Herculano, *Port. Mon. Hist.-Scriptores*, I, p. 245.

<sup>2</sup> WACE

D. PEDRO

ALFONSO

Aschanius

Ascanus

Ascanio

Brutus

Brutus

Bruto

Silvius

Filinus

Silvio

Corinéus

Torineus

Corineo

Loerin

Socrim

Locrino

Humbert

Imbereth

Humbro

Ebrac

Ebrat

Ebrauco

Rubundibras

Juliam d'Euras

Rrud Hudbras

Margan

Margat

(C) Marganio

Cunedages

Gouedagos

Cunedigan

Rival

Rinal, Reynall

Riuallio

Donvalo (2323)

Dom Valo

Dunuallio

Brenne

Brene

Brenno, Brennio

Bélin

Belim

(V) Belinno



Ars, Gormon, Brene, Belim, Juliam d'Euras (Hors, Guermon, Brenne, Belin). Scriptural reminiscence has resolved Goëmagot into Gog e Magot. Palaeographical decay is another conspicuous feature of the nomina propria, and in some cases the error is provably as old as the Titulo. Thus, as the form Imbereth has destroyed the connection of Humbert and the River Humber (Hombre), the author resorts to popular etymology: 'E por aquella homem qui hi morreo ouue nome Agua-homem.' Similarly, the forms Dom Valo and Juliam d'Euras doubtless are other instances of popular etymology; and the gap left between Torineus and Cornoalha is glossed over—'ne sai par quel controvaile!'—in this manner: 'E deu a huuma parte da terra a Torineus, e ouue nome depois Corinus, Corinea, e depois foi corumpido o nome e ouue nome Cornualha.' The alternation of b and u for [b] is native to the Iberian languages; that of m for n is peculiar to Portuguese. The principal palaeographical confusions are of j, i, n, m, u, v (singly or in combinations); t (τ), c, e; l, I, f, f, together with li, h, and hu, Im; perhaps G, C (Gouedagos for Cunedages), and less probably r (r) with I. The series I, l, f, f, h probably all had looped heads. Most of D. Pedro's errors can be explained by these blunders: *filinus*, *focrim*, *corineus*, *Ieyr* (for *leil*), *elotet* (for *cloten*), *Lucius liber* (for *hiber*), *rinal*, etc. *Imbereth* covers *Humbert* (*hūbert*) with an epenthetic e and otiose h. *Juliam d'Euras* covers *Ruhundibras* (*puhūdibras*—*puhū|d|īuras*). The alteration of h to li, and b to u has already been mentioned; *ū* was resolved into am; the whole word was redistributed on a French knightly model, and J would be supplied as the correct initial for -uliam, even if the long r (r) did not give occasion for a palaeographical confusion with I. *Rrey de Tostia* (Wace: *rois d'Escoce*: 1886) adds haplography to the usual confusion of c, t (*rreyde(es)coscia*).

The two dates, on the other hand, stand closer to Geoffrey than Wace does. The battle of Camlan is correctly calculated in Julian eras, as already mentioned, where Wace is in error. That of the death of Cadwallader reads: 'ante as calendas mayas, e esto foy em abril. Esto foy a cabo de setecentos annos meos hum dia da encarnaçam de Jesu Christo.' 'Dia' is a blunder and should be omitted, leaving 'anno' understood: the calculation is thus 700 - 1 = 699, reading D.c.lxxxxix for D.c.lxxxxix in G.M. XII, xviii. Wace also translates Kalends into months of our reckoning—'Al disetisme jor d'avril,'—but gives the year erroneously as

Sis cens ans puis que Jhesu Crist  
En sainte Marie car prist.

The text of the epitome is too brief to be pressed for evidence as to whether any version lay between D. Pedro and Geoffrey's Latin text, and

as the dates contradict the impression left by the decay of the Proper Names, it is best to allow that he is making a direct use of the Latin rather than to indulge in a risky hypothesis.

## V

The three paragraphs of the *Nobiliario* which refer to King Arthur are of great interest. They read:

De rrey Artur filho de Vterpamdragom e das côrtes que fez, e aquegeço aa rrainha sua molher com seu sobrinho Mordrech a que leixou a terra passando em Bretanha.

Morreo Vterpamdragom e rreynou seu filho rrey Artur de Bretanha, e foy boo rrey e leal e conquereo todolos seus emmiigos, e passou por muytas auentuyras e fez muitas bomdades que todollos tempos do mundo fallarom dello. Este rrey Artur fez um dia em Chegerliom sa cidade côrtes. E estas côrtes foram muy boas e mui altas. A estas côrtes veerom doze caualleiros messegeiros que lhe emuiava Lucius Liber que era emperador de Roma que se fizesse seu vassalho rrey Artur, e que teuesse aquella terra de sua mão. E se este nom fizesse que lhe mandaria tolher a terra per força e que faria justiça de seu corpo. Quando esto ouiuo rrey Artur foy muito irado e mandou chamar toda sa gente que armas podiam leuar. E quando foy a Sam Miguel em monte Gargano combateosse com o gigante que era argulhoso e vençeo e matouo. Lucius Liber quando soube que rrey Artur hia sobrelle chamou sa oste e toda sa gente e sayolhe ao caminho. E lidiarom ambos e vençeo elrrey Artur, e foy arrancado ho emperador. E elrrey Artur quando moueo de Bretanha por hir a esta guerra leixou a ssa terra a hum seo sobrinho que avia nome Mordrech.

## De Mordrech sobrinho delrrey Artur.

Este Mordrech que auia a terra em guarda de rrey Artur e a molher, quando elrrey foy fóra da terra alçousse com ella e quislhe fazer com a molher. E elrrey quando o soube tornou-se com sa oste e veo sobre Mordrech. E Mordrech quando o soube filhou toda sa companhia e sayo a elle aa batalha. E elles tiñham as aazes paradas pera lidar no monte de Camblet, e acordou-se Mordrech qui avia feito grande traíçom e se emtrasse na batalha que seria vencido. E emuiou a elrrey que saysse a departe e falaria com elle, e elrrey assy o fez. E ellas que estauam assy em esta falla sayo huuma gram serpente do freo a elrrey Artur, e quando a vyo meteo mão á espada e começou a emcalçalla e Mordrech outrossi. E as gentes que estauam longe viram que hia hum após ho outro, e foromsse a ferir huumas aazes com as outras e foy grande a batalha, e morreo Galuam o filho de rrey Artur de huuma espadada que tragia sobresaada, que lhe dera Lamçarote de Lago quando entrara em réto ante a cidade de Ganes. Aqui morreo Mordrech e todollos boos caualleiros de huma parte e da outra. Elrrey Artur teue o campo e foy mall ferido de tres lamçadas e de huuma espadada que lhe deu Mordrech, e fizesse leuar a Islalualom por saar. Daqui adiante nom fallamos del se he viuo se he morto, nem Merlin nom disse del mais, nem eu nom sey ende mais. Os bretões dizem que ainda he vivo. Esta batalha foy na era de quinhentos e oytenta annos.

Da rrainha molher delrrey Artur e dous rrex que depois delrrei Artur ouue em Bretanha e como perdeo o seu nome de Bretanha e poseromlhe nome Ingraterra.

A rrainha sa molher de rrey Artur meteosse monja em huuma abadia e a pouco tempo morreo alli. E no rreyno de Bretanha ouue depois de rrey Artur dous rreys, e huuma parte ouue Loth de Leonis e a outra partida ouue Costantim o filho de Candor o duc de Cornualha. Depois da morte de rrey Loth de Leonis ouue hi outros dous rreys em Bretanha que foram do linhagem de rrey Artur e ouuerom grandes batalhas sobre a terra, e emtanto veo Gormon que conquereo a terra e deitou todollos christãos á perdiçom. E por esto perdeo Bretanha seu nome e poseromlhe nome Inglaterra.



It will be seen that the second paragraph contains virtually the same account of the death of Arthur and of Guenëvere as Malory XXI, and the poem *Le Morte Arthur*, depending on what H. O. Sommer has named the *Suite de Lancelot*. As that work extended from the embassy of Lucius to the coronation of Constantine son of Cador, it was easy to combine it with Geoffrey. D. Pedro probably adheres to the History except in G.M. XI, i and ii, and even here he copies Geoffrey's date, though this may also have been in his other original. There are a number of differences of detail as between Malory and D. Pedro, some of which must be due to the compression or carelessness of the latter. Thus, the battles of Dover and Baramdown are omitted, Gawain's death misplaced, Gawain is the son of Arthur, Arthur does not dream nor send an embassy to Mordred, he himself and not his knights give the fatal signal for the battle, and Lancelot's part is minimised. Mordred, doubtless, had reasons to accede to an interview, which, in the Vulgate, he implores. Arthur dies of three lance thrusts and one sword blow. The reference to the authority of Merlin is omitted in Malory XXI, vi-vii: 'More of the deth of kyng Arthur coude I neuer fynde but that ladyes brought hym to his buryellys ..... Yet somme men say in many partyes of Englund that kyng Arthur is not dead.' But the 'Frensshe book maketh mencyon' of Merlin in this connection, as this had been traditional since Wace 13688-92:

Maistre Gasse qui fist cest livre,  
N'en valt plus dire de sa fin  
Qu'en dist li profètes Merlin.  
Merlins dist d'Artus, si ot droit,  
Que sa fin dotose seroit.

And 'Merlin' means the poem by Geoffrey.

It is not possible to make a sure connection between this summary of the *Suite de Lancelot* and any peninsular *Morte d'Arthur*. The account by Bivas in the *Merlín y Demanda* is closely similar to the Vulgate, and has the additional inconvenience of terminating in King Mark of Cornwall. The other Grail trilogy, that of João Sánchez of Astorga, has survived only in its first part. The Catalan *Queste* (Ambrosian MS. *Lancelot*) is brought to a close with the end of that adventure. The Madrid *Lancelot* contains only a second part: the Catalan *Lancelot* is but one folio. No one has read the *Historia de Lancelot, Leonel y Galvan*, but the name of Leonel disconnects it from a *Morte*. On the other hand, the proper names are in peninsular garb, especially Leonis, Galuam and Lamçarote de Lago<sup>1</sup>; and the brevity of the narrative is the best hint

<sup>1</sup> Contrast 'don Ançaroth' in the rubric of *Canc. Col.-Branc.* lai 5, where D. Pedro may have been referring to a French manuscript.



that it was well known. We are not entitled to exclude the possibility of a Spanish or Portuguese translation of all the *Suite de Lancelot* before 1325.

## VI

During the second half of the fourteenth century and all the fifteenth Geoffrey suffered eclipse. The vast Arthurian literature had silted over his authority, a tendency already observed in D. Pedro, and King Arthur eked out his precarious individuality in the *Triunfo de los nueve preciados de fama* (Lisboa, 1530 etc.), on the festal banners of Pedro IV of Aragón (A.D. 1347 and 1351), and in tableaux (*Tirant lo Blanch*: ch. clxxvi of Aguiló's edition). Merlin's prophecies (book VII) were the most perishable section of his work. With each new reign there was a new Merlin, as Gutierre Díez de Games remarked; and as examples of this type of work can be quoted Rodrigo Yáñez, *Poema de Alfonso Onceno* (coplas 242-6, 1808-41); prophecies inserted in the *Baladro del Sabio Merlin* at the conclusion (and additional to those prophecies which were translated from Boron); *Cancionero de Baena*, No. 199, etc. The most noteworthy of these 'new Merlins' is the attempt by D. Pedro López de Ayala (*Crón. de D. Pedro I*, año vigésimo, cap. iii) to use the wizard as Thucydides uses the Melian dialogue; and if the long commentary by the Moor Benihatin of Granada on the seven meanings of the text:

En las partidas de occidente entre los montes e la mar nascerá una ave negra, comedora e robadora, e tal que todos los panares del mundo quería acoger en sí, e todo el oro del mundo querrá poner en su estomago; e después gormarlo ha, e tornará atrás, e non perescerá luego por esta dolencia. E dice (Merlín) más, caérsele han las alas, e secársele han las plumas al sol, e andará de puerta en puerta, e ninguno la querrá acoger, e encerrarse ha en selva, e morirá y dos veces, una al mundo, e otra ante Dios, e desta guisa acabará.—

if this pains us as an anticlimax to an otherwise powerful and Tacitean narrative, it was probably far from so affecting his contemporaries. Brutus and Geoffrey were longest companions; but Díez de Games prefers to rely on an unidentified French *Brut* for his account of the Marriage of Brutus and Dorothea, the Settlement of Britain, the Gigantic and Saxon Wars, the colonisation of Brittany, and the commencement of English interference in Guyenne.

The Renaissance revived confidence in Latin texts, but consigned many of them to an honourable retirement in libraries or set works of erudition. Juan Luis Vives read Geoffrey, and condemned him: 'fabulosa sunt magis quæ de Britanniae originibus quidam est commentus, a Bruto illos Trojano deducens, qui nullus unquam fuit' (*Op. omn.* vi, p. 398). Brutus and Arthur are found in Rodrigo Cuero's *Historia de*

*Inglaterra llamado Fructo de los Tiempos*, 1509 (Esc. MS. x, ii, 20) by way of Trevisa's version of the *Polychronicon*; and again in the *Chronica ...de todos los reyes que ha avido en ynglaterra y esquozia...hasta nuestros tiempos*, which reaches A.D. 1543 (Madrid Bibl. Nac. Ms. 1455). The former was Catherine of Aragon's textbook of British history and geography, compiled from English sources by one of her personal attendants on the occasion of her marriage; the latter draws on Italian originals, and names not Geoffrey but Gildas<sup>1</sup>. Neither is literature. To the bibliophiles we must owe the *Liber Bruti et prophetæ Merlini* (Bibl. Nac. MS; fourteenth century), whose last English possessor was Thomas Norton, and first Spanish mark Felipe V 1718; and the *Prophetia Anglicana, hoc est Merlini Ambrosii Britanni...a Galfredo Monumetensi latine conscripta, una cum septem libris explanationum...Alani de Insulis germani* (Toledo Cathedral MS; seventeenth century), which belonged to Cardinal Zelada. How feeble was Geoffrey, and indeed the whole Arthurian Cycle, in the living literature of the Siglo de Oro, is known to every reader of *Don Quixote*.

WILLIAM J. ENTWISTLE.

MANCHESTER.

<sup>1</sup> Fol. 29: 'Constantino, en cuyo tiempo floresçio gildas baron sanctissimo que escriuio la historia anglica y fue el mas antiguo escritor.'

## NOTES ON NORTH FRISIAN (SYLT) ETYMOLOGY.

### II<sup>1</sup>.

*kaieri* 'to stroll,' cf. W. Fris. *kuijerje*.

*kees-beeti* 'to gnash the teeth,' cf. for the first constituent W. Fris. *kies-kauje*, Du. *kieskauwen*.

*kink* 'a kink, also a difficulty, scrape (like Engl. metaphorical use of 'coil').' The Sylt phrase *út di kink* 'out of a scrape' gives a clue to the German nautical slang phrase *sich aus den Kinken bergen* 'to show a clean pair of heels.' W. Fris. also has *út 'e kinken* and uses *in kink yn 'e keabel* fig. for a 'hitch'; Du. *wit de kink*.

*kjaarel* 'curds.' The *l*-suffix occurs in a by-form in Engl. *curdle(s)* sb., cf. N.E.D.

*kjamli* 'to chew,' cf. English dialect forms *chamble*, *chimble* and *chibble*.

In a recent volume of verse Robert Graves makes an effective use of the word in 'clashing jaws of moth, *chumbling* holes in cloth.'

*klaamp* 'a stack,' cf. *clamp* in English dialects, also W. Fris. *in klampe turf* and Jut. *klamp*.

*klaier* 'clay-digger,' cf. W. Fris. *klaeiker*.

*klapi* 'to clap the hands' as Engl. and W. Fris. (*yn 'e hannen klappe*).

Cf. also D.Wb. v. col. 960, s.v. *klappen*.

*kle*. The specialization of this by-form of *klau* to the meaning of the 'cloven hoof' is also seen in W. Fris. *klei*.

*klin* 'peat,' cf. W. Fris. *klyn* 'a bog, fen' and *kleaun(e)* 'a lump.' With the second W. Fris. word may be compared the Banff (Sc.) dialect word *cloan* 'a lump of dirt.' Cf. Jut. *klyne*.

*klinki* 'to clench, clinch' does not show assibilation like W. Fris. *klensgje* and may be a loan-word.

*klooter* in *ön klooter* 'in a tangle.' English dialects show *cludder* 'cluster, heap' and *clutter* 'disorder, mess, confusion'; Jut. *kludder* 'a mess.'

*klöowerfjuur* 'four-leaved clover'—like the shamrock, reputed to bring luck. W. Fris. *klaverfjôuwer*, E. Fris. *klaferfêr* and Du. *klavervier*.

*klöt* 'punt pole.' W. Fris. *kloet*, vb. *kloetsje*.

*kluar* in the special sense of 'width of dress material' (German 'Bahn')

<sup>1</sup> Continued from p. 271.



as in W. Fris. *klead*. Cf. also *cloth*, 1, 8 in N.E.D. for a length or 'piece' (quotations 1469—1721), now obsolete.

*knaakendrûch* 'bone-dry.' The N.E.D. has also modern quotations for the English compound. D.Wb. adduces Low Ger. *knakendrög* in the article on *knochendürre*. Cf. further W. Fris. *biendroeck*, synonyms *hoarndroeck* and *koarkdroeck*; Jut. *knastör*, *knagtör*.

*kofigrums* 'grouts of coffee,' cf. W. Fris. *kofjegrom* (in Dongeradeel dialect), Jut. *kaffegrums*.

*könstenmaaker* 'conjurer, clown.' Dijkstra considers W. Fris. *kinstemakker* to be a Hollandism for, like the Englishman in *Fries* 'docht' *kinsten*, *hy maket se net*. Old Du. has *constenare* 'juggler,' W. Flem. *kunstenaar*. Cf. further Jut. *kunstner* and *gøre kunster*.

*kramen* 'crumbs.' *Molk en kramen* as in Engl. *bread and milk*, a food known jocularly in Germany as *Engelssuppe*. W. Fris. has *mólk-enbak*, *mólk en twiebak*.

*krölet* 'curly.' For the phrase *krölet hiir*, *krölet haur* (*haud*), cf. W. Fris. *krol hier*, *krol sin*; Du. *krullend haar*, *krullende zinnen* or *kroes haar*, *kroeze zinne*; Ger. *krauses Haar*, *krauser Sinn* (D.Wb. vol. v, col. 2091, s.v. *kraus*). Verdam quotes s.v. *kroes* from Bartholomeus van Glanville: Van den proprieteten der dinghen (1485) the statement 'Colerici syn...doncker bruun van verwen, swart in den haer ende cruust.' The proverb indicates the confused reactions of the choleric temperament, a fact confirmed by modern observation, cf. Ach, *Willensakt und Temperament*, pp. 320 f.

*kü* 'cow.' For the proverb *di kü wel-t ek weet, dat-s en kualev wesen heer*, cf. W. Fris. 't *Is de kou forgotten, dat se in keal wést het*. Cf. *Wander* II, 1667, s.v. *Kuh* 55.

*kuul sesken* 'issue of a marriage, to which both husband and wife have already brought children from a former marriage'; cf. W. Fris. *kálde omke- of moikesizzers* 'nephews or nieces by marriage; children of a previous marriage of a brother-in-law or sister-in-law' and *in kálde snoar* 'deceased brother's widow.' Cf. further West Jutland *kol bror*, *søstør* 'det sammenbragte børn uden slægtskab,' synonymous with *træbroder*, *træsøster* etc. Du. has *familie van den kouden kant* (i) 'aangetrouwde familie,' (ii) one with which one does not mix.

*kwer-kawi* 'to chew the cud' is erroneously referred by Möller to *twért*, Ger. *quer*. The Föhr equivalent *kwëdkāwi* shows that the first component is rather the Ger. \**kwedū*, *kwedwa-*, cf. Engl. *cud* from O.E. *cwidu* (cf. M.L.G. *queden* 'Bauchfell der Eichhörnchen'). M.L.G. renders 'ruminari' by *eder-*, *ader-*, *årkouwen*.

- laapen* 'in heat (of cattle),' cf. with the suffix *-isk* W. Fris. *loopsk* (of dogs), Westfalian *löpsk*, Ger. *läufisch*, Dan. *løbsk*.
- lam* 'lame.' For the saying *hi is ek sa lam, üs er hinket*, cf. Jut. *han ær it så lam som han leyker te* (Dan. *linke* = to limp).
- lek* 'luck' in *jest lek es katlek*, cf. W. Fris. *de earste winst is kattewinst*, i.e. precarious, apt to slip away; Westfalian *erstgewinn es kattengewinn*; Jut. *førstvinn æ katvinn* and Dan. *den første vinding er kattevinding*.
- læng* 'to get longer, draw out' in the phrase *Wan di daagen bigen to lēngen, bigent di wunter tō strēngen*, cf. Jut. *nē dawēn læyās, wel wenteren stræyās* (Feilberg, III, 1067).
- ler*<sup>1</sup> (*led*) 'lid' in *diar di leest sööp üt di krük haa wel, di slair (slaid) di ler üp nöös*, cf. W. Fris. *dy 't onderste üt 'e kanne ha wol, kriget it lid oer de noas* and Du. *die het onderste uit de kar wil hebben, krijgt het lid op den neus*.
- ler*<sup>2</sup> (*led*) 'limb.' To the Dan. *sætte i led* adduced, add English *to set a limb*.
- lir* (*lid*) 'people.' For *üüs lir* cf. W. Fris. *úslüu, wylüu*, but not in the specialized Sylt sense of the wife's relatives.
- ljungslachster* 'heather cutter,' cf. Jut. *lyngslætter*.
- lō* 'scythe,' also occurs in English dialects in the form *lea*.
- lōt* 'oven-rake,' cf. W. Fris. *loete* (Du. 'ovenpook').
- luaslaap* 'to run loose' (of cattle in period of free pasturage from 29th September till 10th November). The W. Fris. *losloope* and *losrinne* apparently not thus specialized.
- lūngkual* 'cauliflower,' cf. Jut. *langkål*.
- maat* 'mate' in *üs maat* 'quidam,' cf. W. Fris. *ús maet* a euphemism for the devil.
- maldaarig* 'wanton,' cf. W. Fris. verbal substantive *māldwaen*. The Föhr equivalent is *malleg*. W. Fris. also has the adjective *baldadich* 'petulans,' Du. *baldadig*, which in N. Fris. may have been contaminated by *mal* 'mad.'
- manigfual* 'omasum,' cf. further Jut. *mangefold*, Engl. *manypplies*, Engl. dial. *manifolds* (quoted by Baskett, *Parts of the Body in the Later Germanic Dialects*, p. 96) and Swed. dial. *mangfaldu* (quoted by Arnoldson, *Parts of the Body in Older Germanic and Scandinavian*, p. 149). Arnoldson does not adduce the Jutish synonym *mærregröv*.
- mārig* 'sausage,' cf. further W. Fris. *marge* (Du. 'bloodworst') and for *mārighuurn* W. Fris. *march-*, *margehoarntsje*.
- markmansknet* 'a species of knot made in a tether,' cf. Jut. *markmandskast*.

*matari* 'matter, pus,' cf. W. Fris. *matearje*, Westfalian *matirge*. According to N.E.D. the first occurrence in English (in the expression *corrupt matter* like Lat. *materia peccans*) is in 1400. Dan. has *materie*. *mērelk* 'eye (of a hook)' in *haaken en mērelken*, cf. O. Engl. *mærels* 'a cord.' In contradistinction to this W. Fris. has *heakke en eagen* like the Engl. and Old Du. *haken ende ogen*.

*mes* used attributively in *di mes ech* 'the wrong side, i.e. inside,' cf. W. Fris. use of *mis* in *it misse paed*.

*miil*<sup>2</sup> 'amount of milk from one milking,' cf. W. Fris. in *miel mólke*, *moarnsmiel*, *jounsmiel* and vb. *mielje*. Possibly connected with O.E. *mēle*, cf. further Epinal glossary *meeli* as a gloss for 'alvium.' According to the N.E.D. *meal* signified 'tub, bucket' and is used in the expression *milk meales* in a quotation from 1567. In the sense of 'a milking' the word is still in frequent use in some Engl. dialects. Cf. further Falk-Torp's Danish dictionary, *op. cit.* s.v. *mæle* II, who refers to Gothic *mēla* 'a bushel,' Old Norse *mêlir*, a more acceptable etymology than Möller's reference to Gothic *mél* 'time.'

*mjолбуurt* 'mould board (of a plough).' The N.E.D. adduces the Du. *molbord* and gives the earliest Engl. quotation *moldboorde* from 1508. W. Fris. has *molboerd* and *moudboerd* (*monde* 'dust'); Jutish has *muldbræt*.

*mok* 'a mug,' cf. further W. Fris. *mok* 'tin cup,' in the Ameland dialect 'a child's mug.' Schleswig *mugge* 'can with a spout.'

*molksētj* 'a milk cooler,' cf. Jut. *mælksætte*.

*müs* 'mouse' in *en ring müs, diar man jen hol heer*, i.e. 'a wretched mouse that has but one hole,' cf. Jut. *de ær æn sfla mus, dær hâr kon jæn hwâl â kryð i* and Du. 't is eene slechte muis, die maar één hol heeft.

*müsiardapel* 'a variety of early potatoes,' cf. West Schleswig Jutish *muskartoffel*.

*müsnēster ön haur* 'whims, a bee in the bonnet,' cf. W. Flem. *muizenest* 'worry, qualm.'

*müster, müsted* 'milk-teeth,' cf. Jut. *mušetand*, Du. *muizetand*.

*müsuaret* 'mouse eared,' cf. Jut. *muşøret*.

*nachtertir* 'night-time' in *bi nachtertir*, which I was at first tempted to collate with the Chaucerian *at nightertale*, which the N.E.D. refers to an Old Norse genitive form of *nát*. Perhaps in this phrase the *-er* in Frisian is due however to influence by an expression like M.L.G. *bi slapender dēt, bi slapender tid*, but Möller indicates that there are other compounds with *nachter-*. The Föhr and Heligoland words do



not afford any assistance. The Jut. form *nattetid* shows a disyllabic form of the first constituent. *nachtermol* in Sylt might have arisen from a hypothetical *nachtert* (cf. Heligoland *nochtert*) and then the *-er* form have become generalized.

*negeri* 'to neigh.' The same suffix in Engl. dialects *nicker*, (*k*)*nucker*.

*nēsk* 'nesh,' cf. further W. Fris. *nesk*.

*njööł* 'to dawdle, hesitate,' cf. further W. Fris. *neulje*, Du. *neulen*.

*nüüner* 'a reed used as a Jew's harp,' cf. Jut. *nynne*.

*prot* 'sting, thorn.' Nearer than the forms with initial *b* is the Engl. *prod*, of which the etymology is obscure, as also its connection with *brad*. If the word *prod* is Indo-european or a very early borrowing in Germanic, we should expect a form with initial *b* in the cognate languages, and I suspect some connection with Irish *brot* 'sting,' Welsh *brathu* 'to sting.' The Germanic forms with *b* (*brad* etc.) might then be due to a later borrowing from Celtic after the completion of the first sound-shift.

*reft* equivalent to Engl. *rift*, which is assigned a Scandinavian origin in the N.E.D. The connected verb *riva* is, however, found in Old Fris. *riin* 'clean' in *riin kant maaki* 'to clear up a matter,' cf. Jut. *gøre ren kant* and Du. *het werk aan kant maken*.

*rimel* 'border,' cf. Jut. *rimle* 'a row of drying peat.'

*saalt* 'salt,' used attributively like W. Fris. *sált* in *sa sált as pikel*, Du. *zout* etc. For further parallels of this usage cf. N.E.D.

*seegen*<sup>2</sup> 'greaves, sediment of fat.' No etymology given. The word appears to be derived from Lat. *sagina* 'grease,' which survives in French *saindoux* 'lard.' M.L.G. shows a form *sei*, *seig* 'dregs or draff of malt.' E. W. Selmer refers the Sylt word to Old Fris. *siġa* 'to sind.'

*senighair* 'object of desire,' cf. W. Fris. *sinnicheit* 'strong inclination,' Du. *zinnigheid* 'lust, desire.'

*seter* 'a robust woman,' cf. W. Fris. *in grouwe setter* 'a strapping girl, tomboy.'

*siili* 'to sift,' cf. W. Fris. *silje*. The Engl. dialect form *sile* esp. of 'straining' milk. For further cognates cf. Falk and Torp's article on *Sil* I in their Danish dictionary.

*sirlings* 'sidelong,' cf. further W. Fris. *sídlings*; Du. *zijdelings*; Dan. *sidelængs*.

*sirroop* 'a trace (for a horse),' cf. Engl. *siderope* (15th-16th cents.).

*sjuk* in the phrase *tö sjuks* 'missing, to seek (as early as Chaucer),' cf. W. Fris. *to siik* and Du. *te zoek*; Jut. *te spēks*.

*skaar*<sup>2</sup> 'shade (of a hat),' cf. in the same sense W. Fris. *skaed*; Dan.

*skygge* in *hatte-*, *hueskygge*. W. Fris. uses *-skaed* in *reinskaed* and *sinnenskaed* (cf. Engl. *sunshade*) as well, but Sylt follows the German usage with *riinskirem* and *senskirem*, cf. Föhr *rinn-*, *sannskirräm*. Du. has *schaduwhoed*.

*skeet* 'crepitus ventris' in *hi maaket fan en skeet en tön 'erskrabel*, i.e. 'much ado about nothing,' cf. W. Fris. *hy makket fen in skeet in tongerslach* and cf. D.Wb. vol. VIII, col. 2463, s.v. *Scheiss*. Cf. further W. Jut. *han gor æn skið te æn tårenskrall* and Du. *hij maakt van een scheet een donderslag*.

*sken* in the phrase *en blö sken fo* 'to be refused (of a suitor)' is referred by Möller ultimately to the calf's skin offered to the rejected suitor, though he thinks that both in Sylt where *sken* means (i) 'skin' and (ii) 'shin' and in the Low German phrase *ene blaue schene lopen* we have to deal with a popular etymology substituting the idea of *shin* for *skin*. But for Frisian, at any rate, it seems possible that the meaning *shin* is primary and not secondary. W. Fris. has the same idiom in *blauwe skine rinne (krije)*, although *skine* can only denote the 'shin,' and the phrase is as easily comprehensible as *de skinen stiette* 'to knock one's shins; fig. to fail.' For the use of the adjective *blau* in such collocations, cf. W. Fris. *ik ha myn earm blau staet*; *bont en blau* (like *black and blue*); *it komt blau út*; *hy is dêr blau weikomd*. The last two sentences express the idea of failure. The more specific application to the refusal of a suit is seen in *mei in blaue blés* (mark, blaze) or *op in blauwe kjedde* (horse) *thús komme*. Cf. further Wander IV, 162, s.v. *Schienbein* 2, 3, 5, 6 and Du. *eene blauwe scheen*. *skep-natji* 'a net provided with bait but without hooks,' cf. W. Fris. *skepnetse*, Du. *schepnetje*.

*skööl* 'shoal, school,' cf. further W. Fris. *skoal*, Du. *school*.

*skööten melk* 'curdled milk,' cf. W. Fris. *de molke is sketten*, *gearsketten* and Engl. dial. *shotten milk*. Cf. further Jut. *æ mjælk skyðær sammel*. M.L.G. used *schift* in this sense.

*skot-hak* 'a pen for stray cattle,' cf. W. Fris. *skutstål*.

*skrenkelbiinet* 'spindle-shanked,' cf. Jut. *skrinkelbenet*.

*slachsīr* (-*sīd*) 'list (of a ship), heeling over,' cf. W. Fris. *it skip leit slach-side*; Du. *slagzijde* and Ger. *Schlagseite*; Dan. *slagside*, Swed. *slagsida*.

*slang* 'hosepipe,' cf. W. Fris. *slang*, Ger. *Schlange* (D.Wb. vol. IX, col. 450, sec. 9 i) and Dan. *slang*.

*slapdok* 'child's bib,' cf. W. Fris. and Du. *slabbedoek*.

*slink* 'a hollow, combe,' cf. W. Fris. *slink(e)*, Föhr *sleenk*, Du. *slenk* 'a

combe' and possibly the Engl. dial. *slink* 'a small patch of wet meadow land.' Also Jut. *slink* 'a hollow between cliffs etc.'

*smōri* fig. 'to beat, thrash,' cf. W. Fris. *immen ôfsmarre* or *de ribben smarre*, Du. *smeren*; Ger. *wichsen* and *schmieren* (D.Wb. vol. IX, col. 1085 f.); Jut. *smöre*.

*snejacht* 'snow-drift,' cf. W. Fris. *snejacht*, E. Fris. *snejacht*; Du. *sneeuw-jacht*. W. Fris. has also the verb *sniejeije*.

*snoopi* 'to be a sweet tooth,' cf. W. Fris. *snobje*. American-English *snoop* is derived from Dutch.

*somtirs* 'sometimes,' cf. also W. Fris. *somtiids*; Du. *somtijds*.

*söötji* 'crowd,' lit. boiling, cf. Engl. *the whole boiling* (slang); W. Fris. *soadtsje* (dim.) and the phrase *hja hawwe in hiele soad bern*.

*Spaans* 'Spanish' in *di Spaans see* 'the Bay of Biscay,' cf. Jut. *den spanske sø*.

*springhingst* 'stallion,' cf. W. Fris. *springhyngst*, Du. *springhengst* and *dekhengst* (as in German). Cf. Jut. *springhest*.

*stach* in *aur stach gung* 'to yaw,' cf. W. Fris. *oer 'e staeck*; Ger. *über Stag gehen* and Engl. *upon the stays* (N.E.D.).

*stakels* 'pitiable,' cf. further W. Fris. *stakker(t)*, E. Fris. *stakker(t)*.

*stap*<sup>2</sup> 'a wooden bucket,' cf. also E. Fris. *stappe*, *stap*; Engl. dial. *stop* 'a small well-bucket, milk-pail,' and O.E. *stoppa*.

*stiif-*, *stiip-* 'step-.' W. Fris. also shows double forms, viz. *styfmoer* (or *stiemoer*) and *stypmoer*. E. Fris. only shows *stéf-*. In Jutland are also found doublets *stymor* < *stifmoder* and *šybmor* (Fjolde dial.), *stesön* < *stifsön* and *šybsön*.

*stintjis* 'Delft tiles,' cf. W. Fris. *stientsjes*.

*stjabli* 'to shuffle, totter.' The corresponding W. Fris. word is *sjaggelje*.

*stjüür* 'control.' For the phrase *riin üt stjüür* 'wild, in a mess,' cf. W.

Fris. *út stjur*, E. Fris. *buten*, *afer stjur*. Engl. substantive *steer* 'control' as early as *Beowulf*.

*stofriin* 'drizzle,' cf. W. Fris. *stof-*, *stourein*, Du. *stofregen*; Westfalian *et es am stuwen*. Cf. further Jut. *stövregn*.

*stokstel* 'stock still,' cf. also W. Fris. *stókstil*, Du. *stokstil*.

*strebloom* 'immortelle, cud-weed,' cf. W. Fris. *strieblom*, Du. *stroobloem*.

*streek* 'stroke.' For the group *üp streek* 'in order,' cf. W. Fris. *wer op streek komme*, *bringe*. For the phrase *he es fan streek of* 'he has gone off his head,' cf. W. Fris. *fen 'e streek wêze*, which is used of physical indisposition and is equivalent to our 'not to be up to the mark.' Cf. Wander, IV, 909, s.v. *Strich* 12, 13 and Du. *van streek*.

*striils* 'litter' in the proverb *wit hingster mut fuul striils haa*, lit. 'white



horses must have much litter,' cf. W. Fris. *wite hynsders hawwe in bulte striujen nedich*. Cf. Wander, III, 1307, s.v. *Pferd* 648.

*strûk* 'a doddering old man.' For *en ual' strûk*, cf. W. Fris. *âld strûk*.

I suspect association of ideas with some word like Low Ger. *strûkelen* 'to stumble.' Föhr shows *strûk* in the sense of a 'poor devil.'

*stumpli* 'to stumble,' cf. also W. Fris. *stompelje*.

*sweksteling* 'device for regulating windmill sails,' cf. further Jut. *swekstel(ing)*.

*sweli* 'to rake up the hay,' cf. W. Fris. *swylje* and Engl. *sweal* (N.E.D.).

*tetj* (n.) 'mother's milk,' an easily understandable semantic development, cf. W. Fris. *myn bernte moat hwet tit hawwe* and *tate* 'milk.'

*tiiderslach* 'extent of ground grazed by tethered cattle,' cf. Jut. *tøjreslag*.

*tingwal* 'official notice,' cf. Jut. *tingvol* and Feilberg's note III, 805.

*töbruar* 'bread thrown in extra, make-weight.' Möller quotes Swed. *på bröd*, to which add Engl. (Scottish) *to-bread* and *in-bread* and Old Du. *toebroot*, which however is glossed 'coëdulum.' Jut. *tilbrød* signifies 'what is smeared on bread.'

*tön'erbüü* 'thunderstorm,' cf. W. Fris. *tongerbui*; Du. *donderbui*; Dan. *tordenbyge*.

*tön'erhaur* (-haud) 'thundercloud,' cf. W. Fris. *tongerkoppen* and Du. *donderkop*. Jut. has *tordenhat*.

*tön'erstiin* 'belemnite,' cf. W. Fris. *tongerstien*, Du. *dondersteen*, Engl. *thunderstone* (from 16th cent.), Jut. *tordensten* (many references in Feilberg III, 826).

*top* 'top (nautical).' For the phrase *fuor top en taakel siil* 'to drift before the wind with bare poles,' cf. W. Fris. *driuwe for top en takkel*, Du. *voor top en takel drijven*.

*totbuat* 'a boat used for fishing with bait but without a hook'; *totliin* 'bait line' etc., cf. W. Fris., Du. *totebel* and Engl. (Scottish dial.) *toonet*. There is an Anglo-American word *tote* 'to pull, carry,' of obscure etymology, but it is difficult to connect it. Cf. further Jut. *tatte* and Feilberg's description of this mode of fishing in vol. 3, p. 778.

*treerels* 'cock's tread, treadle,' cf. W. Fris. *trêdsel* and vb. *trêdzje* 'copulari' (of fowls).

*trekpot* 'teapot,' in more frequent use on Sylt than *teepot*. Apparently borrowed from Du. *trekpot* (same in W. Fris.), as is the corresponding Heligoland word, cf. Siebs, *Helgoland und seine Sprache*, p. 171.

*tualighaker* 'great titmouse' (*tualig* 'tallow'), cf. Jut. *talghakker*, *talgpikker*.

- tuuti* 'to toot.' The saying *hi weet nochweðer fan tuutin of fan blaasin*, i.e. 'he is stupid,' cf. W. Fris. *hy wit fen tûtsjen noch blazen* and E. Fris. *he wêt fan gën tuten of blasen*. Cf. Wander, IV, 1380.
- tümspiker* 'thumbtack' (a modern word on the evidence of the N.E.D.). W. Fris. has the compound *håndspiker*, Du. *handspijker* as well as *duimspijker*. Jut. has *tommesöm*.
- twenter* 'two-year-old cattle,' cf. W. Fris. *twinter* (of horses and cows), *trinter* 'three-year-olds' and *inter* (Sylt *enter*) 'one-year-old.' For further parallels cf. N.E.D. s.v. *twinter*.
- ualwüfenknet*, lit. 'old wives' knot,' cf. W. Fris. *âldwiveknop*, -*knotte*; Engl. *granny-knot* (quotations from 18th cent.). Cf. further Jut. *kjællingeknude* < *kjælling* 'an old woman,' and Du. *oudewijven-knop*.
- uarkeröoker* 'earwig,' cf. W. Fris. *earkrûper*; Jut. *ørekryb*.
- uarmark* 'earmark' (from 16th cent.), cf. *Ohrmarke* in D.Wb. vol. VII, col. 1266 (quotation from Göttingen dial.), Du. *oormerk*.
- uasterfuar* 'eastwards,' cf. Jut. *østenfor*.
- útdrai* spec. 'to carry out a corpse.' W. Fris. says *in lyk wirdt yn 'e kiste it hûs útdroegen*.
- útfan* 'away from Sylt, away from home.' W. Fris. uses *útfenhûs* of 'lodging out.'
- úthûsisig* adj. 'gadabout,' cf. W. Fris. *úthûsk*, *úthûzich*; E. Fris. *úthûsig* and Du. *uithuizig*.
- útkiuring* 'the turning over of property on the execution of a will,' cf. W. Fris. *Goasse waerd erfgenaem, mar hij moast tûzen gounen oan de tsjerke útkearre* and Du. *uitkeering*.
- útpröökeli* 'to clean out a pipe,' cf. W. Fris. *útpreugelje* with synonym *útplúzeje* (subs. *útplúzer* 'pipe-cleaner').
- wacht* in the phrase *di wacht ônsii* 'to give a piece of one's mind,' cf. Jut. *æ ska nâk sæt dæ æ vakt an*. Cf. Wander, IV, 1717, s.v. *Wache* 5 (quotation from Frischbier) and Du. *de wacht aanzeggen*.
- wai* 'way.' For the phrase *ûp wai wiis*, cf. Engl. *to be in the family way*. W. Fris. has *hja hadde twa bern en it tredde is op kommende wei*, i.e. on the way. Cf. further Jut. *vær o (guuwæ) væj*.
- wangloov* 'superstition,' cf. W. Fris. *wangelove*, *wanleauwe* (Du. *bijgeloof*, *wangelooft*, *wantrouwen*), E. Fris. and Mid. Low Ger. *wangelove*; Dan. *vantrø*.
- wanreer* 'foolish escapade.' W. Fris. has the adjective *wanredsom* 'clumsy.'
- weðerkater* 'the quivering of the air in the summer heat; mirage,' cf. further W. Fris. *de waerkatten fleane*, lit. 'the weather cats are flying.'

*wees* 'oesophagus,' cf. W. Fris. *weaze*.

*weetenskep* 'science.' For the phrase *aik ding heer sin weetenskep* 'there is a knack in everything,' cf. W. Fris. *alle ding hat syn wittenskip*; E. Fris. '*elk ding hed sin wetenskep*,' sã Grêtjemô, *do pustedede se 't lûcht met de nêrs* (= *Arsch*) *ût or sã 'n old wîf, do nam se 'n regenwurm un bunn sik de schô' d'r mit to*; Jut. *de ær æn videnskab* and cf. Wander, IV, 1317, s.v. *Wissenschaft* 12—14.

*weeterlöösing* 'drain,' cf. Jut. *vandløsnig*.

*weeterpas* 'water-level,' cf. W. Fris. *wetterpas*, E. Fris. *waterpasse*, Du. *waterpas*.

*weetertap* 'water-spout,' cf. Jut. *vandtap*. Feilberg gives several synonyms (III, 1007).

*wialteri* like Engl. *welter*, E. Fris. *weltern*.

*wiljlaper* 'a flighty person,' cf. Jut. *vildlapper* 1. 'horse left to run wild,' 2. 'tomboy.'

*wining* 'window,' cf. Jut. *vinøng*.

*winjsk* 'wry, warped,' cf. Föhr *winjsk*, W. Fris. *wynsk*, E. Fris. *windsk*; Ger. *windig*, *windisch*. Falk and Torp refer Dan. and Swed. *vind* to \**windan* 'to wind' and adduce Gothic *in-winds*, M.H.G. *windeht*.

*wink* 'a wink.' For the phrase *ik fing di hiili nacht niin wink ön oogen*, cf. E. Fris. *ik heb so slecht slapen, dat ik de hêle nacht gën wink in mîn ôgen had heb* and Engl. *I did not sleep a wink all night*.

*witel* 'white woollen blanket,' cf. Engl. dial. *whittle* 'a cape, blanket, flannel,' referred by E.D.D. to O.E. *hwitel* 'a cloak, blanket.' W. Fris.

*wytling* denotes a linen sheet, but Föhr *witjel* is a woollen covering.

*witelk* 'a child's napkin.' Engl. *whittle* can mean a woollen napkin.

*wrakling* 'plank nail.' The M.L.G. word also occurs in Jut. *vrækling*.

*wrënsker* 'breeding stallion,' cf. the same derivative in Dan. Jut. *vrinsker*.

*wunterbaank* 'yellowish red *stratus* clouds betokening frost,' cf. Jut. *vinterbakke*.

*würem-iiten* like Engl. *worm-eaten*, as against Föhr *wirrëmæg*, W. Fris. *wjirmstekkich*, E. Fris. *wurmstêkerig*. Ger. has both *wurmstichig* and *Wurmfrass*; Dan. *ormædt* and *ormstukken*.

## APPENDIX.

Though it was not my intention any more than Mr Möller's (cf. Professor Borchling's *Nachwort* to the Sylt dictionary, p. 307) to adduce many parallels from the neighbouring North Frisian dialects, it might save investigators trouble to append here the Föhr (and Amrum) equivalents of some of the words discussed above. In the following list the Sylt word is bracketed: *blēsæmi* [blösmi], *dingæli* [dingeli], *dörstät kröm*



[döörsteek], *drei* + *trē* [drai<sup>2</sup> + tre], *dreier* [draiom, draier], *drech* [drech], *droonk* [droonk], *fät dräft bowen an wan't uk fan en ualen hünj as* [fat], *faask wēder* [fēsk weeter], *flippi* [fleepi], *fērfiar* [forfiir], *fērháli* [forhaali], *fērsloffi* [forslofi], *fērwelli*, Helg. *färwīlkə* [forweli], *fråbuk*, *fragbuk* [fraagbok], *gershopper* [gērshuper], *glürrüg* [glüürioog], *gredd* [grer, gred], *grüp* [grop], *grimmən*, pl. of *grim* [grüming.—The Föhr plural suggests that the Sylt form may contain the pl. suffix -ing, cf. *hüüsing* pl. of *hüs*, but there is an analogous use of the derivative suffix -ing in the other *hüüsing* 'a rope'], *hām* vb, *hāmən* subs. [hēm], *hüngslōt* [hing-slot], Amrum *höfki* [höfki], *jachterī* [jachterī], *keuəri* [kaieri], *tjūrəl* [kjaarel], *klāmp* [klaamp], *kleiər* [klaier], *moolk an krāmən* [kramen], Amrum *mok* [mok], *sköl* [skööl], *skothaag* [skothak], *slachsidj* [slachsir], *slāng* [slang], *springhingst* [springhingst], *stākel(s)* [stakels], *štjip* [-stiip], *swelli* [sweli], *tētj*, Helg. *tītj* [tetj], *tübruad* [töbruar], *tonnərstian* [tön'ər-stiin], *trēdlīs* [treerels], *trekpot* [trekpot], *wonnlūw* [wangloov], *wonnriad* [wanreer], *wēderpaas* [weeterpas], *wēdertāp* [weetertap].

From the North Frisian dialect of Moringen (cf. B. Bendsen, *Die nordfriesische Sprache nach der Moringer Mundart*, Leiden, 1860) I will only mention *drieg* [drech], *gräjdd* [grer], *graup* [grop], *klōmp* [klaamp], *klāier*, en *mājł mōlke* [miil<sup>2</sup>], *dá wāhserkātte flie* [wederkater].

Next I should like to enumerate words given in the glossary to Siebs' *Sylter Lustspiele* (Greifswald, 1898) which Möller has apparently omitted: *depling* 'a fold in paper,' *dærtākēlē* 'to thrash,' *filister* 'a strong man,' *flimēlk* 'a butterfly,' *ik mōkē min frīlik* 'I propose marriage,' *gē* 'a sort of tobacco,' *hūs* 'a sheath,' *krysinglach* 'a flourish,' *kwēshaurwark* 'a sick headache,' *kwīn* 'two-year-old cattle,' *kwots* 'an expectorated quid,' *jū kū lāpt* cf. *laapen*, *muun en mēsk āpīt* 'to eat one out of house and home,' *munja* 'grannie,' *nēerlē* 'to write badly,' *noetlē* 'to do work not learnt,' *ómstoekē* 'to manage something,' *ómtocht* 'a fuss,' *pótjūt* 'a Jutland potseller' (term of contempt), *rem* 'pole-plate (of a roof),' *roisplē* 'to clear the throat,' *santšjē* 'to mess about,' *skanplakē* vb. 'to backbite,' *skotsē mōts* 'tamo'shanter,' *slēntrē* 'to walk with difficulty after an illness,' *slīipwūf* fem. of *slīipbaas*, *spreek* characterized as rare, syn. *snakē*, *stūfrē* 'to coagulate,' *tēeskē* 'to beat wet clothes, to spoon out,' *tēngerē* 'to glisten,' *sik topē* 'to make off,' *ūlkēn* (obs.) pl. 'tiny tots,' *ūtrumlē* 'to bundle out,' *wē ēn wunhir* 'pain,' *ombī wōgē* 'to bustle round.'

Finally I would direct the attention of Anglists interested in Frisian to Holthausen's *Nordfriesische Studien* in Paul and Braune's *Beitr.*, vol. XLV, pp. 1-50, and to E. W. Selmer's *Sylterfriesische Studien*, Christiania, 1921.

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## MISCELLANEOUS NOTES.

### ANOTHER LATIN MANUSCRIPT OF THE 'ANCREN RIWLE.'

In the *Modern Language Review* for April, 1919, I pointed out that an unnoted Latin manuscript of the *Ancren Riwle* was to be found in Merton Coll. MS. 44, of the early fourteenth century. The following quotation from the new catalogue of the Royal MSS. of the British Museum will prove that a duplicate of this text is to be found in Royal MS. 7 C. x. (art. 4): 'Treatise in eight parts (the last is incomplete) without title, on the "regula interior" for anchorites. A copy is at Oxford, Merton Coll. MS. XLIV, ending at the same point. Beg. *'Recti diligunt te. Canticorum primo: Verba sunt, etc.'*

The manuscript in question is written in the early sixteenth century on paper. The fragment given of the eighth book is not indicated separately, though the others are, and though it is no more than a few sentences (breaking off very abruptly), the scribe seems not to recognise its incompleteness. He ends as follows: '*...ideo non debetis eucharistiam sumere nisi quindecies in anno.*' 'Telos' is written in the same hand at the bottom of the page.

B.M. Royal MS. 7 C. x. makes the fourth Latin text of the *Ancren Riwle* known. Its survival is the more fortunate because, of the other three copies extant, the Cotton MS. is badly burnt, and the Magdalen MS. entirely omits the eighth book.

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### ALLITERATION OF THE VERSIONS OF 'PIERS PLOWMAN' IN ITS BEARING ON THEIR AUTHORSHIP.

In Middle English alliterative verse a striking peculiarity has been noticed, namely, that the alliteration often falls on unstressed syllables, either prefixes or prepositions or similar words which are naturally subordinated in stress to a following word. This was first pointed out by Professor Skeat in his Essay on Alliterative Poetry in Volume III of the *Percy Folio*, 1868, and in the Preface to *Alexander and Dindimus* (Early English Text Society, 1878). When investigating this phenomenon with a view to tracing its connexion with the pronunciation of the words in



question<sup>1</sup>, I found that it cast an interesting light on the problem of the authorship of the three versions of *Piers Plowman*.

In general, the whole *corpus* of unrhymed alliterative poetry follows much the same practice in the choice of the alliterating syllable; e.g. the prefixes *con-*, *per-*, *pro-* always alliterate; words beginning in *def-*, with the exception of *defence*, *defend*, always alliterate on the root; words beginning in *rel-* alliterate on the prefix; though the prefixes *be-* and *for-* frequently alliterate, *to-* and *with-* only do so when forming adverbs or prepositions, and so on. But certain peculiarities can be noted, which divide certain works. For example, in *Richard the Redeless* there is no alliteration of the prefix *be-*, and none of prepositions, both of which characteristics are marked features of all parts of *Piers Plowman*. Again, *Morte Arthure* can be distinguished from *Troy Book* (cp. Dr Giles in *Cambridge History of Literature*, Vol. II, p. 118) by its use of second-half lines where the two stresses seem to fall on the prefix and root of the same word, e.g. 1377 'that thus hym *persuede*,' 3559 'I *salle* it *revenge*' (a feature also of the rhymed alliterative poems); by its frequent shifting of the alliteration from the third to the fourth stress of the line, e.g. 2202 'He *broches* *euene* *thorowe* the *byerne*, and the *sadille* *bristes*'; and by its alliteration of the adverb *so* in such lines as 136 'so *Crist* *mott* me *helpe*.'

Professor Manly divides *Piers Plowman* into five parts, which he attributes to as many different authors, namely, Passus i to viii of the A-text (A<sub>1</sub>), Passus ix to xii. 55 of the A-text (A<sub>2</sub>), xii. 56-117 of the A-text (John But), the B-text (B), and the C-text (C). Now the work done by the reviser of the A-text falls into two parts: first, the revision and expansion of A. i-xi (Passus xii being omitted from the revised version in B), and secondly the continuation of the poem. I propose to divide the B-text here, calling the first-part B<sub>1</sub>, and the second, i.e. Passus xi-xx, B<sub>2</sub>; for it is especially between these two parts that I have noticed striking differences of alliteration.

The alliteration of prepositions, etc. is a much more marked feature of B<sub>2</sub>, and after it of A<sub>1</sub> and C, than of A<sub>2</sub> and B<sub>1</sub>, as the Appendix to this note shows. Also, it may be seen that in the different sections different prepositions alliterate. In the case of the following words in particular, the uses of the sections can be distinguished:

and alliterates 7 times in B<sub>2</sub>, and once only in A<sub>1</sub>, B<sub>1</sub>, and C respectively<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> In an unpublished thesis on 'Early Middle English Word-Stress Investigated on the Basis of the Unrhymed Alliterative Poems,' London, 1921.

<sup>2</sup> That is to say, except where the line in C is taken over from B<sub>2</sub>. The same is to be understood of all references in this note; they denote the text in which the word *first* occurs.



*before* alliterates in  $A_1$  (twice),  $B_2$  (4 times),  $C$  (5 times); but not in  $A_2$  or  $B_1$ ; note especially  $C$ . iii. 100 'And fastingdayes to frete by-for noon, and drynke,' which is altered from  $B$ . ii. 95 'ar ful tyme were.'

*but* alliterates in  $B_1$  (twice),  $B_2$  (7 times),  $C$  (4 times), but not in either part of the  $A$ -text, except the doubtful  $Pr$ . 63. In the case of such a line as  $A$ . viii. 70 'bote he habbe neode,' there is no word following *but* which has more right to the alliteration.  $C$ . iii. 141 'bote 3e a-mende the sonnere,' is altered from  $A$ . ii. 95 =  $B$ . ii. 127 'by god that me made!'

*for* plays an important part in distinguishing between the sections. It alliterates in  $A_1$  (10 times),  $B_2$  (15 times), and  $C$  (11 or 12 times), but not in  $A_2$ , and once only in  $B_1$ . Note especially  $A$ . vii. 2 'That mihte folwen us vch a fote forte that we come there,' which becomes in  $B_1$  'thus this folke hem mened,' and again in  $C$  'for drede of mys-tornynge.' Again,  $A$ . viii. 32-3,

Pore widewes that wolde beo none wyues aftur  
Fynde suche heore foode for godes loue of heuene,

is telescoped in  $B_1$  into

Pore peple and prisounes fynden hem here fode,

and again expanded in  $C$  into

Poure puple bedredene and prisones in stockes,  
Fynde hem for godes loue.

*fro(m)* alliterates in  $A_1$  (3 times),  $B_2$  (twice), and  $C$  (5 times); not in  $A_2$  or  $B_1$ .

*save* alliterates in  $B_2$  only (4 times).

*to* alliterates in  $A_1$  (twice),  $A_2$  (4 times),  $B_2$  (11 times), and  $C$  (5 times); but not in  $B_1$ , hence distinguishing sharply between  $B_1$  and  $B_2$ .

*while* alliterates in  $A_1$  (3 times) and  $A_2$ , but nowhere else; note  $A$ . vii. 51-2,

'Ich a-sente, be seint Iem!' seide the kniht thenne,  
'For to worche bi thi word while my lyf dureth,'

ingeniously altered in  $C$  to

and my wyf bothe.

*with* alliterates in  $A_1$  (7 times),  $B_1$  (12 times),  $B_2$  (19 times), and  $C$  (8 times); but only once in  $A_2$ , just at the point where the lines attributed by Professor Manly to John But begin. Its increasing popularity as an alliterating word is shown by  $A$ . vii. 18,

And 3e, loueli ladies with oure longe fyngres,

<sup>1</sup> In such cases there is, of course, always the possibility that the line in  $C$  comes from an unprinted variant of  $A$ . In the lines quoted under *for* below,  $C$  seems to be based on a form combining  $A$  and  $B$ .

which becomes in C

And 3e worthy wommen with 3oure longe fynngres ;

and also A. viii. 29,

And wikkede wones wihtly to amende,

which similarly becomes

And wikkede weyes with here good amende.

It may also be noted that B<sub>1</sub> alters A. viii. 59,

To waxen or to wonien whether god lyketh,

into

That neuere shal wax ne wanye with oute god hymselue.

Hence, from an examination of the Appendix, we may say that the principal alliterating words are: in A<sub>1</sub> *for, from, so, while, with*; in A<sub>2</sub> *to*; in B<sub>1</sub> *by, with*; in C *before, by, for, from, so, to, and with*. In B<sub>2</sub> practically all alliterate, the only important exception being *while*. Specially striking is the absence of alliterating *for* and *to* in B<sub>1</sub>, compared with their frequency in B<sub>2</sub>. The sharp distinctions drawn between the different sections seem to me to constitute a not unnegligible argument in favour of multiple authorship.

As regards the alliteration of words compounded with prefixes, the chief prefixes which concern us in *Piers Plowman* are the Romance prefixes *de-* and *re-*, and the Germanic prefix *be-*. Among words compounded with *de-*, there is great variety of use in B<sub>1</sub>, B<sub>2</sub>, and C; but B<sub>2</sub> is the only text where the alliteration differs in the same word, the cases being 'defende,' xv. 19, 'defende,' xvi. 246; 'departen,' xx. 138, 'departable,' xvii. 26. In A<sub>2</sub>, with one exception (defoulen, xi. 60), these words alliterate on the prefix (defendyth, xii. 19; distruieth, x. 76; destroyed, xi. 280; disputyng, ix. 108); in A<sub>1</sub>, with one exception (dilytede, i. 29) on the root (14 cases in all). The only word common to A<sub>1</sub> and A<sub>2</sub> is *defend* (cp. xii. 19 with vii. 81).

Practically all words compounded with *re-* alliterate on the prefix. Again the only single word which alliterates on both prefix and root is found in B<sub>2</sub>, namely *recover*, on the prefix in xviii. 350, xix. 239, and on the root in xix. 156. Besides this we have root-alliteration in *reprove*, xii. 138, xviii. 149, and *resemble*, xvi. 214. The only root-alliterating word not in B<sub>2</sub> is 'repugnen,' C. i. 136, where the B-text reads 'inpugnen'; this may well be a scribal variant.

Words compounded with what have been called the 'heavy' prefixes alliterate on the prefix, with some five exceptions. Again, B<sub>2</sub> supplies the only examples of the same word alliterating on both prefix and root, namely, *confess*, on prefix in xi. 76, xv. 558, xvii. 295, and on the root

in xi. 53; *conform*, on the prefix in xi. 175, xiii. 208, xv. 337, and on the root in xiii. 213.

From the alliteration of the Germanic prefixes I do not find any conclusion to be drawn, except that  $A_2$  is the only section of the poem which shows no variation in single words. Words compounded with *be-*, though on the whole alliterating on the root, show great variation; e.g. in  $A_1$  *begin*, *behold*, *belief*; in  $B_2$  *behind*, *before*, *beneath*; in C *before*, *belief*, *beseech*; in  $B_1$  *believe* alliterates twice on the prefix and twice on the root. But all words in  $A_2$ , namely *become*, *befall*, *beginning*, *belief*, *beseech*, *betake*, alliterate on the root alone.

It is, of course, quite likely that a poet would, in the course of years, change his practice in these particulars. It is evident, as we can see from an examination of the latest poems, that the tendency of the alliterative school as time passed was to discard prefix-alliteration, and a similar tendency may be expected in the work of an individual. Something of the sort may in fact be traced in the *Troy Book*, and also in *Piers Plowman* itself, in the case of certain words beginning with *de-*. But in *Piers Plowman* the most striking fact about the use of romance prefixes is that only in one part, namely  $B_2$ , did the poet consider himself free to change the alliterating syllable in a single word; neither in A,  $B_1$ , or C is this done. In the case of the prepositions also, although a poet might very conceivably alter his practice in the matter of allowing them to alliterate, it is not likely that he would at different periods employ different selections of alliterating prepositions.

In both cases, it is between  $B_1$  and  $B_2$  that the distinction is clearest, most strikingly in the alliteration of the prepositions *for* and *to*. The variety of alliteration found in  $B_2$  divides it from all the other texts, and this characteristic is not developed in C as one might expect if all the parts were due to the same author.  $A_1$  and  $A_2$  again differ in their use of prepositions, especially *for* and *with*, and in the alliteration of words in *de-*.  $A_2$  and  $B_1$  are distinguished by the alliteration of *to* in the former, and *by*, *but*, and especially *with*, in the latter. For so short a passage as the half canto attributed to John But, this method cannot give any result, although it is striking that *again* alliterates on *g* in xi. 150 and on the spirant in xii. 60. But as regards the rest of the poem, I think it can be definitely stated that the evidence of the alliteration of *Piers Plowman* points towards its being the work of five different hands, and that this evidence is most constraining where it differentiates that part of the B-text which is a revision of the A-text from the later cantos continuing the work.



## APPENDIX.

Prepositions, Conjunctions, and Adverbs alliterating in *Piers Plowman*.

(With respect to the lengths of the different parts, A<sub>1</sub> is 1833 lines, A<sub>2</sub> (including Passus xii) 751, and B<sub>2</sub> 4035. B<sub>1</sub> I estimate at about 1100–1200 lines; the length of C is extraordinarily hard to ascertain, owing to the manner in which it adopts the B-text with slight alterations, but roughly it may be said to consist of about 2000 or more lines.)

- about* B<sub>1</sub>: Pr. 178  
B<sub>2</sub>: xiii. 347; (?alliterating on vowel) xv. 278; xx. 190
- above* B<sub>2</sub>: xi. 134
- afore* B<sub>2</sub>: xvi. 45
- again(st)* A<sub>2</sub>: xi. 150; (?John But; alliterating on 3) xii. 60  
B<sub>2</sub>: xix. 356
- amid* B<sub>1</sub>: x. 408
- among* B<sub>1</sub>: v. 260  
B<sub>2</sub>: xi. 236; xiii. 229, 259; xiv. 26, 158  
C: v. 26
- and* A<sub>1</sub>: iii. 249  
B<sub>1</sub>: ii. 83  
B<sub>2</sub>: xiii. 336; xiv. 25; xv. 409; xvii. 319; xviii. 118; xix. 238, 392  
C: viii. 173
- as* A<sub>2</sub>: ix. 100  
B<sub>1</sub>: (?) x. 309  
C: xix. 68
- at* B<sub>2</sub>: xiv. 57; xviii. 342; xix. 77  
C: (?) xi. 241 (or on *ys*)
- before* A<sub>1</sub>: iii. 179; v. 230  
B<sub>2</sub>: xi. 303; xiii. 65, 73; xv. 297  
C: iii. 100; x. 322; xvi. 140; xviii. 31; xix. 49
- beside* B<sub>2</sub>: xvii. 72
- between* A<sub>2</sub>: x. 196
- but* A<sub>1</sub>: (?) Pr. 63  
B<sub>1</sub>: v. 395; vii. 84  
B<sub>2</sub>: xi. 64, 197; xii. 29; xv. 118; xviii. 252; xix. 402, 467  
C: iii. 141; vi. 52; xviii. 8, 32
- by* A<sub>1</sub>: ii. 95; vii. 152  
B<sub>1</sub>: Pr. 165; v. 149; x. 250  
B<sub>2</sub>: xi. 249, 319; xii. 201, 236; xiii. 317, 369; xx. 95, 240  
C: vii. 169; x. 32, 222; xviii. 29, 57, 283; xxi. 111
- ere* B<sub>2</sub>: xix. 146, 390
- for* A<sub>1</sub>: ii. 175; iii. 66; iv. 25, 41; vi. 14, 48; vii. 2, 81; viii. 33, 78 (*For* obviously omitted)  
B<sub>1</sub>: v. 496  
B<sub>2</sub>: xi. 63, 68, 113, 286, 346; xv. 477; xvi. 162; xviii. 430; xix. 66, 141; xx. 57, 251, 330, 365, 381  
C: i. 7, (?) 107; iv. 88; vi. 27; vii. 46; viii. 308; x. 258; xi. 256; xii. 279; xviii. 35; xxii. 205; xxiii. 38
- fro(m)* A<sub>1</sub>: v. 29; vi. 16; vii. 174  
B<sub>2</sub>: xiv. 15; xvi. 174  
C: vi. 111; xi. 22; xvi. 237; xvii. 197; xx. 80
- if* A<sub>1</sub>: v. 236

<i>in</i>	A <sub>1</sub> : i. 120; v. 153 A <sub>2</sub> : x. 44 B <sub>2</sub> : xi. 327; xvi. 170, 207; xvii. 102; xx. 277
<i>near</i>	B <sub>1</sub> : vi. 301
<i>of</i>	B <sub>1</sub> : (?) v. 633 (perhaps originally <i>of the poukes ponfolde</i> ) B <sub>2</sub> : xiii. 296; xv. 565; xviii. 122 C: xix. 219, 231; xx. 98
<i>on</i>	C: xiii. 207
<i>save</i>	B <sub>2</sub> : xiii. 124; xix. 185, 434; xx. 265
<i>sith</i>	B <sub>2</sub> : xiv. 142; xvii. 31; xx. 136 C: x. 115; xx. 245
<i>so</i>	A <sub>1</sub> : iii. 92; v. 22, 122; vi. 113; viii. 23 A <sub>2</sub> : ix. 102; xi. 295 B <sub>1</sub> : v. 376; x. 75 B <sub>2</sub> : xiii. 205; xv. 47, 153, 288, 489; xvii. 35, 158 C: iv. 246; xi. 38; xii. 297, 301; xiv. 203; xix. 96; xx. 33, 106
<i>to</i>	A <sub>1</sub> : vii. 197; viii. 1 A <sub>2</sub> : x. 141; xi. 62, 162; xii. 24 B <sub>2</sub> : xi. 291, 393; xiii. 96, 125, 431; xvi. 147, 148; xvii. 76; xviii. 238; xix. 232; xx. 7 C: iii. 124; x. 262; xi. 181; xiii. 187; xix. 177
<i>under</i>	B <sub>2</sub> : xvii. 102
<i>when</i>	A <sub>1</sub> : iii. 102; v. 69 B <sub>2</sub> : xi. 226; xiv. 62; xviii. 412 C: v. 52; vii. 160, 302
<i>where</i>	A <sub>2</sub> : ix. 105; xii. 40 B <sub>2</sub> : xi. 338; xvii. 53; xx. 3 C: xiv. 34
<i>whether</i>	A <sub>1</sub> : viii. 59
<i>while</i>	A <sub>1</sub> : ii. 74; iii. 29; vii. 52 A <sub>2</sub> : xi. 101
<i>why</i>	A <sub>2</sub> : xi. 74, 81
<i>with</i>	A <sub>1</sub> : ii. 30; iii. 148, 252; iv. 19; v. 25; vii. 89; viii. 84 A <sub>2</sub> : xii. 56 (? John But) B <sub>1</sub> : Pr. 22; ii. 90; iii. 74, 234, 238, 348; iv. 33; v. 476; ix. 113; x. 355, 403, 429 B <sub>2</sub> : xi. 111, 163; xiv. 27, 292; xv. 125, 286, 446; xvi. 105, 120, 146, 203, 244, 272; xvii. 53, 69; xviii. 228; xix. 347, 368; xx. 167 C: iii. 199; ix. 9; x. 31, 135, 196, 250; xix. 261; xx. 232
<i>within</i>	B <sub>1</sub> : x. 149
<i>without</i>	A <sub>1</sub> : iii. 220 B <sub>1</sub> : vii. 55 B <sub>2</sub> : xvi. 99; xvii. 231.

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# SPENSER'S 'MUIOPOTMOS.'

In 1914 Mr Percy W. Long contributed an article on the above poem<sup>1</sup> to which I returned recently when restudying Spenser's minor poems. Mr Long suggested that the allegory obviously underlying this delight-

<sup>1</sup> *Mod. Lang. Review*, vol. ix, p. 457.

ful sport of fancy is a playful account of the enslavement of his heart by Lady Carey, 'that Spenser in *Muipotmos* represents his captivity to the charms of Lady Carey.' I find it more and more difficult to accept such an interpretation, and I wish to suggest another which would connect the poem with other dark allegories in Spenser. For that the poem is allegorical is clear both from its own tenor and from the closing words of the dedication to Lady Carey: 'beseeching your La: to take [it] in worth, and of all things therein according to your wonted graciousnes to make a milde construction.'

Mr Long supports his interpretation by citing numerous instances of a love poet comparing his enslavement by his lady's beauty to the capture of a fly by a spider. But it is one thing merely to compare the captured lover to a fly ensnared. It is quite another to enlarge the simile and identify the lady with the spider in its unattractive features. Could Spenser really mean, in a poem dedicated to herself, to describe Lady Carey as:

a wicked wight  
The foe of faire things, th' author of confusion,  
The shame of Nature, the bondslave of spight

and tell us that:

His heart did earne against his hated foe,  
And bowels so with ranckling poyson swelde,  
That scarce the skin the strong contagion helde?

No 'metaphysical' poet could develop the details of a conceit more inappropriately, if Spenser is describing Lady Carey as the spider who has entrapped him. It is frankly incredible.

It seems to me possible to suggest a more likely interpretation. The printer's introductory note to the *Complaints* of 1591 suggests that all the poems which it contains were written some time before. Several, if not all of them, belong probably to the critical year 1579-80 when, as is becoming more clear, Spenser got himself into trouble by espousing too warmly and indiscreetly the cause of Leicester against Burleigh. *Mother Hubberds Tale* was written at this time—even if recast later—and evidently gave offence. The dedicatory sonnet to Leicester prefixed to *Virgil's Gnat* suggests that Leicester had been unable to protect his too ardent supporter:

Wrong'd, yet not daring to expresse my paine,  
To you (great Lord) the causer of my care,  
In cloudie teares my case I thus complaine  
Unto your selfe, that only privie are.

But what so by my selfe may not be shoven,  
May by this Gnatts complaint be easily knownen.



Is it not probable that *Muipotmos* is a light, fanciful allegory on the same theme written at first with no thought of dedication to Lady Carey, a poem like the *Witch of Atlas* in which the poet relieves his feelings by giving wings to his fancy? Burleigh then would be the spider, for note the history of the spider. An interpretation of the allegory must account for this. He is the child of a mother who challenged Pallas the goddess of Wisdom. Who is this mother? Is it not 'policy,' Machiavellian craft and policy setting itself up against divine wisdom? A sub-title to Spenser's *Muipotmos* might thus be *The Poet and the Politician*—that word of evil-odour in Elizabethan English—an allegory of the fate awaiting that 'light and winged and holy thing' the poet and idealist if he comes bustling into the web of schemes and 'subtil gins' and 'lymie snares' which the politician is ever weaving.

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#### THE AUTHORSHIP OF 'THE COSTELIE WHORE.'

If Mr W. J. Lawrence (p. 167 *supra*) had personally inspected the tract from which he quotes a sentence at second hand, he would have seen that it threw no light on the authorship of his play. *Free-Parliament Quæres* is a Royalist pamphlet of 6 pages, issued in 1660, before the Restoration, and consisting of 38 numbered 'queries,' in each of which the writer gibes at the men of 'the late Rump.'

It will suffice to quote these three consecutive paragraphs:

23. Whether that Comedie, called *The Costly Whore*, was not intended for the life of the Lady *Sands*, and was written by *Henry Martin*?

24. Whether the *Bastard*, a Tragedie, was compiled by Mr *Goff*, or written by *J. Ireton*?

25. Whether *Orlando Furioso* that antient *Italian* Poem, was not meant for a Prophetickall Relation of the life of Sir *Arthur Haslerigg*?

The sequence of names, Martin, Ireton, Haslerigg, leaves no doubt that the first of the three is Henry Martin (or Marten) the regicide. 'He was a great lover of pretty girles, to whom he was so liberall that he spent the greatest part of his estate' (Aubrey). Who 'Lady Sands' was, I have no notion: and for our present purpose we may be content to leave her and her misbehaviours in a decent obscurity.

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## MACKENZIE'S TRANSLATIONS FROM THE GERMAN.

In the article on Henry Mackenzie in the *Dictionary of National Biography* some doubt is thrown on the statement, quoted from Allibone's *Dictionary* (and appearing also in Chambers' *Eminent Scotsmen*), that Mackenzie published, in 1791, 'Translations from the German of Lessing's Set of Horses and some other dramatic pieces.' The writer of the article found 'no trace of the work in the Catalogue of the British Museum Library or in that of the Edinburgh Advocates' Library.' The book is, however, in the Library of the British Museum, appearing in the catalogue under the title *Dramatic Pieces from the German*. The catalogue gives the date 1892; but this, as the title-page shows, is in error for 1792.

The *Set of Horses* is the last of the three pieces contained in Mackenzie's little volume. It is a translation of *Der Postzug* by C. H. von Ayrenhoff (Scherer, transl. Mrs Conybeare, II, p. 311), whose name Mackenzie here, as in his *Account of the German Theatre* (Roy. Soc. Edinb. Trans., II, 1790), converts to Emdorff. The other two pieces in the volume are versions of Goethe's *Geschwister* and Gessner's *Unterhaltung eines Vaters mit seinen Kindern*.

How the mistake came to be made of ascribing this little comedy to Lessing is not clear. Several of Lessing's works, both comedies and tragedies, are mentioned in Mackenzie's *Account of the German Theatre*, where *Der Postzug* appears under the name of its French translation, *L'Attelage de Poste*; but there is in this fact no adequate reason for confusion.

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## 'SNAPE-GUEST.'

The reviewer of Professor Mawer's *Place-Names of Northumberland and Durham* (*M.L.R.*, vol. XVII, p. 85) regards as 'somewhat fanciful and even picturesque' the author's explanation of the word < from the dialect *snap*e, to be hard on, rebuke, or snub, and *guest*. Picturesque perhaps, but certainly not fanciful to anyone who is familiar with M.E. nomenclature. In my *Surnames* (ch. XII) I give about 130 existing English surnames of what I have called the Shake-spear type and about 350 more which are presumably extinct. My former pupil, Miss Dorothy Pilkington, who has done some valuable research in this type of name, enumerates many

examples which ante-date the *N.E.D.* records by from one to four centuries (see *Discovery*, January 1921, pp. 2-5) and about a thousand more which have never attained dictionary honours. Homesteads were occasionally named in the same way, and anyone familiar with the topography of a particular district would be able to quote one or two examples. A striking parallel to the northern *Snape-Guest* is the (chiefly) southern *Mock-Beggar*, occurring in more than one of Miss Sheila Kaye-Smith's novels of Kent and Sussex life. To the courtesy of Miss Kaye-Smith I owe the information that there are houses called *Mockbeggar* near Iden in Sussex, near Billingham in Sussex, and near Stelling in Kent. 'There are I believe others, and I expect you know the origin of the name, i.e., an empty house of prosperous appearance, to which the beggar goes in quest of alms, only to find it deserted.' Miss Kaye-Smith appositely quotes the parallel of the *Coldharbours* along the Pilgrim routes. There are also the *Caldecotes* of the old Roman roads. The *Gazetteer* gives a *Mockbeggar* near Ringwood in Hants, *Mockbeggar's Hall*, a group of rocks on Hartle Moor, Derbyshire, and *Mockbeggar Wharf*, a strip of sand on the Cheshire coast. It is precisely the repetition of the name that makes it clear as a popular coinage, just as the fourfold occurrence of *Snape-Guest* puts the correctness of Professor Mawer's ingenious interpretation beyond all reasonable doubt, though I should rather incline to give to *snape* its existing dialect (northern) sense of stinting or starving, or perhaps of disappointing (*ib.*), which brings the compound still nearer to *Mockbeggar*. Farms, like individuals, had reputations for hospitality or the reverse, and it is as natural to find a house called 'starve-guest' as to discover William Coldbord in the *Lanc. Assize Rolls* 1176-1285 or the contrasted Agnes Bonetable in the *Pipe Rolls*.

This type of place-name formation is better exemplified in France, where we find numerous compounds of verb + object, e.g. Crève-cœur (several), Heurte-(Hurte-)bise, Heurte-(Hurte-)vent, Écorneboëuf, or verb + vocative, e.g. Chanteloup (several), Chantemerle (several), Chantepie. I pass every day a house called Happegarbes (grab-sheaves), which I imagine the owner has named from some French farm with which he has family or holiday associations.

Finally, though I have not yet found a medieval individual called Sneipgest, I can quote the name Kepegest (*Leicester Borough Records*, 1196, and *Hundred Rolls*, 1273), in which the opposite idea is expressed.

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## SPANISH 'E' FOR 'UE.'

In § 13 of his *Gramática española* (Madrid, 1918), Menéndez Pidal discusses the development of *e* from *ue*, found in *culebra*, *cureña* (< \**coronea*), *fleco*, *frente*, and dialectal *prebo*. He considers the change dissimilative, caused by the labial sound preceding *l* or *r*. This theory is unsatisfactory. From such words as *hebilla* for *fiviella*, *hermoso* beside Portuguese *formoso* (pronounced *furmozu*), *Pamplona* for *Pomplona*, we should expect dissimilation to alter the first vowel of *culuebra* and *curueña*. The consonants *f* and *p* are too widely different from *u* to produce a dissimilative change. The development began with assimilation. A change of *e* to *o*, before a labial, is common in Italian, as *domandare*, *domani*, *dovere*, *indovinare*, *rovesciare*, *somigliare*; French has *œ* for older *e* in *veuve* < \**vedve* and dialectal *feuve* = *fève*; *a* has become *o* in Portuguese *fome*, Rumanian *foame* < \**fome* < *famem*. Likewise *l* and *r* were labialized between labials in early Spanish. After labialized *l* and *r* became established, they absorbed the following weak *u*, just as palatals absorbed weak *i* in *bullendo* for \**bulliendo*, *ciñó* for \**ciñió*, *dixera* for \**dixiera*. Finally the labial quality of *l* and *r* was lost, as the influence of a single labial was not strong enough to maintain it.

A labialized *l* is implied for Sardinian dialects by *w* instead of intervocalic *l*<sup>1</sup>; and for early Rumanian by *măduă* < *medulla*, *o* < \**wa* < *illa*, *steà* < \**steawa* < *stella*, the derivative *w* being regularly lost, aside from cases like *steaua* < *stella illa*, in accordance with *beà* < *bibebat*, *la* < *lauabat*, *scrie* < *scribit*. From Henry Sweet's account of Welsh, reprinted in his *Collected Papers* (Oxford, 1913), we learn that it distinguishes ordinary *l*, *n*, *r*, and labialized *l*, *n*, *r* (written *wl*, *wn*, *wr*). In my English the consonant *r* has nearly the same lip-contraction as *w*. Likewise in British English, according to Sweet's statement in § 919 of his *History of English Sounds* (Oxford, 1888), *r* is often rounded. This rounding is probably connected with the loss of initial *w* before *r*.

In *serba* < *sorba* the change of *ue* to *e* was analogic. The sorb or service-berry—properly *servess*-berry, from the M.E. plural *servēs*—is 'de figura de pera pequeña': *serba* might represent \**suerba* influenced by *pera*. But it seems more likely that \**suerba* became *serba* by assimilation to *serbal*. The latter was developed from \**sorbal* under the influence of \**suerba*, either directly, or through \**suerbal* with a later reduction of weak *ue* as in *estantigua* < *uest antigua*. This development has a parallel in the French derivatives of *mora* and \**morarium*: *meure*

<sup>1</sup> M. L. Wagner, *Lautlehre der südsardischen Mundarten*, Halle, 1907, § 110.

changed *mourier* to *meurier*, which became *murier* by a normal phonetic change (as in *buvant* for older *bevant*), and then produced *mure* for *meure*.

To explain *estera* and Portuguese *esteira*, Menéndez Pidal assumes a 'cambio de sufijo.' It would perhaps be better to say that the root was changed: the *o* of *storea* was apparently replaced by the *a* of *stare* or the *e* of *sternere*.

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### A RHYMED CHARM AGAINST 'MORT' IN HORSES.

My friend Mr R. Flower, Assistant keeper of MSS. in the British Museum, has kindly drawn my attention to the charm printed below. It is to be found, immediately following a version of the *Sompnia Danielis*, on fol. 33<sup>v</sup> of the Harley MS. 3902, an 8<sup>vo</sup> volume on parchment which, to judge from the tables of the sun and moon eclipses (fol. 11<sup>r</sup>-12<sup>v</sup>) and a *Cisio Janus* (fol. 44<sup>v</sup>), was written in or about 1330, probably in the diocese of Liège<sup>1</sup>.

The charm runs thus (I mark the end of each line in the MS. by |):

¶ Crift en moert, die | hadde eyn rof te famē | Crift he hiūf. en moert | he floegh.  
Stant op rof | giūt. die is des moertf | gebūet.

ter c'cū eūdo eq<sup>m</sup>. 7 | totidē dicendo v<sup>m</sup> 3 (=versum ter).

It is not altogether unknown. A prose version, in Middle Low German, from the Wolfenbüttel MS. Aug. 60, 15 of the fifteenth century, where it is embedded in a treatise *Medicinalia pro equis conservandis*, was printed by Lübben, *Jahrbuch des Vereins für ndd. Sprachforschung* II (1876), pp. 19-23.

As the preamble to this version throws light on the practical use of the charm and the text apparently helps us to establish a more original form of our version, I reprint it here:

(Dat perdt) dat den wanbete<sup>2</sup> heft : Dat kumpt van eyneme worme den heft ydt yn deme wuel toppe (cincinnus). So spreck desse wordt : De hillyge cryst vnd de mort de reden eyn perdt to samende. De mord de sloch dat perdt : De hillige cryst hoff dat weder up : Standt vp perdt, dy ys des mortes bot. Alzo mote dessen perde alles des oem werende is. Amen. Dusse wort schaltu runen yn syne vorder ore vnd tred myt dynen vordere vote vppe synen vordern voth vnde ga dre vmme dat perdt hen vnd laet it drauen dat yt warm werde. so wert id sundt.

<sup>1</sup> A short Latin satirical poem on fol. 44<sup>r</sup> on the order of the Beguine: *Ordo beghinarum nichil est nisi fraus animarum | Est fatuus talis quem decipit ars monialis* etc. would accord very well with this localisation.

<sup>2</sup> By *wanbete*, against which the charm was used as a sympathetic cure, is evidently meant staggers in animals (Germ. *Koller* of horses, *Drehkrankheit* of sheep). Cf., for the first part of the word, *wam-bizig* and *Wamapis*, quoted in Müllenhoff-Scherer, *Denkm.* II<sup>3</sup>, p. 304, from an O.H.G. and a Latin charm. They compare it to O.S. *wam-scatho*, an appellative for the devil, and regard it as the name of the worm which causes the disease; *wanbete* would, accordingly, mean the 'evil bite.'



In both versions of the charm the cause of the disease *wanbete* is indicated by the word *moert* ('murder'), here personified and made a companion of Christ.

*Mort(h)* as the name of a horse-disease, apparently, goes pretty far back in German usage. Steinmeyer, *Ahd. Glossen*, IV, p. 649, 32, prints a recipe, *Si equus habet morth*, from a twelfth century Viennese MS., and Müllenhoff-Scherer, *Dkm.*<sup>3</sup>, l.c., another charm, *ad pestem equi quod dicitur môrth*, from another part of the same twelfth-century MS. in which the word *wambîzig*, referred to in the note below, occurs. It points in the same direction when a miserable old mare is called *ein vil alter mort* in the *Krone* of Heinrich von Türlin (circa 1220, l. 19823), or when *houbetmürdec* is applied to a horse suffering from glanders. An allusion in the Alemannic poem, *Teufels Netz*, l. 11614 (cf. Grimm, *D. W.* vi, col. 2534), proves that the word was also familiar in Upper Germany in the fourteenth century, that is, at the period when our charm was committed to writing in Flanders. Even as late as 1588 Seuter gives in his *Buch von der Rossartznei*, printed in that year at Augsburg, an explanation of *mord* in the above sense: p. 78, c. 32:

Von dem mord: Dieses ist ain seltsame krankheit, das nämlich ein ross gählingen auff einmal nider felst als wenn es gleich sterben wolt, darum si denn auch diesen nammen hat.

Nowhere, however, has the disease and its cure found such a vivid and dramatic literary expression as in Low Germany. Christ and 'Moert' are here seen astride the same horse, or, as in the second Low Germ. Prose-version (cf. below), riding through the forest just as in the opening of the first *Merseburger Zauberspruch*: 'Phol ende Uuodan uuorun zi holza.' These pictures are, in their serene intensity, characteristic of the mediæval mind, which breathed life into the abstract. First the indigenous gods, then Christ and His mother, were ever present, everyday figures, who took their full share in the pleasures and troubles of men's lives! It is this vivid poetic realism which makes so much of this otherwise insignificant form of literature worthy of the student's attention.

In all these cases taken from High and Low German records, *mort(h)* clearly refers to the disease in horses. It is true that the same charm was also used against sudden death in men. We learn this from an extract from a 'Rostocker Protokollbuch' printed in the *Korrespondenzblatt des Vereins für nnd. Sprachforschung*, XII (1887), p. 35, n. 5, where a witch, Tillecke Loweestevens, in the year 1511 confesses to using it. The formula here runs:



De mord unde de hilghe Karst de reden dorch den wolt; de mort de sloch, de hilghe Karst hoff ene weder up. In deme namen des vaders, des sones unde des hilghen gheystes.

We recognise at once our old acquaintance, but sadly mutilated and distorted; *ene* refers, of course, to the person attacked who, however, does not appear at all, and the curative formula proper, *Standt up perdt* etc. had, of necessity, to fall out altogether.

Many quotations, however, both in Schiller-Lübben, *Mnd. Wörterbuch*, iii, p. 121, and in the *Woordenboek der ndl. Taal*, ix, col. 1107 (sub *moord*, II), prove that in Low Germany as well as in the Low Countries the personified use of *mort* as the cause of (sudden) death in men as well as in animals, still flourished in the sixteenth century, especially in curses: *de mort sla di!* or it was used as a substitute for the name of the devil or some other Incubus.

To return once more to the Harley MS. The chief interest of this new version of the charm is that it is in rhyme. There is little doubt that such was the original form of the charm. Its dramatic introduction of the persons concerned, the healing formula given as a simple command by one of the actors, and, finally, the lack of any reference to a particular case in which the sympathetic cure is to be applied<sup>1</sup>, conform to the style of the older formulae of this kind<sup>2</sup>. The original might well go back to the twelfth century or even further.

Although the origin and form of the charm, as we have it, are Dutch, there are traces that the scribe had a Low German source. Cf. *ros* (Low German together with *ors*): Dutch *ors*; the pronoun *he* for *hi*, *hij* and the curious spellings *hiûf* (Dutch *hief*), *giût* where the source probably had *hiûf*, *giût* (cf. A. Lasch, *Mnd. Grammatik*, §§ 160-62).

From a comparison with the prose-text it would further appear that this source was already faulty in some minor details. The following is an attempt to reproduce the original Low German form:

Crist unde mort  
de reden te samene eyn ors (ros).  
Mort he sloch,  
Crist he hof:  
'Stant up, ors (ros) got,  
Di is des mordes bot.'

R. FRIEBSCH.

LONDON.

<sup>1</sup> The more explicit later prose version has added this: *Alzo mote dessen perde* etc.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. M. Müller, *Über die Stilform der altdeutschen Zaubersprüche*, Gotha, 1901, espec. § 9.

## REVIEWS.

*Shakspeare to Sheridan.* By ALWIN THALER. Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press; London, H. Milford. 1922. 8vo. xviii + 339 pp. + 40 illustrations. 21s.

It is dangerous for a scholar whose reputation is in the making to wear his learning lightly. The philosopher may disappear beneath the cap and bells and the world take him at his surface value. Modesty is becoming to a young author, but Mr Thaler has the virtue in excess. He makes no claim in his preface that his book is anything beyond a careful compilation, though it is that and very considerably more; and for this reason, together with the fact that he elects to address himself primarily to the general reader, the value of his work is apt to escape the attention of conscientious students of the drama. Yet *Shakspeare to Sheridan*, for all its easy grace, is a sound contribution to the sum-total of existing knowledge. Scarcely a chapter but bears evidence of penetrative investigation and hard thought.

Alone among theatrical antiquaries since the days when Malone first lost himself in the labyrinth, Mr Thaler shows himself capable of threading the mazes of early playhouse finance. Here he is, and will remain, master. Impelled by his grasp of this particular subject he has written a book of 'diversified pleasings' dealing minutely with the theatrical administration and cognate matters of two centuries. Possibly because he has thrown out somewhat too wide a drag-net (his knowledge not being equally well-equipped at all points), defects are here and there to be found, but they are not such as seriously to impair the value of his work. Technical terms are not always used in their correct sense. 'Stars' were not in existence in Betterton's day (pp. 10 and 70), and it is idle to refer to any member of a regular stock company, no matter how prominent, as a star. Irrespective of the fact that the starring player was an eighteenth-century product, the term 'star' was really of operatic origin and applied only in the beginning to ballerinas and *prime donne*. This restriction held good in France until quite recently (see A. Bonchard, *La Langue Théâtrale*, under 'étoile'). To apply the latterday term 'business manager' to the combined Elizabethan office of property-man and wardrobe keeper (p. 72) is also highly confusing. Throughout Mr Thaler seeks too curiously for latterday analogies. He requires also to grasp that 'to paper' a house is not necessarily to fill it up with *claqueurs*. Any old actor can tell him that the man who gets into the theatre gratis is notoriously chary with his applause. Occasionally too, in maintaining his rôle of populariser, Mr Thaler's unflagging veracity runs away with him. He would find it somewhat difficult to make good his statement (p. 5) that 'marriages between players and the nobility were but one of many important bonds between the theatre and the

court from Shakspeare's time through Sheridan's and later.' Apart from the Roxolana crime, what alliance of the sort took place before the eighteenth century?

In an absorbing chapter dealing with the rewards of early play-writing Mr Thaler somewhat too readily accepts the tradition recorded by Oldys that Shakespeare received for *Hamlet* a poor £5. Yet two or three pages later he tells us that 'in the year 1599 a certain modest "cobler of poetry called a play-patcher" and named Dekker (for so he describes himself) earned as much as £9 by putting *Old Fortunatus* into new livery.' Apart from the fact that *Old Fortunatus* was really a new play on an old theme and not merely, as here implied, a revisal, the discrepancy between the price paid by Henslowe to Dekker and the alleged sum given for *Hamlet*—seeing that the two plays were practically of the one period—is disturbing<sup>1</sup>. A few lines later, Mr Thaler again challenges contradiction by the statement (p. 25) that 'prologues and epilogues were less in demand' in Jonson and Dekker's time than in Nell Gwyn's. Surely no seventeenth-century play was devoid of either prologue or epilogue. Doubtless he means otherwise than he says, but why not say what he means?

As I have shown in some detail in an article on 'House Dramatists' published in *The Stage* for March 31, 1921, there sprang up fairly early in the seventeenth century a system of monopolising the services of certain dramatists for a short term of years by engaging them under contract at a weekly salary to deliver a specified number of new plays per year, generally three. Mr Thaler places the inception of this practice at ca. 1635, having no earlier evidence of its existence (p. 29): but there is good reason to believe that it had then been over a quarter of a century in vogue and that divers actor-dramatists who wrote long and solely for the one company, notably Shakespeare, Heywood and Rowley, were under contract in this way. There is contemporary evidence that when the Blackfriars boys were dissolved in July 1608, Evans 'delivered up their commission which he had under the Great Seal authorizing them to play, and discharged, and set at libertie...divers of the parteners and poetts<sup>2</sup>.' It is difficult to see what contract, under bond, a dramatist could have had with the controllers of the Blackfriars save one monopolising his services as a salaried servant of the house.

In the valuable chapter on 'The Players' one finds only two points calling for serious discussion. If it be true that 'the actor-sharer,' on engaging for a term of three years or thereabout, 'usually gave the company a heavy bond, to secure it against breach of contract,' the evidence Mr Thaler advances fails to prove the contention (p. 75). The Duke of York's sharers, who bound themselves 'jointly and severally in 1609 for the sum of £5000,' did so, not in their capacity as actors, but as housekeepers. This the 'jointly and severally' shows. But, if

<sup>1</sup> Moreover Day and Chettle received £9. 14s. 0d. for *The Conquest of Brute* (1598), Chapman £8 for *The Fount of New Fashion* (1598) and Dekker and Jonson £8 for *Page of Plimouth* (1599).

<sup>2</sup> Fleay, *Stage*, p. 245; Adams, *Shakespearean Playhouses*, p. 222.



we can assume that Henslowe's custom was general custom, Mr Thaler's contention is sustained by the evidence of Henslowe's dispute with the Hope players in 1614 (Collier, *The Alleyn Papers*, pp. 75-80), which shows that Henslowe articulated both sharers and hired men under forfeit.

Perilous as it is to differ with Mr Thaler on matters of playhouse economy, so much has he made the subject his own, a grave sense of duty urges me to dispute the accuracy of his statement (p. 75) that 'the companies, finally, sought to discourage secession by arranging for valuable allowances payable only upon the death of an actor-sharer in good standing, or on his retirement by general consent.' In proof of this he cites Charles Massey's letter to Alleyn of ca. 1613, referring to certain 'composicions betwene oure compenys that if any one give over w<sup>th</sup> consent of his fellowes, he is to receve three score and ten poundes.... If any on(e) dye his widow or frendes...reseve fyfte poundes.' But it is plain to be seen that the 'fellowes' spoken of were not the actors but the actor-housekeepers of the Fortune, since only the housekeepers had invested money in the theatre and could look for so serious a return. That Massey himself was both an actor-sharer and a housekeeper there is shown by the same letter<sup>1</sup>, wherein he speaks of his gallery money and his house money. Details of an analogous arrangement will be found in the *New Shakespeare Society Transactions*, 1880-1886, p. 495, wherein it is demonstrated that in or about 1612 the 'housekeeping' or capitalistic interest in the Red Bull was divided into seven parts held in whole or half shares, and that the value of the whole shares had been originally fixed at £80.

Packed though it is with detail, there is little to find fault with in the section devoted to 'The Managers.' For purposes of a second edition, which the book will undoubtedly reach, it may be pointed out that Dennis's *Iphigenia* was produced in December 1699 and not in the succeeding year (p. 152), and that the tragedy called *Mascella* on p. 153 was the *Marcella* of Hayley. Regarding the mysterious 'Four Companies' of Jacobean times (to which we find reference only in Sir Henry Herbert's Office-Books), Mr Thaler rightly disputes Malone's theory of a union through shortage of actors (!) and is inclined to believe that for a time there was some pooling of receipts. A working agreement of this sort however would have led to unending complications, and I take leave to propound an alternative theory. My idea is that some time before 1618 the King's, Queen's, Prince's and Lady Elizabeth's men agreed to pay Sir George Buc<sup>2</sup> a certain (say) monthly fee on the understanding that neither theatres nor plays were to be licensed for any new companies. This contract was doubtless taken over by Sir Henry Herbert<sup>3</sup> on his accession to office, since we find Herbert in 1623 recording the performance at the Red Bull of a new play called *Come See a Wonder* as by a 'company of strangers,' with the significant postscript 'licensed

<sup>1</sup> Greg, *The Henslowe Papers*, p. 64. See also Adams, *Shakespearean Playhouses*, p. 282 for scheme of partnership afterwards altered.

<sup>2</sup> J. Q. Adams, *Dramatic Records of Sir Henry Herbert*, p. 48.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 121.

without my hand to it, because they were none of the four companys<sup>1</sup>. About five years later Herbert apparently cancelled this contract and arranged with each of the four companies that he should be given annual benefits, an understanding that held good up to the period of the Civil War<sup>2</sup>. Possibly this is a suitable place to point out that on p. 198 Edmund Tilney is mistakenly spoken of as the first Master of the Revels and his 'Commission Touching the Powers of the Master' of 1581, under which licensing was first established, referred to as his patent<sup>3</sup>.

Sundry moot points in subsequent chapters can only be cursorily dealt with. Wherever Mr Thaler gained the impression (p. 176) that the players' expenses on their visits to Oxford at the Acts were defrayed out of the royal purse, it is wrong. All such visits were purely speculative. So, too, acting in the royal cockpits ceased in 1665 with the construction of a permanent court theatre<sup>4</sup>, though our author ignores the fact (p. 177). Mr Thaler might also ask himself the question (p. 182), whether we have any evidence of 'command nights,' otherwise performances referred to in the bill as commanded by royalty, before the eighteenth century. One doubts if there were any such in Old Rowley's time.

The ugliest blunder in the book occurs in the chapter on 'The Theatres and the Court,' at p. 193. Here we read, 'there is space for only the briefest glance at certain other manifestations of the intimate relations between the theatre and the gentry. One of them is the frequent appearance on the professional stage of this or that (unnamed) "Lady" or "Gentleman" in various important parts, the advent of such recruits being signalized always by big type in the play-bills and big crowds (?) at the box-office (?). Thus the Covent Garden playbills of March 2, 1779, announced for two days ahead "Othello, by a GENTLEMAN, being his first appearance on any stage."'

Mr Thaler here shows an extraordinary ignorance of eighteenth-century theatrical custom, and it would be amusing, were it not painful, to find him assuming that old-time managers applied the terms 'Lady' and 'Gentleman' on their bills to persons of quality only. The truth is that every theatrical novice in those days made his or her first appearance anonymously, so as to avoid disgrace in the event of failure. It was not until the debutant had made several successful appearances and acted a second or third character that his name was given in the bills. The formula was precisely as Mr Thaler has indicated, but it had no restricted application or significance.

One fails to see any particular analogy between the taphouse of the Elizabethan public theatre, which was invariably a separate building, and the refreshment bar of a latterday London theatre, though our author strives to draw one by inaccurately styling the bar a taphouse (p. 218). Nor did the profits of the Elizabethan taphouses always go to

<sup>1</sup> J. Q. Adams, *Dramatic Records of Sir Henry Herbert*, p. 63.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* pp. 65 and 121.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 5.

<sup>4</sup> *Pepys's Diary*, April 20, 1665.



the housekeepers: frequently the taphouse was leased to an outside victualler. It is equally erroneous to assume (p. 221) that ale was vended or smoking practised in the Restoration theatres.

In dealing with early prices of admission—a difficult subject on which a useful appendix is given—Mr Thaler argues that prices on the first day of a new play were not invariably doubled, 'for,' says he, 'Dekker's Gull paid a shilling for a place in the lords' room at a new play.' Dekker's gull did nothing of the sort. The passage referred to reads 'but when at a new play you take up the twelvepenny roome next the stage; because the Lords and you may seeme to be haile fellow wel-met.'

Assuming for argument's sake that 'at a new play' means 'the first performance of a new play' (which it probably does), it does not follow that because the gull went to 'the twelvepenny roome' he paid only twelvecence. Dekker refers to the room by its common denomination just as Pepys speaks of going to the eighteenpenny gallery on days when the price was more than eighteenpence.

Mr Thaler discusses intelligently the trouble occasioned by 'advanced prices' in the eighteenth century but he fails to tell us how the principle of advanced prices (as contra-distinguished from the double prices charged at the first performance of new plays<sup>1</sup>) came to be established. From 1672 onwards, as the prologues and epilogues of 1672–1678 show, it became customary to charge double and sometimes treble prices at every performance of a new opera. The theatre patents permitted of this impost. The single-day doubled prices were designed to compensate the company for the writing cost of the new play, and the advanced prices were imposed to recoup the outlay on scenery, machinery, dresses and foreign dancers.

In the course of his inquiry into the cost of early theatre-building, Mr Thaler puts the expenditure on the second Theatre Royal, Drury Lane at £2400, the figure in the original estimate (p. 213). But in the players' petition to Charles II of *ca.* 1673, published by me in *The Athenæum* for April 18, 1903, it was advanced as a reason for their request for the payment of court arrears that their new house would 'cost them neere Two Thousand pounds more than when it was first built,' and the first house cost £1500. Moreover Genest<sup>2</sup> points out that in a petition to Queen Anne made in 1709 the cost of the second Drury Lane is said to have been near £4000.

It is painful to find Mr Thaler labouring under the delusion that there were boy-ushers in the old 'private' theatres (p. 233). What could have been their utility in the days when there were no numbered or reserved seats? Is it not plain that the boys for whom new gloves were provided 'at every new play and every revived play' (p. 250) were the boys who acted female parts? Again, it is difficult to know in what sense Mr Thaler uses the term 'run.' In theatrical parlance it signifies

<sup>1</sup> For a like French custom in Molière's time, see V. Fournel, *Curiosités théâtrales* (1878), p. 139.

<sup>2</sup> *Some Account of the English Stage*, 1, p. 160.



a sequence of uninterrupted performances of the one play. We are told at p. 238 that 'in the season of 1699-1700 Farquhar established a record which stood for some time after, for in that season *The Constant Couple* ran at Drury Lane for fifty-three nights—twice as long as the next big hit, Addison's *Cato*.' A reference is given to Chetwood, but what Chetwood says is that the comedy was 'play'd 53 nights the first season,' which is not precisely the same thing. It was customary in Restoration and Post-Restoration days to keep a successful new play in the bills for a week or ten days and then give it at frequent intervals afterwards. That this was followed in the case of *The Constant Couple* is shown by the fact that Farquhar, in referring to the play in his preface to *The Inconstant*, writes: 'I remember that, about two years ago, I had a gentleman from France that brought the playhouse some fifty audiences in five months.'

In a valuable First Appendix Mr Thaler gives a number of extracts from the Lord Chamberlain's Books, 1661-1683, relative to players and playhouses. Most of these are new and all will prove serviceable to the student. Misled by the circumstance that all our routine histories of the Restoration stage are silent as to the existence of a Queen's Company, Mr Thaler thinks that the record of a warrant issued in February 1665[6] for provision of liveries for 'her Ma<sup>ties</sup> Comedians' errs and that the warrant was really for the Duke's players. But apart from the fact that it was no business of the Crown to provide liveries for the Duke's players (we have no evidence that they wore liveries), the marginal indication 'Queene's players Liverys' shows that there could have been no mistake. No court scribe but would have known whether or not the Queen had lent her name to a company of comedians. As a matter of fact we have evidence of the existence of a Queen's Company a year or two before this period. In Dr Edward Browne's Note Book<sup>1</sup> an undated list of plays seen 'at the Cockpit in Drury Lane' is given. Opposite the last item, 'Dr Fostus...1.0' is inscribed 'Quenes Players.' It is noteworthy that Marlowe's play was reprinted in 1663, 'with new additions, as it is now acted.'

It is all to the good that Mr Thaler's book should make primary appeal to the eye not only by the excellence of its printing and the quality of its paper but by a profusion of curious and valuable illustrations selected from the Harvard Theatre collection. All the superficially attractive books should not be in the devil's service any more than all the good music. Regarding the illustrations, it should be noted, however, that the authentications of the two Hayns plates have somehow got confused (p. xviii). One is disposed to ask, too, on what authority the plate given at p. 79 is described as a portrait of Elizabeth Barry. The plate itself is merely inscribed 'Habit of Zara in the Tragedy of the Mourning Bride' and is undoubtedly of a much later period than Mrs Barry's.

<sup>1</sup> Sloane MSS., 1900. For theatrical extracts, see *The Gentleman's Magazine*, July 1906, pp. 69 ff., W. W. G.(reg) on 'Theatrical Repertories of 1662.'

More offensive still in its complete irrelevance—an irrelevance calculated to mislead—is the Hans Buling reproduction at p. 20. It does not follow that ‘a mountebank who frequently exhibited in Covent Garden,’ as the original inscription reads, exhibited in Covent Garden theatre. Another of the plates draws attention to a curious omission in the book. At p. 266 two bone tickets, each bearing a player’s name, are reproduced, but we are nowhere told how ‘bones’ (as they were familiarly called) differed from other theatre checks. In the London playhouses of a century ago and more the prominent players of the company were allowed a certain number of passes nightly to the boxes and gallery for the service of their friends, the number being in ratio to the importance of their salaries. These were the ‘bones.’

With the amending of these blemishes in a second edition (and a second edition is certain to be reached), Mr Thaler will have written a book of permanent value, a book truly educative in the best sense, because of its persuasive charm and the wideness of its appeal.

W. J. LAWRENCE.

DUBLIN.

*The Buik of Alexander.* Edited by R. L. GRÆME RITCHIE. Vol. II (Scottish Text Society). Edinburgh, 1921. 8vo. cxvii + 284 pp.

Ne sont que trois matières à nul home attendant,  
De France et de Bretagne et de Rome la grant,

sang Jean Bodel about mediæval metrical romances. Matter of France and of Britain described not unfairly stories about Charlemagne and Arthur; but matter of Rome was no adequate title for the catalogue which comprised tales of Troy, of Thebes and of Alexander the Great. Stories of Alexander were current in every land from the Indian Ocean to the Atlantic. From France the French versions crossed the Channel and originated English versions. To Scotland belongs *The Buik of the Most Noble and Valiant Conquerour Alexander the Grit*, which is not, strictly speaking, a life, but consists of three episodes—*The Forray of Gadderis*, *The Avowis of Alexander*, and *The Great Battell of Ephesoun*. No MS. is known to exist; and the present text is from a unique copy (belonging to the Earl of Dalhousie) of *The Buik* printed in Edinburgh by Alexander Arbuthnet about 1580.

Vol. II now issued contains Part II of *The Buik*, which tells how Alexander helped Cassamus against Clarus, the wicked King of Ind, who sought to dispossess the sons of Gadifer of Larris and wed his daughter. Here also is the French original—now printed for the first time—*Les Vœux du Paon*, the very popular romance of the fourteenth century, which circulated in numerous transcripts. *The Buik* is a full and accurate translation; but the editor has not been able to trace its precise original. Of the known MSS. he regards the one in closest agreement with that used by the Scottish translator to be No. 12565 of the Bibliothèque Nationale. It is this that is here printed, with certain alterations.

Variants are given from thirty other MSS., which are fully described and classified, while two substantial extracts from No. 12565 are, 'so far as typographically possible, reproduced diplomatically,' and also collated with all the MSS.

It is very important to have, as here, the French and the Scots facing each other, page by page; and we look forward with lively expectation to vol. I with the editor's discussion of 'the significance of the Scottish translation, its literary value, the personality of the translator and the much-disputed relationship in which he stands to John Barbour.' Meanwhile we heartily congratulate Dr Græme Ritchie on his patient industry, his scholarly thoroughness, and his brilliant erudition.

W. MURISON.

ABERDEEN.

*Minor Poets of the Caroline Period. Vol. III, containing John Cleveland, Thomas Stanley, Henry King, Thomas Flatman, Nathaniel Whiting.*  
 Edited by GEORGE SAINTSBURY. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1921.  
 8vo. x + 552 pp. 16s.

After a long interval, due in large measure to the War, Professor Saintsbury has issued the third and last volume of his very valuable work. Some little-known poets whom he had intended to include have dropped out of the scheme to our great loss. But we have to thank him for a goodly volume which will hardly be read through in a week even by enthusiasts, and one in which the editor has had the invaluable assistance of Mr Percy Simpson and Mr G. Thorn Drury in his effort to give an impeccable text, so far as this is consistent with modernization of spelling. The poems of each author are prefaced by a biographical and critical Introduction, and minor difficulties are dealt with in foot-notes which, while they illustrate the author in question, illustrate no less the learning, acuteness and the literary and political proclivities of Dr Saintsbury himself. To the student of seventeenth-century poetry the whole work is indispensable. Its utility would however have been increased if it had had an alphabetical index of first-lines.

To come to points of detail:

Cleveland.

- p. 23, l. 43. Query, 'foul as those beasts as are'...
- p. 26, l. 29. The editor's note seems to suggest that the phrase 'to break Priscian's head' originated with Butler. In English it is found as early as Skelton.
- p. 27, l. 39. 'seamen' is apparently a misprint for 'seaman.'
- p. 34, l. 17. As the lawyer appears at l. 40, I doubt if 'Calot Leather-cap' is a lawyer also. The word 'calot' may mean apparently a 'skull-cap' in general, not necessarily a 'coif.' The 'coif' seems to have been made not of leather, but of white lawn.
- p. 40, l. 35. As most, or all, of the early editions have 'Monster,' is not 'Master' a likelier reading than 'under'?



Stanley.

- p. 127, l. 13. 'And like those blessed souls above,  
Whose life is harmony and love.' (From the Poems of 1651.)  
Did these suggest Waller's lines in his song 'While I listen to thy voice':

'For all we know  
Of what the Blessed do above,  
Is, that they Sing, and that they Love'?  
Or were Waller's lines the source of Stanley's?

- p. 148. 'L. D.S.' is, I suppose, Lady Dorothy Sidney. Cp. p. 147.

King.

- p. 221, ll. 39-49 are one interrogative sentence, I think, in which ll. 41-46 form a parenthesis.
- p. 224, l. 33. 'immured sense,' a misprint for 'immured fence.'
- p. 264, l. 403. 'by th' Armies thundering.' Whatever the case of 'Armies,' the editor will not persuade us that it is here nominative.
- p. 267, l. 8. 'Where now she rests, Blest Soul, in such a Father.' The comma after 'Soul' destroys the sense.
- p. 272. 'Wishes etc.' Lines 28, 29 so strongly support the attribution to King, as the editor points out, that one can hardly doubt the poem's authenticity although it postulates that King married a second wife unknown to his biographers. Lines 40, 41 seem to suggest that the wife referred to was not the boy's mother.

Flatman.

Without knowledge of Professor Saintsbury's work, Dr F. A. Child of the University of Pennsylvania has published a thesis, *The Life and Uncollected Poems of Thomas Flatman* (Philadelphia, 1921). The thesis has some variants of Flatman's text, which look like errors, but it contains a number of poems from *Heraclitus Ridens* attributed to Flatman which find no place or mention in the present work.

- p. 381, l. 8. 'Thy dear Alexis wouldn't stay.' The editor makes the strange remark that 'would n't' must be 'would not' to scan. He also says that Alexis must be Robert Flatman. This must be a slip for Thomas Flatman, the poet's son, and the subject of the elegy *Coridon on the death of his dear Alexis*, p. 375.
- p. 416. I agree with Dr Child that these lines were written on Sancroft's elevation to the Archbishopric in 1677 or 1678, and not with Dr Saintsbury that 'they have reference to the trial of the Seven Bishops.'

Whiting.

Whiting's poems *The pleasant historie of Albino and Bellana* and *Il insonio insonado* are so curious and so little known that we are especially grateful to Dr Saintsbury for reviving them. The first, though in parts disfigured by nastiness, is a very interesting example of the tale in verse, and is a step, as the editor remarks, towards *Tom Jones*. Whiting's audacities in language moreover present a series of interesting problems.

- p. 430, l. 64. 'third-air.' John Prideaux in his *Hypomnemata* p. 125 says that the air has three regions: '1. *Summam*, quæ calet per motum velociorem & ignis vicinitatem. 2. *Mediam*, quæ friget, præcipuè ob *Antiperistasin*. 3. *Infimam*, quæ variatur ad tempestatum vicissitudines.' The 'lofty third-air braves' to which Whiting refers seem to be generated in the highest or hottest region of the air. Whiting refers to 'the middle air,' p. 440, l. 53.
- p. 470, l. 1348. 'a jury of thoughts and plots.' Whiting has in mind Plautus, *Epidicus* I, 2. 56, *Most.* III, 1. 158.
- p. 474, l. 1520. There should be no stop after 'sphere,' nor any 'quote' after 'harms' (l. 1679). The speech goes on to l. 1703.

- p. 479, l. 1714. 'If satins difference and maids adorn.' If 'difference' is taken as a verb (cp. l. 2645), there is no necessity for the editor's conjecture: 'If satin's difference can maids adorn.'
- p. 482, l. 1833. A comma is needed after 'beards.'
- p. 486, l. 1995. 'branched lilies' seems to mean the maidens or novices, and it is not necessary to read 'blanched lilies' (= 'cheeks'), which could hardly be said to be 'reared.'
- p. 488, l. 2077. 'oval chair' = triumphal chair, is lexicographically interesting.
- p. 522, l. 3542. 'What actions gainful birth unto thy hope?' Query, 'What actions gave full birth,' etc.
- p. 524, l. 3637. The line should end with a comma, though the original edition has a full stop.
- p. 525, l. 3649. 'his ensigns veils.' Query, 'vails' here, and at l. 38 above 'vail'd,' as in the original edition.
- l. 3682. Query, 'Titan's,' or correct to 'Titan.'
- p. 532, l. 3976. 'Yesterday, about the after three.' This phrase is interesting in connexion with Professor Emerson's and Dr Henry Bradley's discussion on 'at after supper,' etc. in this *Review*, XI, p. 460; XII, pp. 74, 493.
- p. 544, l. 181, etc. The passage has a resemblance to W. Hemming's *Elegy on Rando'ph's Finger* which Whiting may have known.
- p. 545, l. 202. 'Virgil it was not, he had got a wench:  
Nor B. nor M. for they had got a wench.'
- Dr Saintsbury comments: 'I suppose "M" is Martial: which of the B's (it is surely not Boethius?) the other letter libels, I know not.' May not the letters stand for Bavius and Mævius?

Much work is required for the elucidation of Whiting's manifold obscurities.

G. C. MOORE SMITH.

SHEFFIELD.

*The Formation of Tennyson's Style: A Study, primarily, of the Versification of the Early Poems.* By J. F. A. PYRE. (University of Wisconsin Studies in Language and Literature, XII.) Madison. 1921. 8vo. 249 pp.

The fortunate University of Wisconsin has been able to provide for the issue of this useful and enlightening treatise. Most of the newer foundations in England—Manchester being a noted exception—have so far not seen their way to spend upon any species of learned works that cannot be sold at a profit. They will see some day, in the interest of their own good name, that this is false economy. Professor Pyre's book is just the kind of work that calls for such recognition. It has involved great labour, and much of it is very technical. The results, however, should interest poets as well as students; for Mr Pyre is no mere technician, or mechanical counter of pauses and stresses. His sense of artistic effect is keen, though he inclines to some diffuseness in expression. His feelings keep pace eagerly with his complicated calculations. There is a good deal of direct and judicious criticism scattered amongst them; and also, it must be added, a measure of somewhat needless epitome, which belongs more properly to the class-room. Mr Pyre's many tables (percentages of inversions, spondees, unstressed feet, etc.) are by no means needless;



indeed we could wish he had lightened his text, so often bristly with figures, by more tables still. But anyone used to metrical studies will readily seize his points. He carries his minuter inquiries down to the volume of 1842 inclusive; treats more shortly, but instructively, of *The Princess*, *In Memoriam*, and *Maud*; and has to go rather fast over the later works. Justly, he regards the book of 1842 as closing, in one sense, the 'formation' of the poet's style. But, in another sense, that process was lifelong; and I wish that Mr Pyre could have condensed his overture and left more room for the sequel.

His main conclusion, which he proves to the hilt by an array of figures, concerns the progress of Tennyson's versification. The fact seems to have been only vaguely perceived, or at least stated, before. It applies most clearly to the blank verse, but is true of the poet's metres generally. Mr Pyre formulates the principle thus:

Experience taught him that his forte lay in the delicate modulation of established rhythms rather than in the invention of complicated melodic systems or the discovery of new and surprising movements (p. 101)...An intensive cultivation of a limited and yet sufficient range of minute variations is the secret of Tennyson's metrical charm so far as such a quality can be analyzed and measured (p. 114).

In other words, after many early excursions and experiments, and after many revisions and rejections, Tennyson came to 'normalise' his rhythms. He had tried to vary and embroider before he had found his pattern; when he had found it, he worked within it, 'intensively,' and only went outside it charily. That is roughly Mr Pyre's thesis, if I have it right; to judge the mass of evidence in its favour, the book must be read. Of course it is not suggested that the poet thought in terms of 'epic cæsuras,' 'feminine cæsuras,' pæons, and the like; but the metrist gives names to the poet's habits, and takes as it were a pulse-tracing while the poet chants.

I can only ask for space to note some details of particular interest in this essay. (1) An Appendix throws light on the history of the *Locksley Hall* measure, as it was adapted by Mrs Browning, and by her passed on to Poe; and we learn how it was *not* suggested to Tennyson by Sir W. Jones's poem from the Arabic; (2) the justification (pp. 24 sqq.) of Coleridge's remark so often derided, that Tennyson 'had begun to write verse without very well understanding what metre is'; (3) the excellent account (pp. 174 sqq.) of the blank verse lyrics; and (4) the judgment of Mr Pyre (p. 194) on *Maud*, in which he 'misses the specific beauty of the Tennysonian art,' and has an 'instinct that all is not well'—an issue which I should like to debate with him at length in a fierce though friendly manner; and so with the remark (p. 100) about Landor's *Hellenics*, that 'absorption into the world of classic culture' makes them 'seem so utterly exotic and *irrelevant to our needs and ways of thought*' (italics mine; *ça porte malheur*!).

Mr Pyre himself makes one or two experiments in language: 'convenience'; 'abandon' (noun, Whitmanese?); we read of 'a derived poet'; 'the deeper residence of his talent.' But it is ungrateful to fasten on such things. His book carries on, in a different field, the minute and



exact inquiries which his compatriot, the late Mr Lounsbury, devoted to the study of Tennyson's reputation. Both these scholars make us understand the poet better.

OLIVER ELTON.

LIVERPOOL.

*American English.* By GILBERT M. TUCKER. New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1921. 8vo. 375 pp.

This book is a very natural protest against the *idolum fori* that American English is a 'degenerate' variation from our mother tongue. Its perusal may suggest thought to such supercilious persons of our countrymen as are ever ready to deliver judgment on the language and style of their neighbours. His anger at their impertinence has occasionally led our author to imitate their own contemptuous attitude.

The bulk of the book consists of two lists: 'Exotic Americanisms' (1100 words); 'Real Americanisms' (1900 words). These are interesting reading, and to many of the words shrewd comments are appended.

The second list, however, is in some respects as inaccurate as were the mid-nineteenth century self-constituted stylists against whom Mr Tucker is tilting. That a few such gentlemen still bletcher amongst us, in ignorance apparently of the existence of the *New English Dictionary*, does not excuse Mr Tucker's own neglect to utilize this work.

Here are a few wrongly-labelled 'Real Americanisms': the *N. E. D.* gives instances of *bosom* (shirt) from the year 1121 to 1834; *agaze* 1430-1876; *flats* 1296 to De Quincey; *huckster* 1200 to present day; *brave* (Indian) from Chapman to Byron; *swear in* from Evelyn to present day; *rising ground* 1617 to p.d.; *rack* (and ruin) 1599 to p.d.; *fetch* (a scream) 1552-1850; *flea-bitten* (horse) 1550-1863; *butter-fingered* 1615-1841.

Here are a few probably wrongly-labelled 'Real Americanisms': the *N. E. D.* records British examples anterior to Mr Tucker's American dates for: *line* (railway), *liner*, *king-bolt*, *fork up*, *come down*, *cut* (chapel), *soda* (water), *stiff* (drink), *hardtack*, etc. etc. Possibly some of these really are of American origin; but the question may remain open until the world possesses an American supplement to the *N. E. D.*

If, before his second edition, Mr Tucker will check his second list in full with the *N. E. D.*, as he has inspired us to do in part, the considerable debt of Standard Modern English to the United States of America, will be made more widely known.

The political separation of the two nations has put no hindrance in the way of free passage of useful words from one country to the other. To the United States the English language owes, as Mr Tucker's book enables everyone to see without trouble, *cable*, *cablegram*, *telegram*, *express*; *hurricane-deck*, *monitor*; *lumber* and *kerosene*; *poker* and *cocktail*; *outfit*, *anti-slavery*, *vegetarian*; *to bluff*, *dump*, *coast*, and *toboggan*, and many other words equally indispensable; not to mention vast numbers of colloquialisms in use among educated persons of both nations,

e.g. *to own up, rope in, peter out, and housekeep*; *ragtime, grocery, jumper, cavendish, and deadhead*; and not to mention a very large vocabulary of political, business, and technical words, e.g. *wirepulling, campaign, non-committal*; *call, corner, appreciation, shortage, bucket-shop*.

Mr Tucker's list of 'Exotic Americanisms' is free from the faults of his other list. Here he sets out to disprove the foolish conceit that 'everybody knows an Americanism when he sees it'; and he has—to the satisfaction and pleasure of, we trust, every philologist—well wiped the floor with his adversaries. We would earnestly desire to bring his Chapter III to the notice of all teachers of modern English.

It is unfortunate that Mr Tucker has not clearly distinguished between origin and vogue. He would surely no more think of labelling *Armada, materialize, and steam-engine* 'Britishisms' than of calling *faith, commerce, and placard* 'Gallicisms'; yet he applies the term 'Americanisms' to such words as *rattlesnake, guano, shanty, ranch, and clearing*. This way confusion lies.

If we are to discuss this important problem impartially, the terms 'Americanism' and 'Britishism' must be restricted to provincialisms, i.e. to words and expressions which are not in use among all educated English-speaking people. These may be good old words or usages lost on one side or the other of the Atlantic, e.g. *claggy, collards, sick, guess, nigh unto, buffer*, or spoilt on one side or the other, e.g. *claim, allow, expect*. Or they may be new words or usages confined to one side, e.g. *bummer, taps, hunk, spang, right here, all two, luggage*. Of some of these sins of omission and commission neither country has cause to be proud.

It is still more unfortunate that Mr Tucker has not clearly distinguished between: (1) Dialect, (2) Colloquial speech (and writing), (3) Received Standard speech (and writing), (4) The Standard, literary, written language.

With the first two categories we need not immediately concern ourselves: they are matter for the dialect and slang dictionaries. It is, however, extremely important for the future of the English (not the British!) language, that the third category shall be scientifically examined. Category 4, in its modern phases as much the product of American as of British thought, still remains the common heritage of cultured persons on both sides of the Atlantic; but, in this democratic age, it is on the prudent, or the indifferent treatment of Category 3 that depends either the continuance of our five hundred years tradition, or the cleavage of standard literary English (again, not British!) into two dialects.

If Mr Tucker's book, as it undoubtedly must, leads a larger public to ponder these things, it is, whatever its imperfections, a good book.

J. H. G. GRATTAN.

LONDON.

*The Influence of Ovid on Chrestien de Troyes.* By FOSTER E. GUYER.  
(Reprinted from *Romanic Review*, Vol. XII.) Chicago: University  
of Chicago Libraries. 1922.

The author of this dissertation has chosen an attractive theme, well circumscribed, as a dissertation subject should be, and of a preciseness which shows that he has not, as yet, fallen to the lure of that Celtic fairyland which American scholars find so compelling.

By a comparison of parallel passages the author seeks to prove that, from *Cligés* onwards, Chrétien's conception of love and its effects physical and moral is essentially Ovidian, and his originality lies in the attempt to establish a new chronology of the romances on this basis. That Chrétien was thoroughly saturated with Ovid's doctrine is beyond dispute, and Mr Guyer makes this abundantly clear. Unfortunately many of the verbal comparisons he makes are sometimes so strained, even at times so incorrect, as to weaken an argument which intrinsically should be unassailable. Thus, 'It is to be noted especially,' says Mr Guyer, 'that Chrestien has taken over Ovid's figure of the ox compared to a lover who has struggled against the yoke of Love at first but later has learned to like it.' Mr Guyer insists more than once upon this. Now, the distich in Ovid says, as an argument for not struggling against love:

Verbera plura ferunt, quam quos juvat usus aratri,  
Detractant pressi dum iuga prima boves;

and in *Cligés* (v. 1032) Soredamor, deeply smitten, says, speaking of love: 'or an sai plus que bues d'arer'!

The following cases are similarly unconvincing and there are others: *Cligés* (vv. 488, 9):

Que iauz ne voit, ne cuers ne diant;  
Se je nel voi, riens ne m'an iert.

Ovid (*Met.* III, 430):

Quid videat, nescit: sed quod videt, uritur illo,  
Atque oculos idem, qui decipit, incitat error.

*Cligés* (v. 902): Sa biautez avuec lui s'an aut!

Ovid (*Met.* VII, 23):

Vivat, an ille  
Occidat, in dis est. Vivat tamen.

The most convincing *verbal* comparisons are those which concern certain similes and maxims in *Yvain* and, curiously enough, the storm scene in *Guillaume d'Angleterre* which the untravelled Chrétien (?) was glad to take from the *Tristia*.

Mr Guyer's researches have led him to the conclusion that the much discussed opening lines of *Cligés* set out the poet's earlier works in chronological order.

*Erec* bears no trace of the Ovidian conception of love and is thus anterior to the translation of Ovid's *Ars Amatoria*. After the *Art d'Amors* comes *Philomena* (which Mr Guyer accepts as Chrétien's), for



here 'the love treatment as well as certain specific borrowings show an unusual interest in the *Ars Amatoria*.' As to *Guillaume d'Angleterre*, its freedom in its love episodes from all the characteristic Ovidian features marks it as an early work, if indeed we are to accept it as being by Chrétien. In this case the *Cligés* list though chronologically accurate is incomplete.

We hope Mr Guyer will pursue at an early date his intention of unravelling the influence of Provençal literature on Chrétien. His familiarity with Ovid will here stand him in good stead, and will enable him to estimate with some authority how much of the common stock of Provençal love-lore is an inheritance from the Latin poet.

JOHN ORR.

MANCHESTER.

*The Syntactical Causes of Case Reduction in Old French.* By G. G. LAUBSCHER. Princeton: University Press. 1921. \$1.50.

This is the seventh of the Elliott Monographs in Romance Languages and Literatures. The author died in October 1918 but his monograph of 120 pages was complete at his decease save for the final revision of the concluding pages. He had previously published a dissertation on the *Past Tenses in French* (1909) and was further engaged upon a treatment of case decay in the pronoun which was to complete the present monograph upon the substantive.

The author admits that 'we cannot directly reconstitute the popular origins of flectional decline, which only oral records would disclose,' but his endeavour is to detect in the syntax of Old French the seeds of a decay which by most has been attributed solely to phonological and morphological causes. The effort was worthy of all praise, as in syntax more than elsewhere we are likely to come to grips with the psychological processes of language change, and although in many of Professor Laubscher's 'causes' we are often tempted to see 'effects,' the effort has been conducted with exemplary thoroughness and with clear insight.

The great number of words of common gender in O.F. is the first syntactical cause of case breakdown mentioned by the author. It seems to us a little over-stressed. It is undeniable that words like *ost* (m. or f.), in which uncertain gender obscures the case value of forms like *l'ost* (m. obj. or f. nom. and obj.), are of importance, but pairs like *sestier* (m.) and *sestiere* (f.), which are also quoted, scarcely affect the issue as here no formal clash is possible.

The survival of neuter forms is undoubtedly a factor which strongly disturbs case symmetry, as is seen for example in such common phrases as *ce fu fait, il est dit* where forms identical with masculine objectives appear with nominative function. This question is admirably explored and illustrated.

Among other causes, great importance is rightly attached to the part played by proper names which have a tendency to invariability

(personifications like *Valors*, *Amors* might fittingly have been mentioned here), and to the influence of the vocative.

On the other hand, the influence of absolute constructions seems too strongly stressed. The absolute constructions, with the exception of the common numerical phrase of the type '*soi dixième de chevaliers*,' is largely confined to texts of strongly Latin flavour and can scarcely be considered as a living thing in O.F.

The author is on firmer ground in his chapter on the participles which tend to lose inflection as they come to be regarded as component elements of a synthesised verb form, and on the confusion between present participle and gerund. Further, the struggle between logic and grammar visible in common phrases of the type *tenir à*, and in the varying cases used after certain prepositions *estre*, *sans*, *mais*, is shown to have been a powerful contributory factor in case decay; the influence of the *entre...et* construction (e.g. *si s'apareillièrent entre lui et le roi de movoir por aler outre mer*) is singled out as of prime importance. It is this construction which, according to the author, accounts for the use of the oblique case in expressions such as '*ni vous ne moy ne povons*.' One is not prepared to accept this without further evidence, and it is deeply to be regretted that Professor Laubscher's work on the pronoun was not completed. He states in more than one place that the pronouns are more conservative in the matter of case than the nouns. It may be that this statement would have been modified to some extent after ampler research; for although the personal pronouns have preserved to this day a comparatively rich accident yet *celui* as compared with *cil*, *moi* as compared with *je*, *lui* as compared with *il* are strongly equipped rivals from the point of view of fullness of form and, perhaps for this reason, appear very early with nominative function.

This excellent monograph closes with a short summary (of little use if the text has not been read) and a very good bibliography.

JOHN ORR.

MANCHESTER.

*História da Literatura Portuguesa*. Por MENDES DOS REMEDIOS. Lisboa: Lumen. 1921. 8vo. 691 pp. 10,000 réis.

The usefulness of Dr Mendes dos Remedios' well-known manual of Portuguese literature is considerably impaired in this its fifth edition by the lack of an index. On the other hand it has been enriched with much new matter and the death of many authors since the edition of 1914 has brought them within its scope, for instance the novelists Teixeira de Queiroz and Abel Botelho, the critic Ramalho Ortigão, the philologists Gonçalves Viana and Adolpho Coelho, the dramatist Marcelino Mesquita, the poets Joaquim de Araujo, Antonio Feijó and João Penha. Unhappily the names of Gomes Leal, Dona Maria Amalia Vaz de Carvalho and Braamcamp Freire may now be added. In many instances the author's own views have been more clearly defined than in former editions. It is



a far cry from 'essas preciosas cartas' (1914)—the letters of the Portuguese nun—to 'qué nos importam essas cartas?' (1921). Portuguese literature must always be concerned with these celebrated letters, whatever doubts may be entertained as to their authorship. On the equally vexed question of the authorship of the famous *Crisfal* eclogue Dr Mendes dos Remedios stands on the side of tradition and asks: 'If Ribeiro is unquestionably the author of *Saudades* why may not Christovam Falcão be the author of *Crisfal*?' This eclogue is identical in style with those of Bernardim Ribeiro, which stand apart from everything else in Portuguese poetry, and if Falcão was able to identify himself with the manner of Ribeiro, who was born a generation before his friend but died at about the same time, the fact is one of the most remarkable in literature and Falcão fully deserves the high place hitherto accorded him. Many other problems of equal interest occur in the course of this work, which, with many bibliographical notes and an ample and excellent anthology, now runs to 700 pages of close print. Since a new edition appears periodically it is worth while to point out that a good many of the dates require revision, the following among others: Lopo de Almeida went to Italy in 1451 but his letters were written in 1452; it is exceedingly improbable that Sá de Miranda wrote the *Vida de Santa Maria Egípcíaca* 'in the last two years of his life': it must be dated much earlier; Damião de Goes was born in 1502, not 1501; the date of Gaspar Corrêa's death is correctly given as 1563? but also (incorrectly) as 1561, that of Anthero de Quental as 1891 (correctly) and 1892; the dates of the Portuguese philosopher Francisco Sanchez, here given as 1562-1632, should probably be at least ten years earlier; Clenardus did not live to be 97, he was under 50 at the time of his death in 1542; according to the dates here given Antonio Galvão was 111 and Eduardo de Barros Lobo 6 when they died. Galvão was probably under 70 when he died in 1557; the mistake, which is repeated from the fourth edition, arose from a confusion with the year of Duarte Galvão's birth (1446). All these small inaccuracies are confusing to learners, and since the book is intended for educational purposes some omissions must also be noted. Although Martin Codax, the charming singer of Vigo bay, is mentioned, the even more remarkable poets of the *Cancioneiro da Vaticana*, Pero Meogo (or Moogo) and Joan Zorro and, most talented of all, Airas Nunez, are passed over in silence. Even more serious are the omissions in the synoptic tables given for each period. In that of the nineteenth century under England we find Wordsworth, Moore, Byron, Shelley, Tennyson and Swinburne, but Keats is omitted, as are also, among others, Meredith, Pater, Rossetti, Stevenson and Mr Thomas Hardy. Under Italy Gabriele d'Annunzio is mentioned but Giovanni Pascoli is omitted.

AUBREY F. G. BELL.

S. JOÃO DO ESTORIL, PORTUGAL.



## MINOR NOTICES.

In taking up his duties as Merton Professor of English Language and Literature, Professor Wyld has some wise and a good many witty things to say about *English Philology in English Universities* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921, 2s. 6d.). The first part of his inaugural lecture is devoted to a generous tribute to the great scholars of the past—Earle, Napier, Skeat, Sweet—followed by a gloomy picture of our almost complete dependence upon German and Scandinavian scholars for carrying on their good work. The *New English Dictionary* may serve in large measure, as Wyld himself notes, to remove this reproach, and, at the present moment, Professor Chambers' Introduction to *Beowulf* may help us to hold our heads a little higher. But none the less the reproach is in large measure true. Now that German is so little known and studied, it is coming home to us with deadly force. The path to these studies cannot be opened without a key which we have either lost or are allowing to fall into disuse.

The main part of the lecture is devoted to a consideration of the lines along which the study of English Philology can alone be made to live and therefore to attract. The chief stress is laid on research and an attractive picture is drawn of the many and great problems which lie in wait for solution by the skilled investigator, many of them problems discovered in the first instance by Professor Wyld himself. The lecture closes with some discussion of the thorny problem of the relationship of Literature and Language in our schools of English studies, but the difficulties are raised rather than removed. The solution cannot be complete divorce. No true student of Literature can refuse to give his earnest and close attention to the whole history and development both of the written and of the spoken language, in which alone the ideas of the writers find expression. On the other hand no student of language can afford to cut himself off from a study of all those historical and literary traditions which have done so much to mould our language as it is spoken, and still more as it is written. Neither can the solution be complete union whereby the man of literary instincts may be forced to spend half his time over the spade-work of philology for which he has no liking but rather a repulsion, and the man with the instincts of a scientific philologist be forced to read and express himself about books and authors which make no appeal to him. Rather, the student of literature must be made familiar with the results of all the work that has been done by the philological specialists in throwing light on the history and development of the medium through which his authors express themselves and gain such knowledge of his own language in its earlier stages as will enable him with a goodly measure of scholarly accuracy to understand and appreciate authors of pre-modern times. On the other hand, the student of philology must learn that philology is not a mere juggling with forms, whether pre-historic or phonetic, but the study of human speech modified, altered

and enriched at every stage by influences both literary and historical. Of this last point of view, whether he agrees with it or not, the best illustration is perhaps Professor Wyld's own work upon the *History of Colloquial English*.

A. M.

All students of English prosody, and indeed of our literature in general will welcome the reissue of Mr T. S. Omond's very useful account of the writers on metric. The new volume called *English Metrists, being a Sketch of English Prosodical Criticism from Elizabethan Times to the Present Day* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 10s. 6d.) consists of the *English Metrists* of 1903 and the *English Metrists in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries*, 1907, revised and slightly enlarged, together with additions bringing the account up to date. It is hardly necessary to say more than this of work which is already recognised as filling in a very able and thorough manner what was a serious gap in our literary history. That everyone will agree with all Mr Omond's judgements in so difficult and controversial a subject as that of metre is not to be expected, but even the most convinced theorist will be benefited by such a knowledge of the theories of others as he may easily obtain from this book and would certainly not easily obtain without it, while to the general student the bibliographical appendices render it simply invaluable as a book of reference.

One notices in re-reading the work a few slips of minor importance which have been taken over from the earlier form, but which might be corrected should another edition be called for; thus in the note on p. 17 a line is ascribed to Nashe which really comes from Greene's 'Farewell to Folly'; the phrase referred to in note 2 on p. 24 will be found in the commentary on Spenser's *November Eclogue* (it is easy to understand Webbe's mistake in calling it 'ninth'); on page 278 two lines are quoted from Peele's *Old Wives Tale*, ed. Bullen, ending 'threat Mars, or blunder Olympus,' with the curious note 'Can *blunder* be a misprint for *thunder*?' The answer is Yes, but not in Bullen's edition, where the text reads correctly 'thunder.'

Mr Omond may care to note that there are 'hexameters' in *Greenes Funeralls*, 1594, by R. B. (who *may* be Richard Barnfield), also in John Dickenson's *Greene in Conceit*, 1598. There is a perfect and unshorn copy of *Mar-Martine*, 1589, in the Library of Lambeth Palace, from which it appears that there are no further lines of text to be added to those printed by Mr Bond in his *Lyly*.

R. B. McK.

Mr Morse S. Allen's dissertation for the Princeton doctorate, *The Satire of John Marston* (Columbus, Ohio, 1920), deals with Marston's quarrels, with his formal Satires, and with his dramatic Satire. The second and third of these topics are treated as one expects them to be treated in a dissertation: Marston's works are analysed in detail, and



their contents classified sectionally according as the range of their satire is General, of Morals, Humours, Fashions, Classes, Literature. But Mr Allen's first section is altogether different: it deals mainly with Marston's part in the celebrated Stage-quarrel, and it deals with it in a way one unfortunately seldom finds in a dissertation. It concerns, of course, one of the many Elizabethan subjects which have been hunting grounds for two or three generations of speculative allusion-trappers and identity-snarers. Such a field is a dangerous opportunity for the dissertator, who has to make a book and has to catch new matter: as a rule, he adds more specimens to the already overcrowded museum of stuffed figures who may possibly have been (but pretty certainly were not) the originals of this or that figure in this play or in that poem. Not so Mr Allen. He simply brings commonsense to bear on the many suggestions of other people, and shows how nine-tenths of them are altogether beside the mark. In doing that, he seems to us to render a real service to scholarship. But besides supplying a model to other dissertators, he presents the history of the stage-quarrel more succinctly, more proportionately and in truer perspective than has been done before.

H. B. C.

It cannot be said that Mr C. N. Thurber's edition of *Sir Robert Howard's Comedy 'The Committee'* (University of Illinois Studies, vol. VII, No. 1, Urbana, Ill., 1921, \$1.50) is a very satisfactory performance. His Introduction on the life, poetry and plays of Sir Robert Howard and particularly on *The Committee* is useful to the reader, but appears not to contain much that is new. His Notes are slight and somewhat haphazard. We might still owe him a debt of gratitude for giving us a reprint of a play famous in literary history: but the debt is lessened when we find that he has given us not the original text of 1665, but a text found in *The New English Theatre*, 1776. His ground for this choice is that this text indicates (a) passages omitted in theatrical representations, (b) passages added. While therefore the edition is interesting in connexion with the drama of the eighteenth century, it does not give us the play as the author wrote it. It is true that differences are pointed out either by typographical devices or by Textual Notes: but the fact remains that we have not Howard's text before us. Where he wrote 'ambergreece' for example, we read 'amber grease': the word had passed out of ken in the eighteenth century. Even the 1776 text does not altogether satisfy the editor. From a sense of grammatical propriety he prints 'throws up the heels of one of them,' though all editions have the more idiomatic 'throws up one of their heels.' He has done the right thing, however, in printing prose as prose, where it had before been meaninglessly cut up into lines as though it were verse.

G. C. M. S.



Professor Saintsbury's latest gift to us is *A Letter Book selected with an Introduction on the History and Art of Letter-writing* (London: G. Bell and Sons, 1922, 8°, xii + 306 pp., 6s.). The Introduction, if it lacks the repose and radiance which would entitle it to the quality of *charm*—a quality which can hardly be ascribed to Professor Saintsbury's writing anywhere—is an admirable piece of work, displaying a rare width of knowledge and a great power of judicious and illuminating criticism, which extends itself to authors not represented in the selection. We may only note the praise wisely bestowed on the letters of Horace Walpole, of Chesterfield, and of Swift to Stella, and the discriminating treatment of the letters of Keats. A page of introduction is further devoted to each author of whom letters are given. The selection is excellent. We might perhaps have spared the few non-English letters, but nothing else. As to the text, the word 'ioney' in Ascham's letter (p. 117 bot.) has been conjectured to be an error for 'ioncy' (= 'reedy'). In Dorothy Osborne's letters, the editor has in two places been led astray by Judge Parry's transcripts. On p. 148, l. 9 from bot. there should only be a comma at 'say,' on p. 152, l. 3 from bot. the phrase should be 'as well an humoured a young person.' The reason for the 'very unusual' name borne by Ambrosia Sidney (p. 122, note 2) was doubtless that she was named after her uncle Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick. These are trifles: the book is a delightful one in every way, and should send many readers to the great collections of which they have here had samples culled by a loving hand.

G. C. M. S.

Prévost in the pages of his *Pour et Contre* refers to Shakespeare, Addison, Dryden, Milton, Pope, Shaftesbury, Steele, Swift, Lillo and others. Mr G. R. Havens, in his *The Abbé Prévost and English Literature* (Elliott Monographs, No. 9. Princeton University Press, 1921, \$1.50) has devoted a separate chapter to recording the opinions of Prévost on each of these writers and has been careful to determine in the first place how much of the *Pour et Contre* is definitely attributable to Prévost's pen. His conclusions on this latter point are helpful. It would appear that Prévost's opinions on Shakespeare (*Pour et Contre*, No. cxciv) are derived largely from Rowe's edition of Shakespeare's works; and that his opinions on Milton are equally unoriginal. This is the more distressing as Prévost's other literary pronouncements are singularly colourless. Prévost's criticism is of the type which is of value only in bulk and there is really not enough of it to enable us to determine whether his 'liberality' is a positive quality or merely absence of conviction. Mr Havens does not shirk the inevitable conclusion that 'the Abbé was not one of those vigorous champions of new causes who leave a markedly individual impress on their time.' This conclusion will be disappointing to the admirers of Prévost, not least to Mr Havens himself who may have set out hoping for more than he found. We are indebted to him for his useful labour. Mr Havens does not touch the all-important question of the Richardson translations.

D. G. L.

The minute particulars of the last phase in Rousseau's life are carefully collected by Elizabeth A. Foster in *Le dernier Séjour de J. J. Rousseau à Paris* (Northampton, Mass.: Smith College; Paris: Champion, 1921, 75 cents), e.g. the furnishing and the domestic economy first of the little two-roomed 'appartement, au 5<sup>e</sup>' in the rue Plâtrière; the removal, four years later, a few doors down the street, neither house being identifiable to-day; the modest budget, with the combined resources of Jean-Jacques and Thérèse working out at 2278 francs in a good year and 840 in a bad; the names of callers, whether old friends or unwelcome interviewers; the botanizing excursions to Romainville and the like, with or without the faithful Bernardin; the exact version of that strange street accident in which the old man was knocked over by a big dog careering before a carriage (Oct. 24, 1776), and was very nearly killed. We are unable to discover in Miss Foster's work the new facts which one expects to find in a monograph, but the details as now pieced together in one volume show Rousseau in a more favourable light than hitherto: working placidly at the self-appointed task of copying out music for sale that he might be beholden to no man for alms, smiling at the well-meant remonstrance of friends, and receiving visitors with rough words only when they turned out to be hero-worshippers, quidnuncs or would-be benefactors, masquerading as music-dealers. Such a life reveals little of the craving for adulation or the misanthropic solitude generally alleged; apart from occasional eccentricities, it is merely the way in which many another philosopher in France has interpreted the formula 'spending the evening of one's days.'

R. L. G. R.

Dr Toynbee has done well in offering students a continuation of his *Dante Studies and Researches*, in a new volume of *Dante Studies* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1921. viii + 331 pp. 16s.), some of which appeared in the pages of this Review, while half have not been previously published in England. They contain much valuable matter in the bypaths of Dante scholarship. The first, continuing a line of research which the author has already proved so fruitful in the case of the *Epistole*, affords a new and striking argument in favour of the authenticity of the *Questio de Aqua et Terra* by the application of the test of the 'cursus.' A series of shorter notes touch upon points of textual criticism with respect to the minor works (showing us in fact the process by which certain now recognised readings have been established, the famous 'gratiosa' of the letter *Amico Fiorentino* among them), or discuss the precise meaning of words employed by the poet (for instance, 'trattato' in the *Convivio* and *Vita Nuova*). Longer articles deal with Dante's references to glass, Boccaccio's Commentary (written before the publication of the edition by Domenico Guerri in the *Scrittori d' Italia*), and the earliest English illustrators of Dante; while more than a quarter of the book is devoted to an exhaustive chronological list of English translations from Chaucer to the present day. It is curious to learn that English interest in Dante



was first stimulated by the painter, Jonathan Richardson, who was himself inspired by the bas-relief of the death of Count Ugolino then attributed to Michelangelo. In this connexion, it might have been noted that the picture of Dante by Blake (p. 153), now at Manchester, has the Ugolino episode in the background.

E. G. G.

*El Inca Garcilasso de la Vega* by Julia Fitzmaurice-Kelly is a new volume in the series of *Hispanic Notes and Monographs* (London, H. Milford, 1921, 5s.). There are few more romantic figures among historians than the author of *La Florida del Ynca* and *Los Comentarios Reales*. Garcilasso de la Vega, son of the Inca Princess, Chimpa Ocllo, and the Conquistador, Garcilasso de la Vega, was born at Cuzco in 1539. The first twenty years of his life were spent in his native land amidst the fierce internecine struggles that distracted the Spanish conquerors. On his parents' death he set sail for Spain and from 1560-1579 served in the Spanish army. His remaining years (1579-1616) he spent in writing the story of the Expedition to Florida, the facts of which had been related to him by an unnamed friend, and in the composition of the *Comentarios Reales*, the history of his native land, Peru. If he lacked the highest gifts of the historian, he was yet singularly well-qualified for his task. He had received as good a Spanish education as was possible in Peru, but he had also been brought up in the traditions of the old native race. As a result his work strikes a note of intimacy such as none other could have struck, while this effect is still further enhanced by the simplicity and lucidity of his style. His lack of scientific method does not detract from his charm nor has it prevented him from ranking as the most important of our authorities for the early history of Peru. Mrs Fitzmaurice-Kelly has succeeded in giving a vivid and attractive picture of his life and character, while the full and illuminating notes should make this little book as valuable to the specialist as it is attractive to the ordinary reader.

H. E. B.

Volumes III and IV of the *Collected Papers* of Sir Adolphus W. Ward (Cambridge: University Press, 1921, 63s.) contain his literary essays. They cover a very wide span of time, ranging from reviews contributed to the *Saturday Review* in 1867 to the Address to the British Academy on *Shakespeare and the Makers of Virginia* in 1919, that is to say, over fifty years. They include, besides book reviews, and brief contributions to composite works, the fine review articles on *Fynes Moryson*, on *The Parnassus Plays*, *Sir Henry Wotton* and *Evelyn's Diary*, Introductions to *The Spider and the Fly*, Shakespeare's *Henry VI* and George Lillo's dramas, the address to the British Academy on Milton, and that already mentioned. Considerably over a quarter of these two volumes is devoted to German literature; and here stand out conspicuous the contributions to the study of German Reformation and Renaissance thought, notably on *The Ship of Fools*, *The Brethern of Deventer*, *The Epistolæ obscurorum*



*virorum, Some Academical Experiences of the German Renaissance*, and the admirable lecture to the English Goethe Society on *Goethe and the French Revolution*. Thus it will be seen these volumes afford a rich feast of reading; there is not one item which does not bear the stamp of Sir Adolphus Ward's rich humanity; and even the least significant of his reviews remind the present-day reader of how much has been lost since our weeklies have relied rather on the practised journalist than on the scholar for their comments on current literature. It is to be regretted that post-war conditions have compelled the Cambridge Press to put a price on these two handsome volumes which many who would like to possess them will find prohibitive.

J. G. R.

M. A. Jolivet has given us an excellent study of the life and work of Wilhelm Heinse down to the publication of his *Ardinghello* (*Wilhelm Heinse: sa Vie et son Œuvre jusqu'en 1787*, Paris, F. Rieder, 1922, 25 fr.). Since Schüddekopf's critical edition of Heinse's works began to appear in 1903, several helpful German studies on this interesting writer have been published, the most important being A. Schurig's *Der junge Heinse*, Munich, 1910, and W. Brecht's suggestive *Heinse und der ästhetische Immoralismus*, Berlin, 1911. M. Jolivet has not let himself be deterred from covering ground thus already covered; he has added materially to the results of his predecessors, mainly by bringing his well-balanced judgment to bear on their occasionally ill-founded deductions. The temptation to see in Heinse an anticipator of the doctrines of Romanticism is great. M. Jolivet follows the more cautious course of presenting him within the framework of the 'Sturm und Drang'; his book is really a study of the genesis of *Ardinghello*, a novel in which he sees 'la réalisation la plus complète des idées du Sturm und Drang.' In Heinse's literary beginnings, his letters on the Düsseldorf Gallery, his biographical studies with their fervid conception of personality, his Italian experiences and Greek dreams, Jolivet sees a steady ascent to a culmination in the remarkable novel, which throws a bridge from Wieland and the Richardsonian family-novel to Goethe and the nineteenth century.

J. G. R.

Ibsen's *Early Plays* (New York: American-Scandinavian Foundation; London, H. Milford, 1921, 11s.), translated by Professor Anders Orbeck, is an important addition to what is contained in Ibsen's *Collected Works*, edited by Mr William Archer. The volume contains *Catiline*, *The Warrior's Barrow*, and *Olaf Liljekrans*. The *Preface to Second Edition of Catiline* (half a dozen pages of much historical value) contains the following passage, giving Ibsen's reason for including his first play among his authorized writings: 'Much, around which my later writings centre, the contradiction between ability and desire, between will and possibility, the intermingled tragedy and comedy in humanity and in the individual,—appeared already here in vague foreshadowings...' (Orbeck's

translation, p. 6.) *The Warrior's Barrow* is important as the first Ibsen play to be acted, and as his first extant attempt at dealing with material from the Sagas. He follows Oehlenschläger as his chief model. *Olaf Liljekrans* combines folk-tale and ballad material, and is written in ballad metre. Its use of satire points forward to the three great metrical dramas.

T. T. S.

Messrs Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., a firm which has done good service in rendering the lesser known languages accessible to the English student, have sent us three volumes of very unequal value. The first (*Language Student's Manual*. By W. R. Paterson. 1917. 3s. 6d.), written by a teacher whose enthusiasm is not coupled with any considerable knowledge of the principles of linguistic science, passes in rapid review the peculiarities of some seventeen different languages as regarded from the English point of view. Its tone is chatty, its matter consists mainly of antiquated 'wrinkles' for learning grammar and pronunciation, the portions concerned with the latter belonging to the pre-phonetic age. The author is obviously unfamiliar with the work of Sweet and Jespersen. The book is a rather tragic example of the futility of applying rule of thumb to the complex problems involved in acquiring a language. The author of the second volume (*Colloquial Japanese*. By W. M. McGovern. 1920. 2s. 6d.), who is already known as a writer on Japan, may be congratulated on having produced a clear and workman-like manual. It is systematic without slavishly following the traditional categories and contains copious exercises, accompanied by translations—the latter a practice to be commended in handbooks of remote languages. An introduction clearly summarises the peculiarities of Japanese, characterises the various 'styles' in vogue, and provides a useful background for the commencement of the study. One suggestion might be made which would bring the book, in subsequent editions, more into line with modern principles. The exercises are, as a whole, too disjointed and Ollendorffian, and might well be diversified by a few connected narratives. We should further like to draw the author's attention to an instructive article by H. E. Palmer on 'Some Principles of Language Teaching' (*Modern Language Teaching*, May, 1916), as this writer has actually selected Japanese to illustrate his method of 'substitution.' Apart from these points, however, the book should prove a pleasant and reliable guide through the thickets of a singularly difficult language. The third work (*A Modern Greek Manual*. By J. H. Freese. 1920. 3s. 6d.) is of a less ambitious character. Its sixteen exercises, mostly in the popular dialect, do not cover a very wide field, and are marred by the introduction of a number of somewhat unusual expressions, which do not serve the needs of the elementary student. The formulation of the rules is clear and the book well printed. A few errors in the text call for revision.

W. E. C.

## NEW PUBLICATIONS.

June–August, 1922.

### GENERAL.

- BECK, E. H. F., Die Impersonalien in sprachpsychologischer, logischer und linguistischer Hinsicht. Leipzig, Quelle und Meyer. 32 M.
- BRUNOT, F., La Pensée et la Langue. Paris, Masson. 50 fr.
- Essays by Divers Hands. (Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature.) Edited by W. R. Inge. London, H. Milford. 7s.
- FLETCHER, J. B., Herod in the Drama (*Nth Carolina Stud. Phil.*, xix, 3, July).
- MURRY, J. M., Countries of the Mind. Essays in Literary Criticism. London, Collins. 10s. 6d.
- PRESCOTT, F. C., The Poetic Mind. London, Macmillan. 9s.
- LOTSPEICH, C. M., Poetry, Prose, and Rhythm (*Publ. M. L. A. Amer.*, xxxvii, 2, June).
- SCHÜRR, F., Sprachwissenschaft und Zeitgeist. Eine sprachphilosophische Studie. Marburg, N. G. Elwert. 25 M.
- WILLEY, B., Tendencies in Renaissance Literary Theory. Prize Essay. Cambridge, Bowes and Bowes. 2s. 6d.

### ROMANCE LANGUAGES.

#### Italian.

- ALFIERI, V., Viaggi, a cura di G. Gallavresi. Milan, Facchi. L. 6.
- ANTONA TRAVERSI, C., Cose carducciane. Turin, Paravia. L. 6.
- BERTONI, G., Poeti e poesie del medio evo e del rinascimento. Modena, Orlandini. L. 28.
- BUSETTO, N., La genesi e la formazione dei 'Promessi Sposi.' Bologna, Zanichelli. L. 24.
- CROCE, B., Leopardi: Foscolo (*La Crit.*, xx, 3, 4, May, July).
- CROCE, B., The Poetry of Dante. Transl. by D. Ainslie. London, Allen and Unwin. 10s. 6d.
- Dante e il Piemonte. Miscellanea Dantesca. Turin, Bocca. L. 100.
- DE' LUCCHI, L., An Anthology of Italian Poems. Thirteenth to Nineteenth Centuries. With a Preface by C. Foligno. London, Heinemann. 10s. 6d.
- FERRARI, D., Commento delle Odi barbare di G. Carducci. III. Bologna, Zanichelli. L. 9.50.
- HAUVETTE, H., Études sur la Divine Comédie. Paris, H. Champion. 10 fr.
- LEOPARDI, G., Canti, a cura di G. A. Levi. Florence, Battistelli. L. 12.
- MEOZZI, A., Carducci. Florence, Vallecchi. L. 18.
- MESTICA, E., La Commedia di Dante Alighieri nel testo critico della Società Dantesca, esposta e commentata. 2 vols. Florence, Bemporad. L. 20.
- ROSSI, C., Il romanzo immortale. Commento estetico ai 'Promessi Sposi.' Milan, Caddeo. L. 12.
- SCHNEIDER, F., Die Entstehungszeit der Monarchia Dantes. Greiz, H. Bredt. 40 M.
- SIRVEN, M., Alfieri. Paris, Renaissance du livre. 4 fr.
- VIVIANI, U., Vita ed opere di Andrea Cesalpino. Arezzo, Viviani. L. 12.



**Spanish and Portuguese.**

- CERVANTES, M. DE, *Rinconete y Cortadillo*. Ed. by E. Allison Peers. (Cambridge Plain Texts.) Cambridge, Univ. Press. 1s. 6d.
- HURTADO, J., and A. GONZÁLEZ PALENCIA, *Historia de la Literatura española*. II. Madrid, Rev. de Archivos. 9 pes.
- JACK, W. S., Development of the 'Entremes' before Lope de Rueda (*Publ. M. L. A. Amer.*, xxxvii, 2, June).
- KING, G. G., *The Plays of the Sibyl Cassandra (Gil Vicente): A Citizen of the Twilight (J. A. Silva)*. (Bryn Mawr Notes and Monographs, iii, iv.) Bryn Mawr, Pa. Each 75 c.
- Lazarillo de Tormes, *La Vida de*. Ed. by H. J. Chaytor (Modern Language Texts, Spanish Series). Manchester, Univ. Press. 3s. 6d.
- LEVI, E., *Figure della Letteratura spagnola contemporanea*. Florence, La Voce. L. 9.
- MONTESINOS, J. F., Contribución al estudio del teatro de Lope de Vega (*Rev. fil. esp.*, ix, 1).
- NAVARRO TOMÁS, T., La cantidad silábica en unos versos de Rubén Darío (*Rev. fil. esp.*, ix, 1).
- PEERS, E. A., The 'Moro expósito' and Spanish Romanticism (*Nth Carolina Stud. Phil.*, xix, 3, July).
- SEGURA DE LA GARMILLA, R., *Poetas españoles del siglo xx*. Antología. Madrid, F. Fe. 6 pes.
- WEIGAND, G., *Spanische Grammatik*. Halle, Niemeyer.

**French.***(a) General (incl. Linguistic).*

- HAAS, J., *Abriss der französischen Syntax* (Samml. kurzer Lehrbücher der rom. Spr. und Lit., viii). Halle, M. Niemeyer. 70 M.
- KRÜGER, G., *Französische Synonymik*. Lief. 13, 14 (Schluss). Dresden, C. A. Koch. 38 M.

*(b) Old French.*

- LEO, U., *Studien zu Ruteboeuf* (Zeitschr. f. roman. Phil., Beihefte, lxxvii). Halle, M. Niemeyer. 70 M.
- LEWIS, C. B., *The Origin of the Weaving Songs and the Theme of the Girl at the Fountain* (*Publ. M. L. A. Amer.*, xxxvii, 2, June).

*(c) Modern French.*

- BAILLY, A., *L'école classique française. Les doctrines et les hommes*. Paris, A. Colin. 5 fr.
- BATAILLE, H., *Théâtre complet*. I. Paris, Flammarion. 7 fr. 50.
- BORDEAUX, H., *La jeunesse d'Octave Feuillet*. Paris, Plon-Nourrit. 7 fr.
- BOURGET, P., *Nouvelles pages de critique et de doctrine*. 2 vols. Paris, Plon-Nourrit. 15 fr.
- Cambridge Plain Texts (French). V. Hugo, *Eviradnus*, Ratbert, *La Légende des Siècles*; Michelet, *Saint-Louis*; Molière, *L'Amour médecin*, *Le Sicilien*. Cambridge, Univ. Press. Each 1s. 3d.
- CERINI, M., *La poesia di C. Baudelaire*. Catania, Giannotta. L. 10.
- COLEMAN, A., Some Sources of the 'Roman de la momie' (*Mod. Phil.*, xix, 4, May).
- DECHAMPS, J., *Sainte Beuve et le Sillage de Napoléon* (Bibl. de la Faculté de Phil. et Lettres de l'Univ. de Liège, xxx). Liège, H. Vaillant.
- ESTÈVE, E., *L'œuvre poétique de Leconte de Lisle* (*Rev. des cours et conf.*, June 30).

- FLOTTES, P., Baudelaire. L'homme et le poète. Paris, Perrin. 7 fr.  
 FUBINI, M., A. de Vigny. Bari, Laterza. L. 8.50.  
 GIRAUD, V., Maurice Barrès. Paris, Hachette. 6 fr.  
 GRÉVIN, J., Théâtre complet et poésies choisies. Notes de L. Pinvert. Paris, Garnier. 22 fr.  
 HOLTZMANN, K., Die Stellung H. de Balzacs in der Geschichte der französischen Literatur. Giessen, Rom. Seminar. 20 M.  
 JANIN, C., Victor Hugo en exil. Paris, Le monde nouveau. 7 fr. 50.  
 MAGNE, E., Tallemant des Réaux en ménage (*Rev. de Paris*, June 1, 15).  
 MÉRIMÉE, P., Lettres à la Princesse Mathilde (inédites) (*Rev. de Paris*, June 15).  
 MONGRÉDIEN, G., Étude sur la vie et l'œuvre de Nicolas Vauquelin (1567-1649). Paris, Picard. 25 fr.  
 MORILLOT, P., Le roman français durant l'époque classique (1600-1800). London, Dent. 6s.  
 NESSELSTRAUSS, B., Flauberts Briefe, 1871-80. Versuch einer Chronologie. Halle, M. Niemeyer. 30 M.  
 REYNAUD, L., L'influence allemande en France au XVIII<sup>e</sup> et XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle. Paris, Hachette. 12 fr.  
 Satires françaises du XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle. Publ. par F. Fleuret et L. Perceau. 2 vols. Paris, Garnier. 5 fr.  
 SEILLIÈRE, E., Balzac et la morale romantique. Paris, Alcan. 5 fr.  
 VERHAEREN, É., Œuvres, Tome III. Paris, Mercure de France. 12 fr.  
 VERLAINE, P., Correspondance. Paris, Messein. 9 fr.

## GERMANIC LANGUAGES.

**Gothic.**

- FEIST, S., Etymologisches Wörterbuch der gotischen Sprache. Neue Aufl., 3. Lief. Halle, M. Niemeyer.  
 FEIST, S., Einführung in das Gotische (Philologische Studienbücher). Leipzig, B. G. Teubner. 40 M.

**Scandinavian.**

- Edda, Die Lieder der älteren. Herausg. von K. Hildebrand. Völlig umgearbeitet von H. Gering. 4. Aufl. Paderborn, F. Schöningh. 90 M.  
 EKLUND, V., Dikter. I-III. Stockholm, A. Bonnier. 38 kr.  
 FLOM, G. T., The Language of the Konungs Skuggsjá (Speculum regale). I. (Univ. of Illinois Studies in Lang. and Lit., vii, 3.) Urbana, Ill., Univ. of Illinois Press. \$1.50.  
 HELLIQVIST, E., Svensk etymologisk Ordbok. Häfte 10. Lund, C. W. K. Gleerup. 3 kr. 75.  
 JENSEN, H., Neudänische Laut- und Formenlehre. Heidelberg, C. Winter. 14 M.  
 LINDROTH, H., Kust- och skärgårdsnamnen i Göteborgs och Bohus län. I. Göteborg, Förl. Västra Sverige. 3 kr. 75.  
 MØLLER, A., Hallgrímur Péturssons Passionssalmer. En Studie over islandsk Salmedigtning fra det 16. og 17. Aarhundrede. Copenhagen, Gyldendal. 10 kr. 50.  
 Olafs saga hins helga. Efter pergamenthaandskrift i Upsala universitets bibliotek. Utg. av O. A. Johnsen. Christiania, J. Dybwad. 7 kr.  
 ÖSTERLING, A., C. A. Hagberg. Minnesteckning. Stockholm, A. Bonnier. 6 kr.  
 PROOST, K. F., A. Strindberg, zijn leven en werken. Een inleiding. Zeist, J. Ploegsma. 5 fl. 50.

RUNEBERG, J. L., Samlade arbeten. 6 bind. (Helsingfors.) Stockholm, A. Bonnier. 145 kr.

TOPELIUS, Z., Dagböcker. Utg. af P. Nyberg, iii, 2. (Helsingfors.) Stockholm, A. Bonnier. 12 kr. 50.

### English.

#### (a) General (incl. Linguistic).

ALBERT, H., Mittelalterlicher englisch-französischer Jargon (Stud. zur engl. Phil., lxiii). Halle, M. Niemeyer. 20 M.

EKWALL, E., The Place Names of Lancashire (Publ. of the Univ. of Manchester. Engl. Series, xi). Manchester, Univ. Press. 25s.

FLASDIECK, H. M., Forschungen zur Frühzeit der neuenglischen Schriftsprache. I. (Stud. zur engl. Phil., lxxv.) Halle, M. Niemeyer. 20 M.

HOLMQVIST, E., On the History of the English Present Inflections, particularly -th and -s. Heidelberg, C. Winter. 28 M.

JESPERSEN, O., A Modern English Grammar on Historical Principles. I, II. 2nd and 3rd ed. (German. Bibl., i, 1, 9.) Heidelberg, C. Winter. 90 M.

WHITE, H. A., English Study and English Writing. London, D. C. Heath. 6s.

#### (b) Old and Middle English.

BOROWSKI, B., Zum Nebenakzent beim altenglischen Nominalkompositum (Sächs. Forschungsinstitute in Leipzig). Halle, M. Niemeyer. 40 M.

GLOGAUER, E., Die Bedeutungsübergänge der Konjunktionen in der angelsächsischen Dichtersprache (Neue anglistische Arbeiten, vi). Leipzig, Quelle und Meyer. 20 M.

KLAEBER, F., Der Held Beowulf in deutscher Sagenüberlieferung (*Anglia*, xlv, 3, July).

Physiologus, The Old English. Text and Translation by A. S. Cook and J. H. Pitman (Yale Studies in English, lxiii). New Haven, Yale Univ. Press; London, H. Milford. 4s. 6d.

ROYSTER, J. F., Old English Causative Verbs (*Nth Carolina Stud. Phil.*, xix, 3, July).

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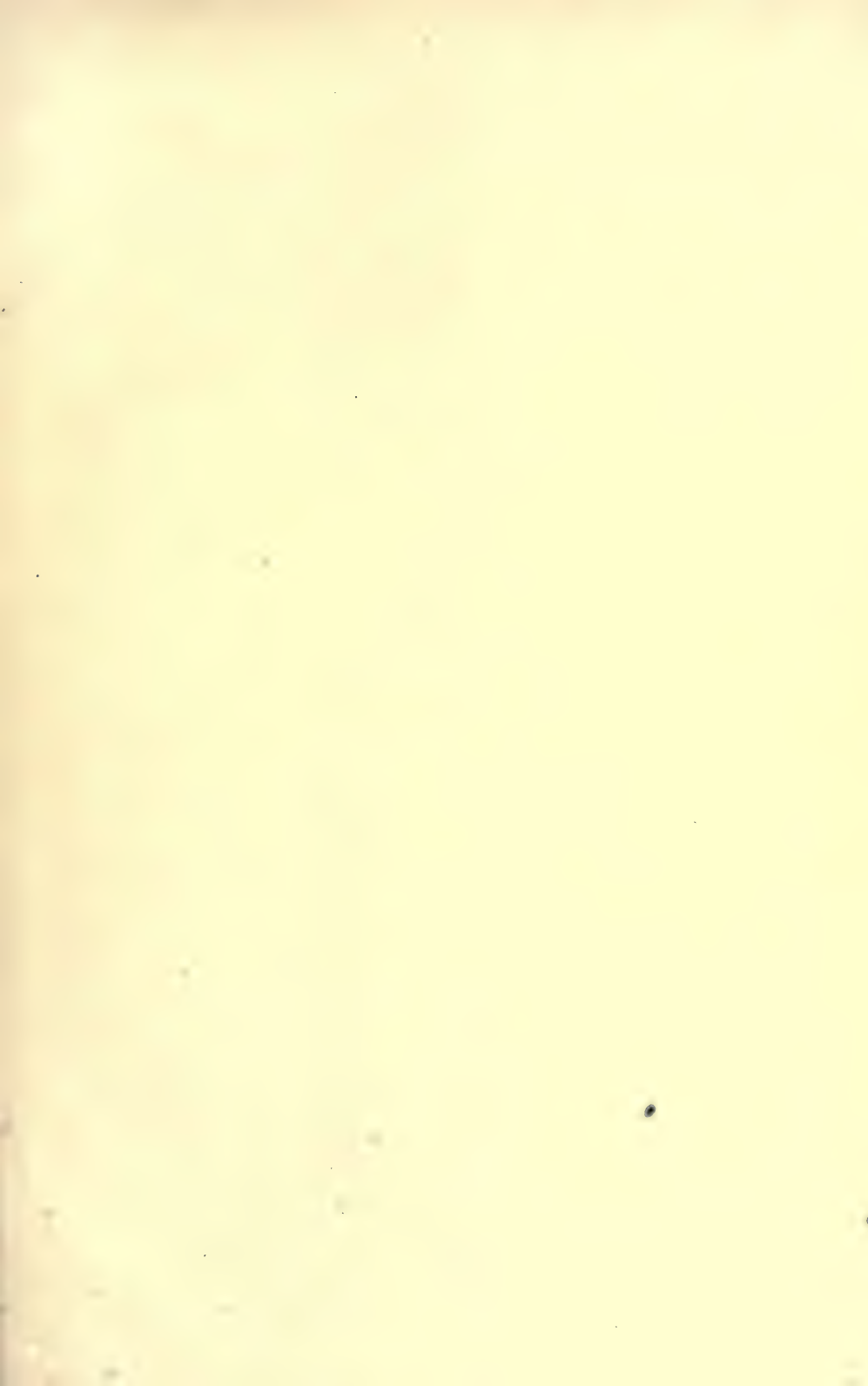
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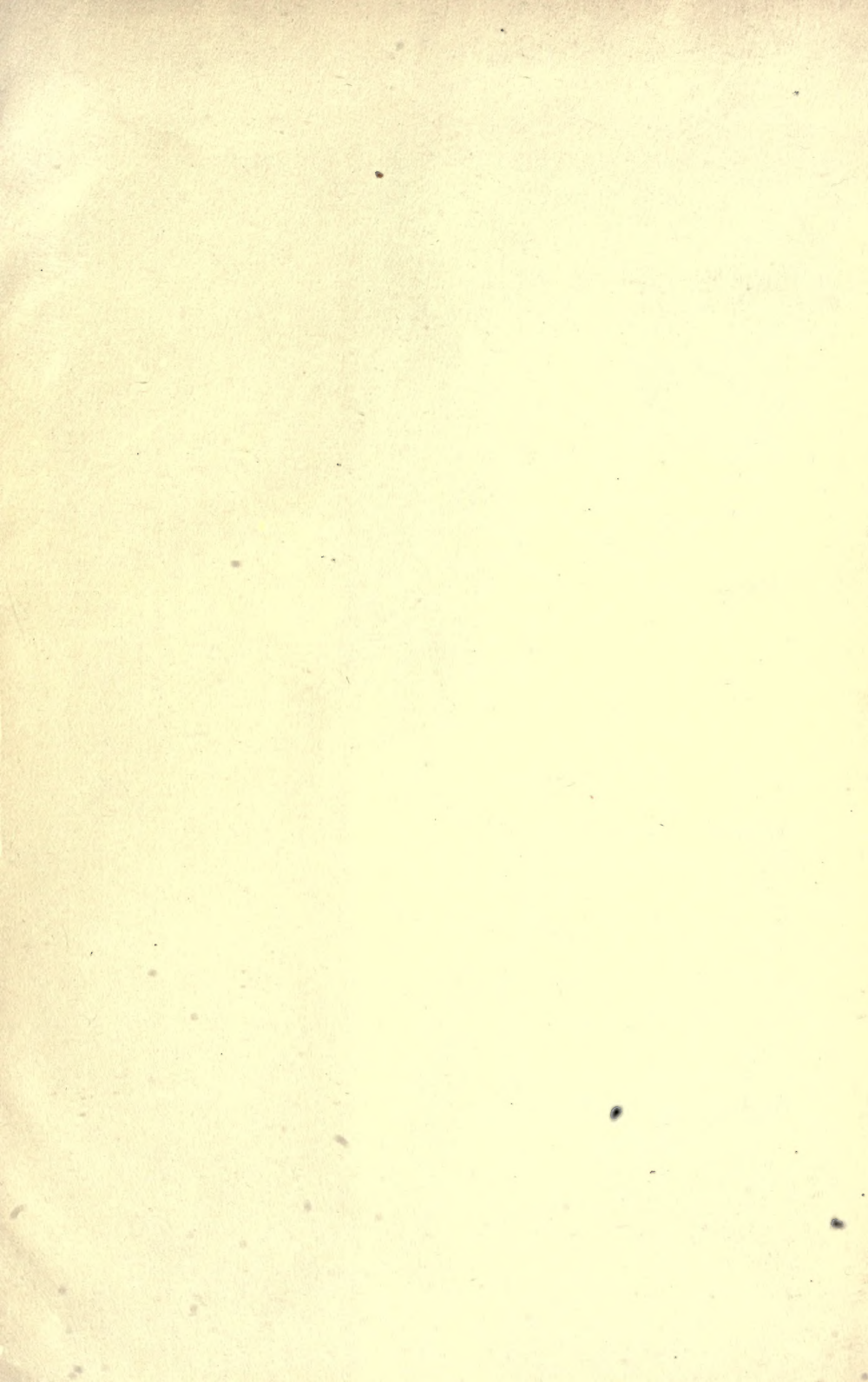
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